

THIRD EDITION

The Making of the West

PEOPLES AND CULTURES



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Global Encounters and Religious Reforms 1492–1560

In Tlaxcala, New Spain (present-day Mexico), Indians newly converted to Christianity performed a pageant organized in 1539 by Catholic missionaries. The festivities celebrated a truce recently concluded between the Habsburg emperor Charles V and the French king Francis I. *The Conquest of Jerusalem*, as the drama was called, featured a combined army from Spain and New Spain fighting to protect the pope, defeat the Muslims, and win control of the holy city of Jerusalem. In the play, a miracle saves the Christian soldiers, and the Muslims give up and convert to Christianity. Although it is hard to imagine what the Indians made of this celebration of places and people far away, the event reveals a great deal about the Europeans: still preoccupied with battling the Muslims and still fighting among themselves, Europeans now pursued their interests worldwide. Yet even as their explorations and conquests transformed the New World, disputes over the “true” religion divided Europeans into hostile camps. Catholic missionaries saw their success in converting Indians as a sign of God’s favor in the struggle against the Protestant reformers, who had begun to spread their message in Europe not long before the pageant in Tlaxcala took place.

Led first by the Portuguese and then Spanish explorers, Europeans sailed into contact with peoples and cultures hitherto unknown to Latin Christendom. Motivated by the desire to find gold, win personal glory, extend the reach of Christianity, and chart the unknown, European

Cortés

In this Spanish depiction of the landing of Hernán Cortés in Mexico in 1519, the ships and arms of the Spanish are a commanding presence, especially in comparison to the nakedness and lack of firearms among the Indians and the kneeling stance of their leader. A Spanish artist painted this miniature, which measures only 6⅞ inches by 4¼ inches. It probably accompanied an account of the Spanish conquest of Mexico. On the back of the picture is a small map of the west coast of Europe and Africa and the east coast of Central America. Europeans relied on such images, and especially on maps, to help them make sense of all the new information flooding into Europe from faraway places. Many Spaniards viewed Cortés’s conquests as a sign of divine favor in a time of religious division. Some even believed that Cortés was born the same day, or at least the same year, as Martin Luther, the German monk who had initiated the Protestant Reformation just two years before Cortés’s landing (in fact, Luther was born two years before Cortés). (Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.)

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voyagers subjugated native peoples, declared their control over vast new lands, and established a new system of slavery linking Africa and the New World. Millions of Indians died of diseases unknowingly imported by the Europeans. The discovery of new crops—corn, potatoes, tobacco, coffee, and cocoa—and of gold and silver mines brought new patterns of consumption, and new objects of conflict, to Europe. This spiral of changes in ecology, agriculture, and social patterns is so momentous that historians now call it the Columbian exchange after Christopher Columbus, who started the process.

The invention of the printing press in the 1440s helped spread news of the European explorations, but it had an even more significant impact when it hastened the breakup of Christian unity under the impact of the Protestant Reformation. After the German Catholic monk Martin Luther criticized corrupt church practices in 1517, printed broadsheets, pamphlets, and books quickly spread his message and helped make the Protestant break with Roman Catholicism permanent. Religious division soon engulfed the German states and reached into Switzerland, France, and England. Responding to the desire for reform that fed the Protestant movement, Catholics undertook their own renewal. When radical Protestants threatened to overthrow the social and political order, more mainstream Protestants, like Catholics, insisted that the state oversee religious, moral, and social matters.

Confrontations between Protestants and Catholics complicated the long-standing rivalries between princes. Traditional sources of enmity between the Christian powers did not disappear, and the Ottomans continued their thrust into Hungary. Now, however, the Catholic Habsburg emperor had to wage war against Protestant German princes and religious divisions threatened the stability of the monarchy in England and Scotland. Divisions between Catholics and Protestants

would shape the course of European history for several generations.

FOCUS QUESTION: Why did Christian unity break up in Europe just when Europeans began to expand their influence overseas in dramatic fashion?

Widening Horizons

The maritime explorations of Portugal and Spain brought Europe to the attention of the rest of the world. Fourteenth-century Mongols had been more interested in conquering China and Persia—lands with sophisticated cultures—than in invading Europe; Persian historians of the early fifteenth century dismissed Europeans as “barbaric Franks”; and China’s Ming dynasty rulers, who sent maritime expeditions to Southeast Asia and East Africa around 1400, seemed unaware of the Europeans, even though Marco Polo and other Italian merchants had appeared at the court of the preceding Mongol Yuan dynasty. By the end of the fifteenth century, in contrast, Europeans could no longer be ignored. The Portuguese and Spanish, inspired by a crusading spirit against Islam and by riches to be won through trade in spices and gold, sailed across the Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific oceans. The English, French, and Dutch followed a century later, creating a new global exchange of people, crops, and diseases that would shape the modern world. As a result of these European expeditions, the people of the Americas for the first time confronted forces that threatened to destroy not only their culture but even their existence.

Portuguese Explorations

The first phase of European overseas expansion began in 1433 with Portuguese exploration of the West African coast and culminated in 1519–1522

	■ 1492 Columbus reaches the Americas		■ 1516 Erasmus publishes Greek New Testament; More, <i>Utopia</i>	
1490		1500	1510	1520
	■ 1494 Italian Wars begin; Treaty of Tordesillas		■ 1517 Luther composes ninety-five theses	■ 1520 Luther publishes three treatises; Zwingli breaks from Rome

with Spanish circumnavigation of the globe. Looking back, the sixteenth-century Spanish historian Francisco López de Gómora described the Iberian maritime voyages to the East and West Indies as “the greatest event since the creation of the world, apart from the incarnation and death of him who created it.”

The Portuguese hoped to find a sea route to the spice-producing lands of South and Southeast Asia in order to bypass the Ottoman Turks, who controlled the traditional land routes between Europe and Asia. Rumors of vast gold mines in West Africa and the legend of a mysterious Christian kingdom established by Prester John and surrounded by Muslims drew sailors to voyages despite the possibilities of shipwreck and death. Success in the voyages of exploration depended on several technological breakthroughs, including the caravel, a small, easily maneuvered three-masted ship that used triangular lateen sails adapted from the Arabs. (The sails permitted a ship to tack against headwinds.) Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal (1394–1460) personally financed many voyages with revenues from a noble crusading order. The first triumphs of the Portuguese attracted a host of Christian, Jewish, and even Arab sailors, astronomers, and cartographers to the service of Prince Henry and King John II (r. 1481–1495). They compiled better tide calendars and books of sailing directions for pilots that enabled sailors to venture farther into the oceans and reduced—though did not eliminate—the dangers of sea travel.

Searching for gold and then slaves, the Portuguese gradually established forts down the West African coast. In 1487–1488, they reached the Cape of Good Hope at the tip of Africa; ten years later, Vasco da Gama led a Portuguese fleet around the cape and reached as far as Calicut, India, the center of the spice trade. His return to Lisbon with twelve pieces of Chinese porcelain for the Portuguese king set off two centuries of porcelain

mania. Until the early eighteenth century, only the Chinese knew how to produce porcelain (in vases or dinnerware), so over the next two hundred years Western merchants would import no fewer than seventy million pieces of porcelain, still known today as “china.” In 1512, Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese sailor in Spanish service, led the first expedition to circumnavigate the globe. By 1517, a chain of Portuguese forts dotted the Indian Ocean—at Mozambique, Hormuz (at the mouth of the Persian Gulf), Goa (in India), Colombo (in modern Sri Lanka), and Malacca (modern Malaysia) (Map 14.1).

The Voyages of Columbus

One of many sailors inspired by the Portuguese explorations, **Christopher Columbus** (1451–1506) opened an entirely new direction for discovery. Most likely born in Genoa of Italian parents, Columbus sailed the West African coast in Portuguese service between 1476 and 1485. Fifteenth-century Europeans already knew that the world was round (see “Seeing History,” page 424). Columbus had studied *The Travels of Marco Polo*, written more than a century earlier, and wanted to sail west to reach “the lands of the Great Khan,” unaware that the Mongol Empire had already collapsed in eastern Asia. Hugely underestimating the distance of such a voyage, Columbus dreamed of finding a new route to the East’s gold and spices. After the Portuguese refused to fund his plan, Columbus turned to the Spanish monarchs Isabella of Castille and Ferdinand of Aragon, who agreed to finance his venture.

On August 3, 1492, with ninety men on board two caravels and one larger merchant ship for carrying supplies, Columbus set sail westward. His

Christopher Columbus: An Italian sailor (1451–1506) who opened up the New World by sailing west across the Atlantic in search of a route to Asia.

■ 1525 German Peasants’ War

■ 1527 Charles V’s imperial troops sack Rome

■ 1529 Colloquy of Marburg

■ 1540 Jesuits (Society of Jesus) established

■ 1545–1563 Catholic Council of Trent

■ 1555 Peace of Augsburg

■ 1559 Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis

1530

1540

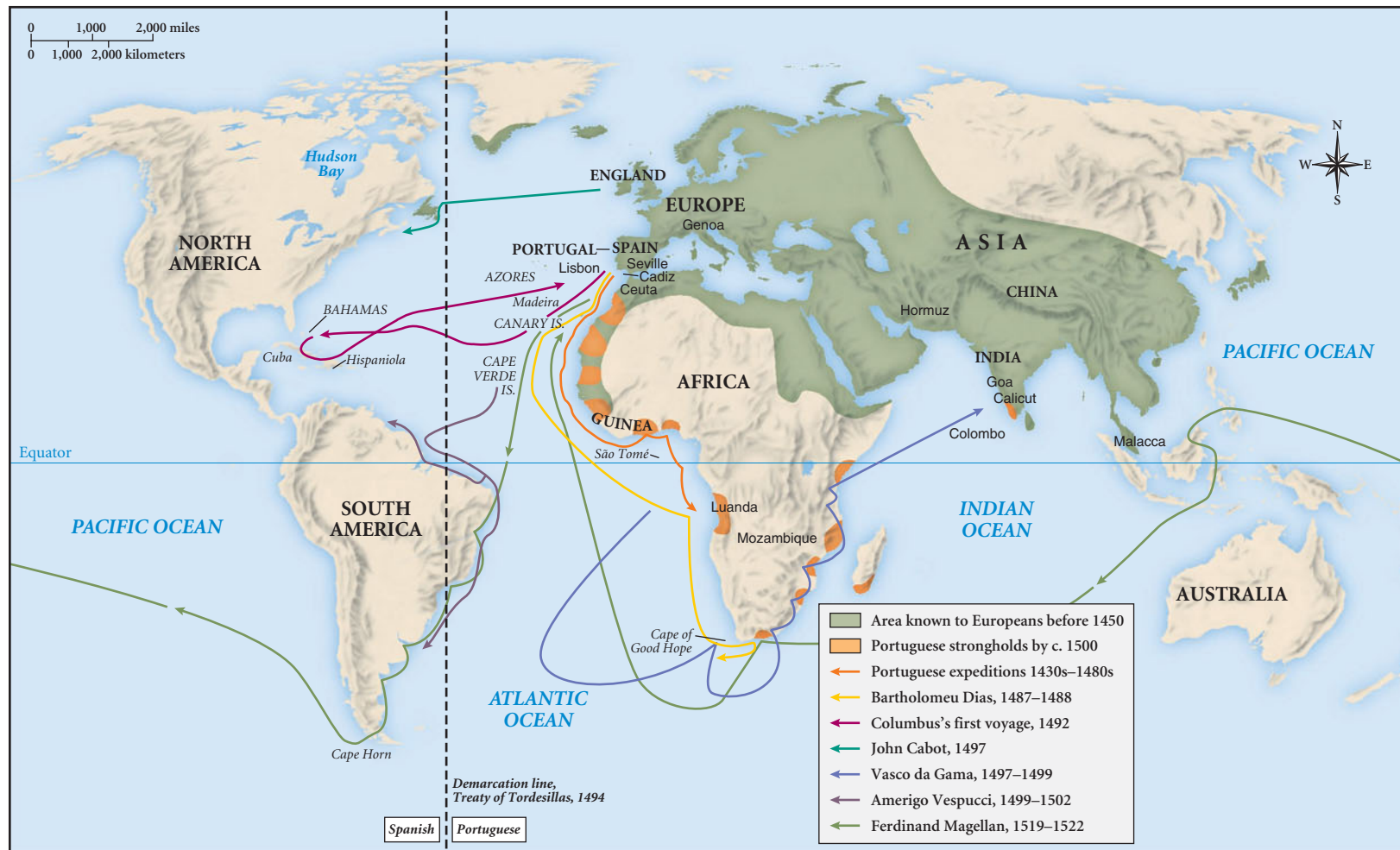
1550

1560

■ 1534 Henry VIII breaks with Rome; Affair of the Placards in France

■ 1547 Charles V defeats Protestants at Mühlberg

■ 1536 Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*



MAP 14.1 Early Voyages of World Exploration

Over the course of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, European shipping dominated the Atlantic Ocean after the pioneering voyages of the Portuguese, who also first sailed around the Cape of Good Hope to the Indian Ocean and the Cape Horn to the Pacific. The search for spices and the need to circumnavigate the Ottoman Empire inspired these voyages.

DOCUMENT

Columbus Describes His First Voyage (1493)

In this famous letter to Raphael Sanchez, treasurer to his patrons, Ferdinand and Isabella, Columbus recounts his initial journey to the Bahamas, Cuba, and Hispaniola (today Haiti and the Dominican Republic), and tells of his achievements. This passage reflects the first contact between native Americans and Europeans; already the themes of trade, subjugation, gold, and conversion emerge in Columbus's own words.

Indians would give whatever the seller required; . . . Thus they bartered, like idiots, cotton and gold for fragments of bows, glasses, bottles, and jars; which I forbade as being unjust, and myself gave them many beautiful and acceptable articles which I had brought with me, taking nothing from them in return; I did this in order that I

might the more easily conciliate them, that they might be led to become Christians, and be inclined to entertain a regard for the King and Queen, our Princes and all Spaniards, and that I might induce them to take an interest in seeking out, and collecting, and delivering to us such things as they possessed in abundance, but which we greatly needed. They practise no kind of idolatry, but have a firm belief that all strength and power, and indeed all good things, are in heaven, and that I had descended from thence with these ships and sailors, and under this impression was I received after they had thrown aside their fears. Nor are they slow or stupid, but of very clear understanding; and those men who have crossed to the neighbouring islands give an admirable description of

everything they observed; but they never saw any people clothed, nor any ships like ours. On my arrival at that sea, I had taken some Indians by force from the first island that I came to, in order that they might learn our language, and communicate to us what they know respecting the country; which plan succeeded excellently, and was a great advantage to us, for in a short time, either by gestures and signs, or by words, we were enabled to understand each other. These men are still travelling with me, and although they have been with us now a long time, they continue to entertain the idea that I have descended from heaven.

Source: Christopher Columbus, *Four Voyages to the New World*. Translated by R. H. Major (New York: Corinth Books, 1961), 8–9.

contract stipulated that he would claim Castilian sovereignty over any new land and inhabitants and share any profits with the crown. Reaching what is today the Bahamas on October 12, Columbus mistook the islands to be part of the East Indies, not far from Japan. As the Spaniards explored the Caribbean islands, they encountered communities of peaceful Indians, the Arawaks, who were awed by the Europeans' military technology, not to mention their appearance. Although many positive entries in the ship's log testified to Columbus's personal goodwill toward the Indians, the Europeans' objectives were clear: find gold, subjugate the Indians, and propagate Christianity. (See Document, "Columbus Describes His First Voyage," above.)

Excited by the prospect of easy riches, many flocked to join Columbus's second voyage. When Columbus departed Cádiz in September 1493, he commanded a fleet of seventeen ships carrying some fifteen hundred men, many of whom believed that all they had to do was "to load the gold into the ships." Failing to find the imagined gold mines and spices, Columbus and his crew began capturing Caribs, enemies of the Arawaks, with the intention of bringing them back as slaves. In 1494, Columbus proposed setting up a regular slave trade based in Hispaniola. The Spaniards exported

enslaved Indians to Spain, and slave traders sold them in Seville. When the Spanish monarchs realized the vast potential for material gain of their new dominions, they asserted direct royal authority by sending officials and priests to the Americas, which were named after the Italian Amerigo Vespucci, who led a voyage across the Atlantic in 1499–1502.

To head off looming conflicts between the Spanish and the Portuguese, Pope Alexander VI helped negotiate the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494. It divided the Atlantic world between the two maritime powers, reserving for Portugal the West African coast and the route to India and giving Spain the oceans and lands to the west (see Map 14.1). The agreement allowed Portugal to claim Brazil in 1500, when it was accidentally "discovered" by Pedro Alvares Cabral (1467–1520) on a voyage to India.

A New Era in Slavery

The European voyages of discovery initiated a new era in slavery, both by expanding the economic scale of slave labor and by attaching race and color to servitude. Slavery had existed since antiquity and flourished in many parts of the world. Some slaves were captured in war or by piracy; others—

SEEING HISTORY

Expanding Geographic Knowledge: World Maps in an Age of Exploration

On the eve of Christopher Columbus's voyages, most Europeans knew that the world was round and many shared Columbus's view that new routes to Asia and its riches could be found by sailing west. Beyond that, however, geographic knowledge of what precisely lay on the other side of the Atlantic was sketchy at best. Even those regions familiar to Europe through trade and exploration—Africa and parts of Asia—were often shown inaccurately on maps of the day.

The hand-colored map at the top produced by a German geographer, Henricus Martellus, depicts the world as Europeans knew it just before Columbus's first voyage. How accurate is its rendition of Europe, the Mediterranean, and Africa? Note that the Americas are not shown as a separate continent, but rather are joined to the Asian landmass on the far right. (Scholars have identified several major Latin American rivers, including the Orinooko and the Amazon in part of lower right-hand quadrant of the map.) How does this map help explain Columbus's mistake about where he had landed in 1492? What else does it tell you about Europeans' perceptions of the world in this period?

By 1570, when Abraham Ortelius's map was printed, European knowledge of world geography had grown by leaps and bounds thanks to the voyages of exploration. Ortelius, a well-traveled and prominent geographer and cartographer, included this map in his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Theater of the World), considered to be the first modern atlas. Judging from this map, what areas of the world have come into greater focus? What areas are still inaccurately portrayed and rudimentary in some respects? How might you account for that? What advantages do accurate maps offer you, beyond knowing where you are headed? What else does the later map reveal about Europeans' knowledge of the world after less than a century of exploration?



World Map by Henricus Martellus, 1489. (The Art Archive/British Library.)



World Map by Abraham Ortelius, 1570. (By permission of the British Library.)

Africans — were sold by other Africans and Bedouin traders to Christian buyers; in western Asia, parents sold their children out of poverty into servitude; and many in the Balkans became slaves when their land was devastated by Ottoman invasions. Slaves could be Greek, Slav, European, African, or Turkish. Many served as domestics in European cities of the Mediterranean such as Barcelona or Venice. Others sweated as galley slaves in Ottoman and Christian fleets. Still others worked as agricultural laborers on Mediterranean islands. In the Ottoman army, slaves even formed an important elite contingent.

From the fifteenth century onward, Africans increasingly filled the ranks of slaves. Exploiting warfare between groups within West Africa, the Portuguese traded in gold and “pieces,” as African slaves were called, a practice condemned at home by some conscientious clergy. Manoel Severim de Faria, for example, observed that “one cannot yet see any good effect resulting from so much butchery; for this is not the way in which commerce can flourish and the preaching of the gospel progress.” Critical voices, however, could not deny the potential for profits that the slave trade brought to Portugal. Most slaves toiled in the sugar plantations of the Portuguese Atlantic islands and in Brazil. A fortunate few had somewhat easier lives as domestic servants in Portugal, where African freedmen and slaves, some thirty-five thousand in the early sixteenth century, constituted almost 3 percent of the population, a percentage that was much higher than in other European countries.

In the Americas, slavery would expand enormously in the following centuries. Even outspoken critics of colonial brutality toward indigenous peoples defended the development of African slavery. The Spanish Dominican Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474–1566), for example, argued that Africans were constitutionally more suitable for labor than native Americans and should therefore be imported to the plantations in the Americas to relieve the indigenous peoples, who were being worked to death.

Conquering the New World

In 1500, on the eve of European invasion, the native peoples of the Americas lived in a great diver-



MAP 14.2 Spanish and Portuguese Colonies in the Americas, 1492–1560

The discovery of precious metals fueled the Spanish and Portuguese explorations and settlements of Central and South America, establishing the foundations of European colonial empires in the New World.

sity of social and political arrangements. Some were nomads roaming large, sparsely inhabited territories; others practiced agriculture in complexly organized states. Among the settled peoples, the largest groupings could be found in the Mexican and Peruvian highlands. Combining an elaborate religious culture with a rigid social and political hierarchy, the Aztecs in Mexico and the Incas in Peru ruled over subjugated Indian populations in their respective empires. From their large urban capitals, the Aztecs and Incas controlled large swaths of land and could be ruthless as conquerors.

The Spanish explorers organized their expeditions to the mainland of the Americas from a base in the Caribbean (Map 14.2). Two prominent commanders, **Hernán Cortés** (1485–1547) and Francisco Pizarro (c. 1475–1541), gathered men and arms and set off in search of gold. With them came Catholic priests intending to bring Christianity to supposedly uncivilized peoples. Some natives who resented their subjugation by the Aztecs joined Cortés and his soldiers. With a band of fewer than two hundred men, Cortés captured

Hernán Cortés: A Spanish explorer (1485–1547) who captured the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán (present-day Mexico City), in 1519.

the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán (present-day Mexico City), in 1519. Two years later, Mexico, then named New Spain, was added to the empire of the new ruler of Spain, Charles V, grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella. To the south, Pizarro conquered the Peruvian highlands. The Spanish Empire was now the largest in the world, stretching from Mexico to Chile.

The Aztecs and Incas fell to the superior war technology of the Spanish conquistadores. Next the conquistadores subdued the Mayas on the Yucatán peninsula, a people with a sophisticated knowledge of cosmology and arithmetic. The gold and silver mines in Mexico proved a treasure trove for the Spanish crown, but the real prize was the discovery of vast silver deposits in Potosí (today in Bolivia). When the Spaniards began importing the gold and silver they found in the New World, inflation soared in a fashion never before witnessed in Europe.

Not to be outdone by the Spaniards, other European powers joined the scramble for gold in the New World. In North America, the French went in search of a “northwest passage” to China. The French wanted to establish settlements in what became Canada, but the climate and the hostility of the indigenous peoples defeated them. Permanent European settlements in Canada and the present-day United States would succeed only in the seventeenth century, and by then the English had entered the contest for world mastery. Even before the French and the English, the Dutch entered the colonial competition. After they broke away from Spain late in the sixteenth century, the Dutch set about systematically and aggressively taking over Spanish and Portuguese trade routes. By the mid-seventeenth century, they had become the wealthiest people (per capita) in the world.

The discovery of the Americas resulted in a significant global movement of peoples, animals, plants, manufactured goods, and precious metals. Tobacco and cocoa were among the exotic items brought from the Americas to Europe. Voyages to the New World also brought diseases from Europe to the unsuspecting peoples of America. Without natural immunity, the Amerindians died in catastrophic numbers. Within fifty years of Columbus’s first voyage, the indigenous populations of the Caribbean Islands had been wiped out.

REVIEW: Which European countries led the way in maritime exploration, and what were their motives?

The Protestant Reformation

In the sixteenth century, religious reformers led by Martin Luther shattered the unity of Western Christendom, supplied by the Roman Catholic Church since the fourth century. The invention of printing with movable type proved crucial to the rapid spread of the Protestant message. The popular piety that swept Europe in the closing decades of the 1400s, along with Christian humanism, also helped pave the way for the reformers by focusing attention on corrupt practices and clerical abuses. The Catholic church might nonetheless have escaped a schism had it not been for the drive, talent, and theological brilliance of Luther and other reformers such as Huldrych Zwingli and John Calvin. They turned reform into protest—hence the name of their movement, Protestantism.

The Invention of Printing

Printing with movable type, developed in the 1440s by Johannes Gutenberg, a German goldsmith, marked a revolutionary departure from the old practice of copying works by hand or stamping pages with individually carved wood blocks. Printing itself predated movable type: the Chinese had been printing by woodblock since the tenth century, and woodcut pictures made their appearance in Europe in the early fifteenth century. Movable type, however, allowed entire manuscripts to be printed more quickly. Single letters, made in metal molds, could be emptied out of a frame and new ones inserted to print each new page. Also, the large-scale production of paper had paved the way for the invention of printing. Papermaking came to Europe from China via Arab intermediaries. By the fourteenth century, paper mills in Italy were producing paper that was more fragile but also much cheaper than parchment or vellum, the animal skins that Europeans had previously used for writing.

The invention of movable type in the West no doubt owed something to the twenty-six-character alphabets found in most European languages; setting twenty-six characters in metal type was much easier than trying to set the hundreds or even thousands of different picture-like characters that made up written Chinese. (See *Printing Press*, page 427.) In 1467, two German printers established the first press in Rome; within five years, they had produced twelve thousand volumes, a feat that in the past would have required a thousand scribes working full-time.

In the 1490s, the German city of Frankfurt became an international meeting place for printers

and booksellers, establishing a book fair that remains an unbroken tradition to this day. Early printed books attracted an elite audience; their expense made them inaccessible to most literate people, who comprised a minority of the population in any case. Gutenberg's famous two-volume Latin Bible was a luxury item, and only 185 copies were printed. Gutenberg Bibles remain today a treasure that only the greatest libraries possess.

The invention of mechanical printing dramatically increased the speed at which knowledge could be transmitted and freed individuals from having to memorize everything that they learned. Printed books and pamphlets, even one-page flyers, might create a wider community of scholars no longer dependent on personal patronage or church sponsorship for texts. Printing thus encouraged the free expression and exchange of ideas, and its disruptive potential did not go unnoticed by political and religious authorities. Rulers and bishops in the German states, the birthplace of the printing industry, moved quickly to issue censorship regulations, but their efforts could not prevent the outbreak of the Protestant Reformation.

Popular Piety and Christian Humanism

The Christianizing of Europe had taken many centuries to complete, and by 1500 most people in Europe believed devoutly. However, the vast majority of them had little knowledge of Catholic doctrine. More popular forms of piety such as processions, festivals, and marvelous tales of saints' miracles captivated ordinary believers.

Urban merchants and artisans, more likely than the general population to be literate and critical of their local priests, yearned for a faith more meaningful to their daily lives and for a clergy more responsive to their needs. They wanted priests to preach edifying sermons, to administer the sacraments conscientiously, and to lead moral lives, so they generously donated money to establish new preaching positions for university-trained clerics. The merchants resented the funneling of the Catholic church's rich endowments to the younger children of the nobility who took up religious callings to protect the wealth of their families. The young, educated clerics funded by the merchants often came from cities themselves. They formed the backbone of **Christian humanism** and sometimes became reformers, too.

Christian humanism: A general intellectual trend in the sixteenth century that coupled love of classical learning, as in Renaissance humanism, with an emphasis on Christian piety.



Printing Press

This illustration from a French manuscript of 1537 depicts typical printing equipment of the sixteenth century. An artisan is using the screw press to apply the inked type to the paper. Also shown are the composed type secured in a chase, the printed sheet (four pages of text printed on one sheet) held by the seated proofreader, and the bound volume. When two pages of text were printed on one standard-sized sheet, the bound book was called a folio. A bound book with four pages of text on one sheet was called a quarto ("in four"), and a book with eight pages of text on one sheet was called an octavo ("in eight"). The last is a pocket-size book, smaller than today's paperback. (*The Granger Collection, New York.*)

Humanism originated during the Renaissance in Italy among highly educated individuals attached to the personal households of prominent rulers. North of the Alps, however, humanists focused more on religious revival and the inculcation of Christian piety, through such means as the model school of the Brethren of the Common Life. The Brethren preached self-discipline and often criticized the local clergy for their inadequate training and lax morals. Two men, the Dutch scholar Desiderius Erasmus (c. 1466–1536) and the English lawyer Thomas More (1478–1535), stood out as representatives of these Christian humanists, who coupled their love of classical learn-

ing with the emphasis on Christian piety. They both longed for ideal societies based on peace and morality but faced a world that seemed bent on violent division instead.

Erasmus. Just as Cicero had dominated ancient Roman letters, Erasmus towered over the humanist world of early-sixteenth-century Europe. An intimate friend of kings and popes, he became known across Europe. Disseminated by the printing press, Erasmus's books made him famous. He devoted years to preparing a critical edition of the New Testament in Greek with a translation into Latin, which was finally published in 1516.

Only through education, Erasmus believed, could individuals reform themselves and society. He strove for a unified, peaceful Christendom in which charity and good works, not empty ceremonies, would mark true religion and in which learning and piety would dispel the darkness of ignorance. He elaborated many of these ideas in his *Handbook of the Militant Christian* (1503), an eloquent plea for a simple religion devoid of greed and the lust for power. In *The Praise of Folly* (1509), he satirized values held dear by his contemporaries. Modesty, humility, and poverty represented the true Christian virtues in a world that worshipped pomposity, power, and wealth. The wise

appeared foolish, he concluded, for their wisdom and values were not of this world.

He instructed the young future emperor Charles V to rule as a just Christian prince and expressed deep sorrow about the brutal fighting that had ravaged Europe for decades. A man of peace and moderation, Erasmus soon found himself challenged by angry younger men and radical ideas once the Reformation took hold; he eventually chose Christian unity over reform and schism. His dream of Christian pacifism crushed, he lived to see dissenters executed—by Catholics and Protestants alike—for speaking their conscience. Erasmus spent his last years in Freiburg and Basel, isolated from the Protestant community, his writings condemned by many in the Catholic church. After the Protestant Reformation had been secured, the saying arose that “Erasmus laid the egg that Luther hatched.” Some blamed the humanists for the emergence of Luther and Protestantism, despite the humanists’ decision to remain in the Catholic church.

Thomas More. If Erasmus found himself abandoned by his times, his good friend across the English Channel, Thomas More, to whom *The Praise of Folly* was dedicated, met with even greater suffering. Like the humanists of Italy, More chose to



Albrecht Dürer, *The Knight, Death, and the Devil*

Dürer's 1513 engraving of the knight depicts a grim and determined warrior advancing in the face of devils, one of whom holds out an hourglass with a grimace while another wields a menacing pike. An illustration for Erasmus's *The Handbook of the Militant Christian*, this scene is often interpreted as portraying a Christian clad in the armor of righteousness on a path through life beset by death and demonic temptations. Yet the knight in early-sixteenth-century Germany had become a mercenary, selling his martial skills to princes. Some waylaid merchants, robbed rich clerics, and held citizens for ransom. The most notorious of these robber-knights, Franz von Sickingen, was declared an outlaw by the emperor and murdered in 1522. (Bridgeman-Giraudon/Art Resource, NY.)

■ For more help analyzing this image, see the visual activity for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

serve his prince. In 1529, he became lord chancellor, the chief officer of the English government. King Henry VIII had his own issues with the papacy and, in 1532, broke with the Roman Catholic church. He pulled England out from under papal control and began appointing his own bishops. In protest against Henry's newly asserted control of the clergy, More resigned his position and was executed in 1535 for refusing to subscribe to Henry VIII's version of the Protestant Reformation. By executing More, Henry created a martyr revered for centuries by Catholics and by those who believed in liberty of conscience.

From any perspective, More was an audacious, even eccentric thinker. In his best-known work, *Utopia* (1516), he describes an ideal imaginary land that stands in stark contrast to his own society. A just, equitable, and hardworking community, Utopia (meaning both “no place” and “best place” in Greek) was the opposite of England. In Utopia, everyone worked the land for two years; and since Utopians enjoyed public schools, communal kitchens, hospitals, and nurseries, they had no need for money or private property. Dedicated to the pursuit of knowledge and natural religion, with equal distribution of goods and few laws, Utopians knew neither crime nor internal discord.

Yet even in More's Utopia some oddities existed—voluntary slavery, for example, and strictly controlled travel. Although premarital sex brought severe punishment, prospective marriage partners could examine each other naked before making their final decisions. Men headed Utopia's households and exercised authority over women and children. And Utopians did not shy away from declaring war on their neighbors to protect their way of life. More nonetheless created an imaginary society that was paradise when compared with a Christian Europe battered by division and violence. The Christian humanists offered stirring visions of a better future, but peace, moderation, unity, and any idea of Utopia would all be submerged in the coming flood of radical religious change.

Martin Luther and the Holy Roman Empire

The Protestant Reformation began when the crisis of faith of one man, **Martin Luther** (1483–1546), started an international movement. Luther was an improbable spiritual revolutionary. Son of a miner

and a deeply pious mother, he began his studies in the law. Caught in a storm on a lonely road one midsummer's night, the young student grew terrified by the thunder and lightning. He implored the help of St. Anne, the mother of the Virgin Mary, and promised to enter a monastery if she protected him. Luther abandoned his law studies and entered the Augustinian order. There he experienced his religious crisis and its resolution: the doctrine of faith alone as the means to salvation.

Even though as a monk Luther took up all the practices offered by the church to achieve personal salvation, he did not feel saved. He prayed, he took the sacraments, and as a priest he even said Mass. He did all the good works that the church prescribed yet still felt bereft of God's love. He came to believe that the church gave external behavior more weight than spiritual intentions. The sacrament of penance was a case in point. Instead of emphasizing the remorse that led the sinner to confess his sins to a priest and then receive forgiveness from the priest in God's name, the church emphasized the penance imposed by the priest. Some priests abused their authority by demanding sexual or monetary favors before granting forgiveness. Luther found peace inside himself when he became convinced that sinners were saved only through faith and that faith was a gift freely given by God. No amount of good works, he believed, could produce the faith on which salvation depended. Shortly before his death, Luther recalled his crisis:

Though I lived as a monk without reproach, I felt that I was a sinner before God with an extremely disturbed conscience. I could not believe that he was placated by my satisfaction [in penance]. I did not love, yes, I hated the righteous God who punishes sinners, and secretly . . . I was angry with God. . . . At last, by the mercy of God, meditating day and night, I gave heed to the context of the words, namely, “In [the gospel] the righteousness of God is revealed, as it is written, ‘He who through faith is righteous shall live.’” There I began to understand that the righteousness of God is that by which the righteous live by a gift of God, namely by faith.

Just as Luther was working out his own personal search for salvation, a priest named Johann Tetzel arrived in Wittenberg, where Luther was a university professor, to sell indulgences. Penance normally consisted of spiritual duties (prayers, pilgrimages), but the church also asked for monetary substitutions, called indulgences. Indulgences could even be bought for a deceased relative, which would forgive that person's time in purgatory and release the soul for heaven. Luther denounced what he, like so many of the Church's other crit-

Martin Luther: A German monk (1483–1546) who started the Protestant Reformation in 1517 by challenging the practices and doctrines of the Catholic church and advocating salvation through faith alone.

ics, saw as a corrupt practice, allowing sinners to buy rather than to earn forgiveness of their sins. But Luther's objections went far deeper. He believed that indulgences, like the sacrament of penance, were ultimately useless unless one had faith. No one, he felt, could be allowed to think that such a purchase had anything to do with salvation.

Armed with his sense of God's justice and grace, Luther composed ninety-five theses for academic debate in 1517. Among them were attacks on the sale of indulgences and the purchase of church offices. Printed, the theses became public and unleashed a torrent of pent-up resentment and frustration among the laypeople. What began as a theological debate in a provincial university soon engulfed the Holy Roman Empire. (See "Contrasting Views," page 431.) Luther's earliest supporters included younger Christian humanists and clerics who shared his critical attitude toward the church establishment. None of these Evangelicals, as they called themselves, came from the upper echelons of the church; many were from urban middle-class backgrounds, and most were university trained. The Evangelicals represented social groups most ready to challenge clerical authority—merchants, artisans, and literate urban laypeople. But illiterate artisans and peasants also rallied to Luther, sometimes with an almost fanatical zeal. They and he believed they were living in the last days of the world. Luther and his cause might be a sign of the approaching Last Judgment.

Initially, Luther presented himself as the pope's "loyal opposition," but in 1520, he burned his bridges with the publication of three fiery treatises. In *Freedom of a Christian*, written in Latin for the learned and addressed to Pope Leo X, Luther argued that faith, not good works, saved sinners from damnation, and he sharply distinguished between true Gospel teachings and invented church doctrines. Luther advocated "the priesthood of all believers," insisting that the Bible provided all the teachings necessary for Christian living and that a professional caste of clerics should not hold sway over laypeople. *Freedom of a Christian* circulated widely in an immediate German translation. Its principles "by faith alone," "by Scripture alone," and "the priesthood of all believers" became central features of the reform movement.

In his second treatise, *To the Nobility of the German Nation*, written in German, Luther ap-



Luther's World in the Early Sixteenth Century

pealed to German identity and to the nobles as the natural leaders of any reform movement. He denounced the corrupt Italians in Rome who were cheating and exploiting his compatriots and called on the German princes to defend their nation and reform the church. Luther's third treatise, *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, condemned the papacy as the embodiment of the Antichrist.

From Rome's perspective, the "Luther Affair," as church officials called it, concerned only one unruly monk. When the pope ordered him to obey his superiors and keep quiet, Luther tore up the decree. Spread by the printing press, Luther's ideas circulated throughout the Holy Roman Empire, letting loose forces that neither the church nor Luther could control. Social, nationalist, and religious protests fused with lower-class resentments, much as in the Czech movement that Jan Hus had inspired a century earlier. Like Hus, Luther appeared before an emperor: in 1521, he defended his faith at the Imperial Diet of Worms before **Charles V** (r. 1519–1556), the newly elected Holy Roman Emperor who, at the age of nineteen, ruled over the Low Countries, Spain, Spain's Italian and New World dominions, and the Austrian Habsburg lands. Luther shocked Germans by declaring his admiration for the Czech heretic. But unlike Hus, Luther did not suffer martyrdom because he enjoyed the protection of Frederick the Wise, the elector of Saxony and Luther's lord. Frederick was one of the seven electors whom Charles V had bribed to become Holy Roman Emperor, and Charles had to treat him with respect. The emperor soon had cause to regret his reluctance to punish Luther.

Lutheran propaganda flooded German towns and villages. Hundreds of pamphlets lambasted the papacy and the Catholic clergy; others simplified the message of Luther for the common folk. Sometimes only a few pages in length, these broadsheets were often illustrated with crude satirical cartoons. City dwellers proved particularly receptive to Luther's teachings; they were literate and were eager to read the Bible for themselves. Magistrates began to curtail clerical privileges and

Charles V: Holy Roman Emperor (r. 1519–1556) and the most powerful ruler in sixteenth-century Europe; he reigned over the Low Countries, Spain, Spain's Italian and New World dominions, and the Austrian Habsburg lands.

CONTRASTING VIEWS

Martin Luther: Holy Man or Heretic?

When Martin Luther criticized the papacy and the Catholic church, he was hailed as a godly prophet by some and condemned as a heretic by others. Both Protestants and Catholics used popular propaganda to argue their cause. They spread their message to a largely illiterate or semilliterate society through pamphlets, woodcuts, and broadsheets in which visual images took on increasing importance, to appeal to a wide public. These polemical works were distributed in the thousands to cities and market towns throughout the Holy Roman Empire. A few were even translated into Latin to reach an audience outside of Germany.

The 1521 woodcut by Matthias Gnidias represents Luther standing above his Catholic opponent, the Franciscan friar Thomas Murner, who is depicted here as a crawling dragon, Leviathan, the biblical monster (Document 1). Another positive image of Luther, also published in 1521, depicts him as inspired by the Holy Spirit (Document 2). An anti-Luther image from a few years later represents him as a seven-headed monster (Document 3), signifying that the reformer is the source of discord within Christianity. This image appeared in a book published in 1529 by the Dominican friar Johannes Cochlaeus, one of Luther's vociferous opponents.

Visual examples of religious propaganda worked effectively to demonize enemies and to contrast sharply good and evil. The 1520s saw the most intense production of these cheap polemical visual prints, but the use of visual propaganda would continue for more than a century in the religious conflict.

1. Matthias Gnidias's Representation of Luther and Leviathan (1521)



Luther and Leviathan



Luther as Monk. (The Granger Collection, New York.)

2. Luther as Monk, Doctor, Man of the Bible, and Saint (1521)

This woodcut by an anonymous artist appeared in a volume that the Strasbourg printer Johann Schott published in 1521. In addition to being one of the major centers of printing, Strasbourg was also a stronghold of the reform movement. Note the use of traditional symbols to signify Luther's holiness: the Bible in his hands, the halo, the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, and his friar's robes. Although the cult of saints and monasticism came under severe criticism during the Reformation, the representation of Luther in traditional symbols of sanctity stressed his conservative values instead of his radical challenge to church authorities.

3. The Seven-Headed Martin Luther by Johannes Cochlaeus (1529)

The seven heads are labeled (from left to right) doctor, Martin, Luther, ecclesiast, enthusiast, visitirer, and Barrabas. The term enthusiast represented a name of abuse, applied usually by the Catholic church to Anabaptists and religious radicals of all sorts. Visitirer is a pun in German on the word Tier, meaning "animal." Cochlaeus also mocks the new practice of Protestant clergy visiting parishes to check up on pastors' and parishioners' adherence to reformed doctrines and rituals in order to enforce Christian discipline. From left to right, Luther's many heads gradually reveal him to be a rebel, as Barrabas was condemned to die as a rabble-rouser by the Romans but instead was freed and his place taken by Jesus at the crucifixion. The number seven also alludes to the seven deadly sins.



Seven-Headed Luther. (The Granger Collection, New York.)

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. Why did Johannes Cochlaeus condemn Martin Luther? How did he construct a negative image of Luther?
2. Evaluate the visual representations of Luther as a godly man. Which one is more effective?

subordinate the clergy to municipal authority. Luther's message—that each Christian could appeal directly to God for salvation—spoke to townspeople's spiritual needs and social vision. From Wittenberg, the many streams of the reform movement quickly merged and threatened to swamp all before it.

Huldrych Zwingli and John Calvin

Separate reform movements sprang up in Swiss cities. In 1520, just three years after Luther's initial break with Rome, the chief preacher of Zurich, Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531), openly declared himself a reformer. Like Luther, Zwingli attacked corruption in the Catholic church hierarchy, and he also questioned fasting and clerical celibacy. Under Zwingli's leadership, Zurich served as the center for the Swiss and southern German reform movement. Luther and Zwingli did not agree on all points of doctrine. Luther insisted that Christ was both truly and symbolically present in the Eucharist, the central Christian sacrament that Christians partook of in communion; Zwingli, however, viewed the Eucharistic bread and wine as symbols of Christ's union with believers.

In 1529, troubled by these differences and other disagreements, Evangelical princes and magistrates assembled the major reformers in the Colloquy of Marburg, in central Germany. After several days of intense discussions, the reformers managed to resolve some differences over doctrine, but Luther and Zwingli failed to agree on the meaning of the Eucharist. The issue of the Eucharist would soon divide Lutherans and Calvinists as well.

Under the leadership of **John Calvin** (1509–1564), another wave of reform pounded at the gates of Rome. Born in Picardy, in northern France, Calvin studied in Paris and Orléans, where he took a law degree. A gifted intellectual attracted to humanism, Calvin could have enjoyed a brilliant career in government or the church. Instead, experiencing a crisis of faith, like Luther, he sought salvation through intense theological study. Calvin

read the works of the leading French humanists who sought to reform the church from within, and he also examined Luther's writings. Gradually, he came to question fundamental Catholic teachings.

On Sunday, October 18, 1534, Parisians found church doors posted with ribald broadsheets denouncing the Catholic Mass. Smuggled into France from the Protestant and French-speaking parts of Switzerland, the broadsheets provoked a wave of royal repression in the capital. In response to this so-called Affair of the Placards, the government arrested hundreds of French Protestants, executed some of them, and forced many more, including Calvin, to flee abroad.

On his way to Strasbourg, a haven for religious dissidents, Calvin detoured to Geneva—the

French-speaking Swiss city-state where he would find his life's work. Genevans had renounced their allegiance to the Catholic bishop, and local supporters of reform begged Calvin to stay and labor there. Although it took some time for Calvin to solidify his position in the city, his supporters eventually triumphed and he remained in Geneva until his death in 1564.

Under Calvin's leadership, Geneva became a Christian republic on the model set out in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, first published in 1536. No reformer prior to Calvin had ex-

pounded on the doctrines, organization, history, and practices of Christianity in such a systematic, logical, and coherent manner. Calvin followed Luther's doctrine of salvation to its ultimate logical conclusion: if God is almighty and humans cannot earn their salvation by good works, then no Christian can be certain of salvation. Developing the doctrine of **predestination**, Calvin argued that God had ordained every man, woman, and child to salvation or damnation—even before the creation of the world. Thus, in Calvin's theology, God saved only the “elect”; he knew their identity eternally.

Predestination could terrify, but it could also embolden. A righteous life might be a sign of a person's having been chosen for salvation. Thus, Calvinist doctrine demanded rigorous discipline. The knowledge that only the elect, a small group,



Calvin's World in the Mid-Sixteenth Century

John Calvin: French-born Christian humanist (1509–1564) and founder of Calvinism, one of the major branches of the Protestant Reformation; he led the reform movement in Geneva, Switzerland, from 1541 to 1564.

predestination: John Calvin's doctrine that God preordained salvation or damnation for each person before creation; those chosen for salvation were considered the “elect.”

DOCUMENT

Ordinances for Calvinist Churches (1547)

The Calvinist churches, like others during the Protestant Reformation, emphasized the need for stricter moral regulation of individual behavior. These ordinances placed on churches in Geneva and surrounding areas show how all aspects of behavior, including popular entertainments, were subject to scrutiny.

Concerning the Times of Assembling at Church

That the temples be closed for the rest of the time [outside the time of services], in order that no one shall enter therein out of hours, impelled thereto by superstition; and if anyone be found engaged in any special act of devotion therein or nearby he shall be admonished for it: if it be found to be of a superstitious nature for which simple correction is inadequate then he shall be chastised.

Blasphemy.

Whoever shall have blasphemed, swearing by the body or by the blood of our Lord, or in similar manner, he shall be made to

kiss the earth for the first offence; for the second to pay 5 sous, and for the third 6 sous, and for the last offence be put in the pillory for one hour.

Drunkenness.

1. That no one shall invite another to drink under penalty of 3 sous.
2. That taverns shall be closed during the sermon, under penalty that the tavern-keeper shall pay 3 sous, and whoever may be found therein shall pay the same amount.
3. If anyone be found intoxicated he shall pay for the first offence 3 sous and shall be remanded to the consistory [church council or governing body]; for the second offence he shall be held to pay the sum of 6 sous, and for the third 10 sous and be put in prison.
4. That no one shall make roiaumes [popular festivals] under penalty of 10 sous.

Songs and Dances.

If anyone sings immoral, dissolute or outrageous songs, or dance the virollet

or other dance, he shall be put in prison for three days and then sent to the consistory.

Usury.

That no one shall take upon interest or profit more than five per cent., upon penalty of confiscation of the principal and of being condemned to make restitution as the case may demand.

Games.

That no one shall play at any dissolute game or at any game whatsoever it may be, neither for gold nor silver nor for any excessive stake [i.e., gambling], upon penalty of 5 sous and forfeiture of stake played for.

Source: George L. Burns, ed., in *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*, 6 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania History Department, 1898–1912), vol. 1, 2–5.

would be saved should guide the actions of the godly in an uncertain world. Fusing church and society into what followers named the Reformed church, Geneva became a theocratic city-state dominated by Calvin and the elders of the Reformed church. Its people were rigorously monitored; detractors said that they were bullied. (See Document, “Ordinances for Calvinist Churches,” above.)

Calvin tolerated no dissent. While passing through Geneva in 1553, the Spanish physician Michael Servetus was arrested because he had published books attacking Calvin and questioning the doctrine of the Trinity, the belief that there are three persons in one God—the Father, the Son (Christ), and the Holy Spirit. Upon Calvin’s advice, the authorities executed Servetus. Despite the outcry over this action, Geneva became the new center of the Reformation, the place where pastors trained for missionary work and where books about Calvinist

doctrines were produced and exported all over Europe. The Calvinist movement spread to France, the Low Countries, England, Scotland, the German states, Poland, Hungary, and eventually New England, becoming the established form of the Reformation in many of these countries.

The Anglican Church in England

England followed its own path, with reform led by the king rather than by men trained as Catholic clergy. Despite a tradition of religious dissent that went back to John Wycliffe, Protestantism gained few English adherents in the 1520s. King **Henry VIII** (r. 1509–1547) changed that when he broke

Henry VIII: The English king (r. 1509–1547) who first opposed the Protestant Reformation and then broke with the Catholic church, naming himself head of the Anglican church in the Act of Supremacy of 1534.

THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION

1517	Martin Luther disseminates ninety-five theses attacking the sale of indulgences and other church practices
1520	Reformer Huldrych Zwingli breaks with Rome
1525	Peasants' War in German states divides reform movement
1529	Lutheran German princes protest the condemnation of religious reform by Charles V
1534	The Act of Supremacy establishes King Henry VIII as head of the Anglican church, severing ties to Rome
1534–1535	Anabaptists take over the German city of Münster in a failed experiment to create a holy community
1541	John Calvin establishes himself permanently in Geneva, making that city a model of Christian reform and discipline

with the Roman Catholic church for reasons that were both personal and political. The resulting Anglican church retained many aspects of Catholic worship but nonetheless aligned itself in the Protestant camp.

At first, Henry opposed the Reformation, even receiving the title Defender of the Faith from Pope Leo X for a treatise Henry wrote against Luther. A robust, ambitious, and well-educated man, Henry wanted to make his mark on history and, with the aid of his chancellors Cardinal Thomas Wolsey and Thomas More, he vigorously suppressed Protestantism and executed its leaders. But by 1527, the king wanted to divorce his wife, Catherine of Aragon (d. 1536), the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain and the aunt of Charles V. The eighteen-year marriage had produced a daughter, Mary (known as Mary Tudor), but Henry desperately needed a male heir to consolidate the rule of the still-new Tudor dynasty. Moreover, he had fallen in love with Anne Boleyn, a lady at court and a strong supporter of the Reformation. Henry claimed that his marriage to Catherine had never been valid because she was the widow of his older brother, Arthur. Arthur and Catherine's marriage, which apparently was never consummated, had been annulled by Pope Julius II to allow the marriage between Henry and Catherine to take place. Now Henry asked the reigning pope, Clement VII, to declare his marriage to Catherine invalid.

Around "the king's great matter" unfolded a struggle for political and religious control. When Henry failed to secure papal approval of his divorce, he chose two Protestants as his new loyal servants: Thomas Cromwell (1485–1540) as chan-

cellor and Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556) as archbishop of Canterbury. Under their leadership, the English Parliament passed a number of acts that severed ties between the English church and Rome. The most important of these, the Act of Supremacy of 1534, made Henry the head of the Anglican church (the Church of England). Other legislation invalidated the claims of Mary, his daughter with Catherine, to the throne, recognized his marriage to Anne Boleyn, and allowed the English crown to embark on the dissolution of the monasteries. In an effort to consolidate support behind his version of the Reformation, Henry sold off monastic lands to the local gentry and aristocracy. Henry thus missed a golden opportunity to make the English crown as rich as its French counterpart by adding those lands to its own holdings.

By 1536, Henry had grown tired of Anne Boleyn, who had given birth to a daughter, the future Queen Elizabeth I, but had produced no sons. He ordered Anne beheaded on the charge of adultery, an act that he defined as treason. The king would go on to marry four other wives but father only one son, Edward. Thomas More had also been executed for treason, in 1535, and Cromwell suffered the same fate in 1540 after he lost the king's favor. When Henry died in 1547, the principle of royal supremacy in religious matters was firmly established, but much would now depend on who held the crown.

REVIEW: How did Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, and Henry VIII challenge the Roman Catholic church?

Reshaping Society through Religion

The religious upheavals of the sixteenth century affected European society in two contradictory ways: first, the reformers and their followers challenged political authority and the social order, and second, in reaction to the more extreme manifestations of the first, they underlined the need for discipline in worship and social behavior. Peasant rebels and radical Protestants known as Anabaptists wanted to push the Reformation in a more populist direction. They took the phrase "priesthood of all believers" quite literally and sided with the poor and the downtrodden. Like Catholics, Protestant authorities then became alarmed by the subversive potential of religious reforms. They viewed the Reformation not as a political and social movement, but as a way of instilling greater

discipline in individual worship and church organization. Bible reading became a potent tool in the creation of this new, internally motivated person. At the same time, the Roman Catholic church undertook reforms of its own and launched an offensive against the Protestant Reformation, sometimes called the Counter-Reformation.

Protestant Challenges to the Social Order

When Luther described the freedom of the Christian, he meant an entirely spiritual freedom. But others interpreted his call for freedom in social and political terms. During the 1520s and 1530s, two movements emerged in the Holy Roman Empire to demand more far-reaching changes. In 1525, peasants and urban artisans rose up against the Catholic church and landed nobility and armed themselves to pursue their goals. Anabaptists experimented with new social and political doctrines. Some rejected violence, but one Anabaptist group tried to create a perfect Christian commu-

nity in the German town of Münster. The results were disastrous.

The Peasants' War of 1525. The Catholic church was the largest landowner in the Holy Roman Empire: about one-seventh of the empire's territory consisted of ecclesiastical principalities in which bishops and abbots exercised both secular and churchly power. Luther's anticlerical message struck home with peasants who paid taxes to both their lord and the Catholic church. In the spring of 1525, many peasants in southern and central Germany, joined by urban workers, rose in rebellion (Map 14.3). In Thuringia (central/eastern Germany), the rebels followed an ex-priest, Thomas Müntzer (1468?–1525), who promised to chastise the wicked and thus clear the way for the Last Judgment.

The Peasants' War split the reform movement. Princes and city officials, ultimately supported by Luther, turned against the rebels. Catholic and Protestant princes joined hands to crush Müntzer and his supporters. All over the empire, princes



MAP 14.3 The Peasants' War of 1525

The centers of uprisings clustered in southern and central Germany, where the density of cities encouraged the spread of discontent and allowed for alliances between urban masses and rural rebels. The proximity to the Swiss Confederation, a stronghold of the Reformation movement, also inspired antiestablishment uprisings.



German Peasants' War of 1525

This colored woodcut depicts peasants attacking the pope, a monk, and a nobleman during the massive rural uprisings against the church that took place in southern and central Germany in 1525. Even the heavens show signs of trouble: a comet and clouds in the shape of a goat signify bloodshed and sin.

(The Granger Collection, New York.)

trounced peasant armies, hunted down their leaders, and uprooted all opposition. By the end of the year, more than 100,000 rebels had been killed and many others maimed, imprisoned, or exiled. Initially, Luther had tried to mediate the conflict, criticizing the princes for their brutality toward the peasants but also warning the rebels against mixing religion and social protest. Luther believed that God ordained rulers, who must therefore be obeyed even if they were tyrants. The kingdom of God belonged not to this world but to the next, he insisted. Luther considered Müntzer's mixing of religion and politics the greatest danger to the Reformation, nothing less than "the devil's work." When the rebels ignored Luther's appeal and continued to follow more radical preachers, Luther called on the princes to slaughter the rebels and restore the divinely ordained social order.

Fundamentally conservative in its political philosophy, the Lutheran church henceforth depended on established political authority for its protection. It lost supporters in rural areas and became an increasingly urban phenomenon. The ultimate victors were the German princes. They

defeated the peasants, sided with Luther, and confronted the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, who declared Roman Catholicism the empire's only legitimate religion. The fragmentation of the Holy Roman Empire only increased as people came to support their Protestant princes against Charles's Catholic orthodoxy.

Anabaptists. While Zwingli challenged the Roman Catholic church in public, some laypeople in Zurich secretly pursued their own path to reform. Taking their cue from the New Testament's descriptions of the first Christian community, these men and women believed that true faith came only to those with reason and free will. How could a baby knowingly choose Christ? Only adults could believe and accept baptism; hence, the **Anabaptists** (literally, "rebaptizers") rejected the validity of infant baptism and called for adult rebaptism. Many were pacifists who also refused to acknowledge the authority of law courts and considered themselves a community of true Christians unblemished by sin. The Anabaptist movement drew its leadership primarily from the artisan class and its members from the middle and lower classes—men and women attracted by a simple but radical message of peace and salvation.

Zwingli immediately attacked the Anabaptists for their refusal to bear arms and swear oaths of allegiance, sensing accurately that they were repudiating his theocratic (church-directed) order. When persuasion failed to convince the Anabaptists, Zwingli urged Zurich magistrates to impose the death sentence. Thus, the evangelical reformers themselves created the Reformation's first martyrs of conscience.

Despite condemnation in 1529 of the movement by the Holy Roman Emperor, Anabaptism spread rapidly from Zurich to many cities in southern Germany. In 1534, one Anabaptist group, believing the end of the world was imminent, seized control of the city of Münster. Proclaiming themselves a community of saints, the Münster Anabaptists abolished private property in imitation of the early Christians and dissolved traditional marriages, allowing men, like Old Testament patriarchs, to have multiple wives, to the consternation of many women. Besieged by a combined Protestant and Catholic army, the city fell in June 1535. The Anabaptist leaders died in battle or were executed, their bodies hung in cages affixed to the church tower. Their punishment was intended as a

Anabaptists: Sixteenth-century Protestants who believed that only adults could truly have faith and accept baptism.

warning to all who might want to take the Reformation away from the Protestant authorities and hand it to the people. The Anabaptist movement in northwestern Europe nonetheless survived under the determined pacifist leadership of the Dutch reformer Menno Simons (1469–1561), whose followers were eventually named Mennonites.

New Forms of Discipline

Faced with the social firestorms ignited by religious reform, the middle-class urbanites who supported the Protestant Reformation urged greater religious conformity and stricter moral behavior. To gain more control over religious ferment, Protestant rulers and clergy encouraged Bible reading and a new work ethic. Ordinary men and women who learned how to behave as virtuous Christians at home and in Sunday worship applied what they learned in their households and their businesses. Protestants did not have monasteries or convents or saints' lives to set examples; they sought moral examples in their own homes, in the sermons of their preachers, and in their own reading of the Bible. The new emphasis on self-discipline led to growing impatience with the poor, now viewed as lacking personal virtue, and greater emphasis on regulation of marriage, now seen as critical to social discipline in general. Although some of these attitudes had medieval roots, the Protestant Reformation fostered their spread and Catholics soon began to embrace them.

Reading the Bible. The only Bible authorized by the Catholic church was the Latin Bible, or Vulgate, even though it contained errors of translation from the Greek and Hebrew. In 1522, Martin Luther translated Erasmus's Greek New Testament into German, the first full vernacular translation in that language. A new Bible-centered culture began to take root, as more than 200,000 copies of Luther's New Testament were printed over twelve years, an immense number for the time. In 1534, Luther completed a translation of the Old Testament. Peppered with witty phrases and colloquial expressions, Luther's Bible was a treasure chest of the German language.

Found for the most part in urban and literate households, the German Bible occupied a central place in a family's history. Generations handed down valuable editions, and pious citizens often bound Bibles with family papers or other reading material. Bible reading became a common pastime undertaken in solitude or in family and church gatherings. To counter Protestant success, Catholic

German Bibles soon appeared, thus sanctioning Bible reading by the Catholic laity, a sharp departure from medieval church practice. In the same year that Luther's German New Testament appeared in print, the French humanist Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (c. 1455–1536) translated the Vulgate (Latin) New Testament into French.

Catholic authorities did not always welcome translations, however. Sensing a potentially dangerous association between the vernacular Bible and heresy, England's Catholic church hierarchy had reacted swiftly against English-language Bibles. When William Tyndale (1495–1536) translated the Bible into English, he was burned at the stake as a heretic. After Henry VIII's break with Rome and adoption of the Reformation, in contrast, his government promoted an English Bible based on Tyndale's translation.

Public Relief for the Poor. In the early sixteenth century, secular governments began to take over institutions of public charity from the church. This development, which took place in both Catholic and Protestant Europe, grew out of two trends: a new upsurge in poverty brought about by population growth and spiraling inflation, and the rise of a work ethic that included growing hostility toward the poor.

By 1500, the cycle of demographic collapse and economic depression triggered by the Black Death of 1346–1353 had passed. Between 1500 and 1560, rapid economic and population growth created prosperity for some and stress—caused or heightened by increased inflation—for many. Wanderers and urban beggars were by no means novel, but the reaction to poverty was. Sixteenth-century moralists decried the crime and sloth of vagabonds. Rejecting the notion that the poor played a central role in the Christian idea of salvation and that charity and prayers united rich and poor, these moralists distinguished between the genuine poor, or “God's poor,” and vagabonds; they insisted that the latter, who were able-bodied, should be forced to work.

The Reformation provided an opportunity to restructure relief for the poor. Instead of decentralized, private initiatives often overseen by religious orders, Protestant magistrates appointed officials to head urban agencies that would certify the genuine poor and distribute welfare funds to them. This development progressed rapidly in urban areas, where poverty was most visible, and transcended religious divisions. During the 1520s, cities in the Low Countries, Italy, and Spain passed ordinances that prohibited begging and instituted

public charity. In 1526, the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives, a Catholic, wrote *On the Support of the Poor*, a Latin treatise urging authorities to establish public poor relief; the work was soon translated into French, Italian, German, and English. National laws followed. In 1531, Henry VIII asked justices of the peace (unpaid local magistrates) to license the poor in England and to differentiate between those who could work and those who could not. In 1540, Charles V imposed a welfare tax in Spain to augment that country's inadequate system of private charity. In Spain, however, the religious orders continued to dominate the system of almsgiving.

Reforming Marriage. In their effort to establish order and discipline, Protestant reformers denounced sexual immorality and glorified the family. The early Protestant reformers like Luther championed the end of clerical celibacy and embraced marriage. Luther, once a celibate priest himself, married a former nun. The idealized patriarchal family provided protection against the forces of disorder and a place where reform values could be inculcated. Protestant magistrates estab-

lished marital courts, passed new marriage laws, closed brothels, and inflicted harsher punishments for sexual deviance.

Prior to the Reformation, despite the legislation of church councils, marriages had largely been private affairs between families; some couples never even registered with the church. The Catholic church recognized any promise made between two consenting adults (with the legal age of twelve for females, fourteen for males) in the presence of two witnesses as a valid marriage. Many couples simply lived together as common-law husband and wife. Young men sometimes promised marriage in a passionate moment, only to renege later. The overwhelming number of cases in Catholic church courts involved young women seeking to enforce promises after they had exchanged their personal honor—that is, their virginity—for the greater honor of marriage.

The Reformation proved more effective than the late medieval church in suppressing common-law marriages. Protestant governments asserted greater official control over marriage, and Catholic governments followed suit. A marriage was legitimate only if registered by both a government official and a member of the clergy. In many Protestant countries, the new marriage ordinances also required parental consent, thus giving householders immense power in regulating not only marriage but also the transmission of family property.

In the fervor of the early Reformation years, the first generation of Protestant women attained greater marital equality than those of subsequent generations. Katharina Zell, wife of the reformer Matthew Zell, defended her equality by citing a Bible verse when a critic used St. Paul to support his argument that women should remain silent in church. Katharina retorted, “I would remind you of the word of this same apostle that in Christ there is no male nor female.” Katharina helped feed and clothe the thousands of refugees who flooded Strasbourg after their defeat in the Peasants’ War. In 1534, she published a collection of hymns. Outraged by the intolerance of a new breed of Protestant clergy, she reprimanded a prominent Lutheran pastor for his persecution of dissenters: “You young fellows tread on the graves of the first fathers of this church in Strasbourg and punish all who disagree with you, but faith cannot be forced.”

The Disciplined Home

Proper table manners reflected discipline and morality in the godly household, an ideal of the religious reformers of the sixteenth century. The householder, the father patriarch, leads his wife and children in prayer before a meal. The orderly behavior parallels the comfort (oven, smoked glass windows, chandeliers, timber ceiling, and cabinets) of a well-off patrician family. (*Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, Germany.*)



Catholic Renewal

Like a slumbering giant finally awakened, the Catholic church decided in the 1540s to undertake drastic action to fend off the Protestant threat. Pope Paul III convened a general council of the

church in 1545 at Trent, a town on the border between the Holy Roman Empire and Italy. Meeting sporadically over nearly twenty years (1545–1563), the **Council of Trent** effectively set the course of Catholicism until the 1960s. Catholic leaders sought a renewal of religious devotion and spirituality as well as a clarification of church doctrine. New religious orders set out to win converts overseas or to reconvert Catholics who had turned to Protestantism. Catholic clergy emphasized the pageantry of ritual and the decoration of churches in order to counter the austerity of Protestant worship. At the same time, the church did not hesitate to root out dissent by giving greater powers to the Inquisition, including the power to censor books. The papal Index, or list of prohibited books, was established in 1557 and not abolished until 1966.

The Council of Trent. Italian and Spanish clergy predominated among the 255 bishops, archbishops, and cardinals attending the Council of Trent. Though its deliberations were interrupted first by an outbreak of the plague and then by warfare, the council came up with a remarkably wide-ranging series of decisions. It condemned the central doctrines of Protestantism. Salvation depended on faith and good works, not faith alone. On the sacrament of the Eucharist, the council reaffirmed that the bread of communion “really, truly” becomes Christ’s body—a rejection of all Protestant positions on this issue so emphatic as to preclude compromise. It reasserted the supremacy of clerical authority over the laity; the church’s interpretation of the Bible could not be challenged, and the Vulgate was the only authoritative version. The council rejected divorce, permitted by Protestants, and reaffirmed the legitimacy of indulgences. It also called for reform from within, however, insisting that bishops henceforth reside in their dioceses and decreeing that seminaries for the training of priests be established in every diocese.

The Council of Trent marked a watershed; henceforth, the schism between Protestant and Catholic remained permanent, and all hopes of reconciliation faded. The focus of the Catholic church turned now to rolling back the tide of dissent.

New Religious Orders. The energy of the Catholic renewal expressed itself most vigorously in the founding of new religious orders. Several were founded in early-sixteenth-century Italy and

reflected an intense religious revival in the Italian cities from the 1490s to the 1520s. The most important of these, the Society of Jesus, or **Jesuits**, was established by a Spanish nobleman, Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556). Inspired by tales of chivalric romances and the national glory of the *reconquista*, Ignatius eagerly sought to prove himself as a soldier. In 1521, while defending a Spanish border fortress against French attack, he sustained a severe injury. During his convalescence, Ignatius read lives of the saints; once he recovered, he abandoned his quest for military glory in favor of serving the church.

Attracted by his activist piety, young men gravitated to this charismatic figure. Thanks to a cardinal’s intercession, Ignatius gained a hearing before the pope, and in 1540 the church recognized his small band. With Ignatius as its first general, the Jesuits became the most vigorous defenders of papal authority. The society quickly expanded; by the time of Ignatius’s death in 1556, Europe had one thousand Jesuits. They established hundreds of colleges throughout the Catholic world, educating future generations of Catholic leaders. Jesuit missionaries played a key role in the global Portuguese maritime empire and brought Roman Catholicism to Africans, Asians, and native Americans. Together with other new religious orders, the Jesuits restored the confidence of the faithful in the dedication and power of the Catholic church. They also acquired a reputation for bringing controversy in their wake and for being drawn to power as counselors to powerful nobles and kings.

Missionary Zeal. To win new souls, Catholic missionaries set sail throughout the globe. They saw their effort as proof of the truth of Roman Catholicism and the success of their missions as a sign of divine favor, both particularly important in the face of Protestant challenge. But the missionary zeal of Catholics brought conflicting messages to indigenous peoples: for some, the message of a repressive and coercive alien religion; for others, a sweet sign of reason and faith. Frustrated in his efforts to convert Brazilian Indians, a Jesuit missionary wrote to his superior in Rome in 1563 that “for this kind of people it is better to be preaching with the sword and rod of iron.”

To ensure rapid Christianization, European missionaries focused initially on winning over local elites. The recommendation of a Spanish royal

Council of Trent: A general council of the Catholic church that met at Trent between 1545 and 1563 to set Catholic doctrine, reform church practices, and defend the church against the Protestant challenge.

Jesuits: Members of the Society of Jesus, a Catholic religious order founded by Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) and approved by the pope in 1540. Jesuits served as missionaries and educators all over the world.

official in Mexico City was typical. He wrote to the crown in 1525:

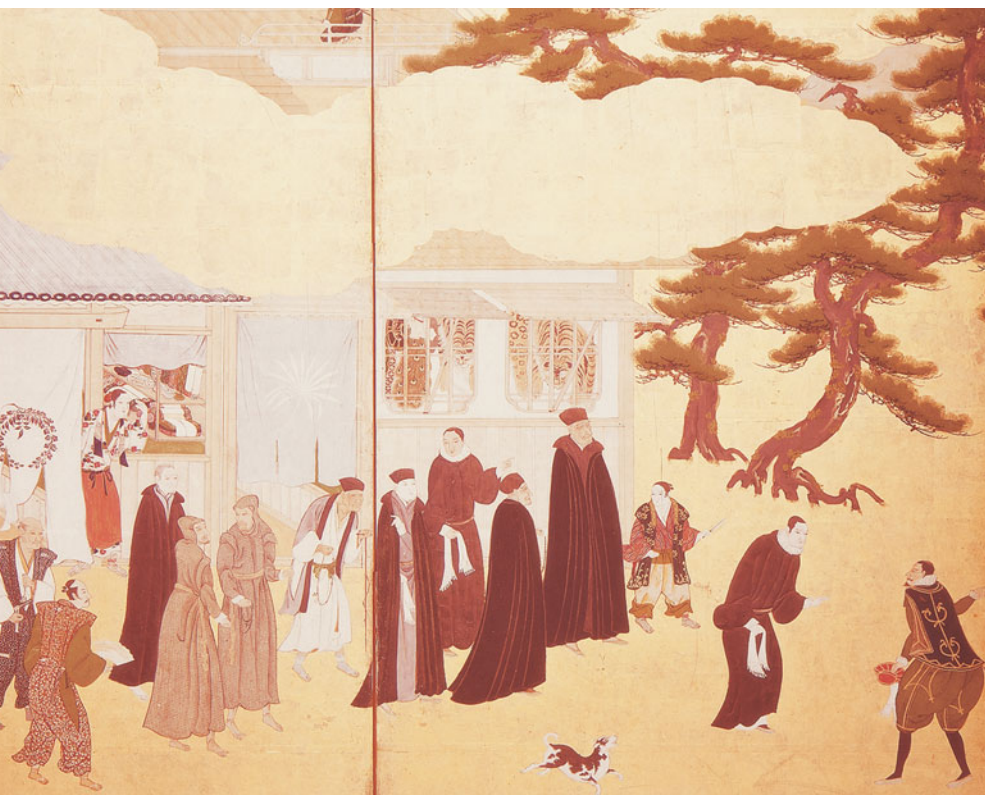
In order that the sons of caciques [chiefs] and native lords may be instructed in the faith, Your Majesty must command that a college be founded wherein they may be taught . . . to the end that they may be ordained priests. For he who shall become such among them, will be of greater profit in attracting others to the faith than will fifty [European] Christians.

Nevertheless, this recommendation was not adopted and the Catholic clergy in Spanish America remained overwhelmingly European.

After an initial period of relatively little racial discrimination, the Catholic church in the Americas and Africa adopted strict rules based on color. For example, the first Mexican Ecclesiastical Provincial Council in 1555 declared that holy orders were not to be conferred on Indians, mestizos (people of mixed European-Indian parentage), or mulattoes (people of mixed European-African heritage); along with descendants of Muslims, Jews, and persons who had been sentenced by the Spanish Inquisition, these groups were deemed “inherently unworthy of the sacerdotal [priestly] office.” Europeans’ sense of racial superiority led them to perceive native Americans’ and Africans’ resistance to domination as “treachery.”

In East Asia, as in the Americas, Christian missionaries under Portuguese protection concentrated their efforts on the elites, preaching the Gospel to Confucian scholar-officials in China and to the samurai (the warrior aristocracy) in Japan. However, European missionaries in Asia greatly admired Chinese and Japanese civilization and thus used the sermon rather than the sword to win converts (see the illustration on this page). The Jesuit Francis Xavier preached in India and Japan, his work greatly assisted by a network of Portuguese trading stations. He died in 1552, awaiting permission to travel to China. A pioneer missionary in Asia, Xavier had prepared the ground for future missionary successes in Japan and China. The efforts of the Catholic missionaries seemed highly successful: vast multitudes of native Americans had become nominal Christians by the second half of the sixteenth century, and thirty years after Francis Xavier’s 1549 landing in Japan, the Jesuits could claim more than 100,000 Japanese converts.

REVIEW: How did the forces for radical change unleashed by the Protestant Reformation interact with the urge for social order and stability?



The Portuguese in Japan

In this sixteenth-century Japanese black-lacquer screen painting of Portuguese missionaries, the Jesuits are dressed in black and the Franciscans in brown. At the lower right corner is a Portuguese nobleman depicted with exaggerated “Western” features. The Japanese considered themselves lighter in skin color than the Portuguese, whom they classified as “barbarians.” In turn, the Portuguese classified Japanese (and Chinese) as “whites.” The perception of ethnic differences in the sixteenth century, however, depended less on skin color than on clothing, eating habits, and other cultural signals. Color classifications were unstable and changed over time: by the late seventeenth century, Europeans no longer regarded Asians as “whites.”

(Laurie Platt Winfrey, Inc.)

A Struggle for Mastery

In the sixteenth century, conflicts generated by the Reformation posed new challenges to the ambitions of rulers. Even as courts continued to sponsor the arts and literature of the Renaissance, princes and kings seized opportunities to build stronger states by fighting wars. Wars justified increased taxes, and growing revenues fostered the creation of a central bureaucracy housed at court. Victory on the battlefield translated into territory and just as important into reputation and awe. But victory required skills in making war; monarchs eagerly sought new military technology and battlefield ploys. One major obstacle complicated these efforts at state building: religious division. Could states maintain their authority if individuals were allowed to choose their religion? Almost everywhere, violence failed to settle religious differences. By 1560, an exhausted Europe had achieved a provisional peace, but one fraught with the seeds of future conflict.

The High Renaissance Court

At the center of art patronage, dynastic competition, and religious division lay the court, the focus of princely power and intrigue and the agent of state building. Kings, princes, and popes alike used their courts to keep an eye on their leading courtiers (cardinals in the case of popes) and impress their other subjects. Briefly defined, the court was the ruler's household. Around the prince gathered a community of household servants, noble attendants, councilors, officials, artists, and soldiers. Renaissance culture had been promoted by this political elite, and that culture now entered its "high" or most sophisticated phase. Its acclaimed representative was Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475–1564), an immensely talented Italian artist who sculpted a gigantic nude statue (see right) for officials in Florence and then painted the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel for the recently elected Pope Julius II.

Italian artists also flocked to the French court of Francis I (r. 1515–1547), which swelled to the largest in Europe. In addition to the king's own household, the queen and the queen mother each had her own staff of maids and chefs, as did each of the royal chil-

dren. The royal household employed officials to handle finances and provide guard duty, clothing, and food; in addition, physicians, librarians, musicians, dwarfs, animal trainers, and a multitude of hangers-on bloated its size. By 1535, the French court numbered 1,622 members. Although Francis built a magnificent Renaissance palace at Fontainebleau, where he hired Italian artists to produce paintings and sculpture, the French court often moved from palace to palace. It took no fewer than eighteen thousand horses to transport the people, furniture, and documents—not to mention the dogs and falcons for the royal hunt. Hunting was no mere diversion; it represented a form of mock combat, essential in the training of a military elite. Francis himself loved war games and almost lost his own life when, storming a house during one mock battle, he was hit on the head by a burning log.

Two Italian writers helped define the new culture of courtesy, or proper court behavior, that developed in such a setting: Ludovico Ariosto (1474–1533), in service at the Este court in Ferrara, and Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529), a servant of the duke of Urbino and the pope. Considered one of the greatest Renaissance poets,



Michelangelo's *David*

Michelangelo combined the classical nude statue with the biblical figure of David in this larger-than-life sculpture showing the young man preparing for action against the giant Goliath. Originally commissioned by church officials in Florence, the statue ended up standing in front of city hall as a commemoration of the recapture of the city-state's freedom. Michelangelo's intentions are not easy to decipher. David's slingshot is barely visible on his left shoulder, and his easy slouch seems incongruous for a coming battle. An earlier drawing by Michelangelo showed David standing on the head of the defeated Goliath, a much more common depiction. What do you deduce from this portrayal?

(Nimatallah/Art Resource, NY.)

Ariosto composed a long epic poem, *Orlando Furioso*, which represented court culture as the highest synthesis of Christian and classical values. The poem's tales of combat, valor, love, and magic captivated the court's noble readers. In *The Courtier*, Castiglione represented court culture as a synthesis of military virtues and literary and artistic cultivation. His characters debate the qualities of an ideal courtier in a series of eloquent dialogues. The true courtier, Castiglione asserts, is a gentleman who speaks in a refined language and carries himself with nobility and dignity in the service of his prince and his lady.

Princes faced greater challenges than did their courtiers, and courtesy was not always their most cherished virtue. The greatest writer on politics of the age, Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), underlined the need for pragmatic, even cold calculation in his controversial essay *The Prince*. Was it better, he asked, for a prince to be feared by his people or loved?

It may be answered that one should wish to be both, but, because it is difficult to unite them in one person, is much safer to be feared than loved. . . . Because this is to be asserted in general of men, that they are ungrateful, fickle, false, cowardly, covetous, and as long as you

succeed they are yours entirely; they will offer you their blood, property, life and children . . . when the need is far distant; but when it approaches they turn against you.

Machiavelli insisted that princes could benefit their subjects only by maintaining a firm grip on power, if necessary through deceit and manipulation. *Machiavellian* has remained ever since a term for using cunning and duplicity to achieve one's ends.

Dynastic Wars

Even as the Renaissance developed in the princely courts and the Reformation took hold in the German states, the Habsburgs (the ruling family in Spain and then the Holy Roman Empire) and the Valois (the ruling family in France) fought each other for domination of Europe (Map 14.4). French claims provoked the Italian Wars in 1494, which soon escalated into a general conflict that involved most Christian monarchs and the Muslim Ottoman sultan as well. From 1494 to 1559, the Valois and Habsburg dynasties, both Catholic, remained implacable enemies. The fighting raged in Italy and the Low Countries. During the 1520s,



MAP 14.4 Habsburg-Valois-Ottoman Wars, 1494–1559

As the dominant European power, the Habsburg dynasty fought on two fronts: a religious war against the Islamic Ottoman Empire and a political war against the French Valois, who challenged Habsburg hegemony. The Mediterranean, the Balkans, and the Low Countries all became theaters of war.



Charles V and Francis I Make Peace

This fresco from the Palazzo Farnese in the town of Caprarola north of Rome shows French king Francis I and Holy Roman Emperor Charles V agreeing to the Truce of Nice in 1538, one of many peace agreements made and then broken during the wars between the Habsburgs and the Valois. Pope Paul III, who negotiated the truce, stands behind and between them. Charles is on the right pointing to Francis. The truce is the one celebrated in the Tlaxcala pageant described at the start of this chapter. (*The Art Archive/Palazzo Farnese Caprarola/Dagli Orti.*)

the Habsburgs enjoyed the upper hand. In 1525, the troops of Charles V crushed the French army at Pavia, Italy, counting among their captives the French king himself, Francis I. Forced to renounce all claims to Italian territory to gain his freedom, Francis furiously repudiated the treaty the moment he reached France, reigniting the conflict.

In 1527, Charles's troops captured and sacked Rome because the pope had allied with the French. Many of the imperial troops were German Protestant mercenaries, who pillaged Catholic churches and brutalized the Catholic clergy. Protestants and Catholics alike interpreted the sack of Rome by imperial forces as a punishment of God; even the Catholic church read it as a sign that reform was necessary. Finally, in 1559, the French gave up their claims in Italy and signed the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, ending the conflict. As was common in such situations, marriage sealed the peace between rival dynasties; the French king Henry II married his sister to the duke of Savoy, an ally of the Habsburgs, and his daughter to the Habsburg king of Spain, Philip II.

The dynastic struggle (Valois versus Habsburg ruling family) had drawn in many other belligerents, who fought on one side or the other for their own benefit. Some acted purely out of power considerations, such as England, first siding with the Valois and then with the Habsburgs. Others fought for their independence, such as the papacy and the

Italian states, which did not want any one power to dominate Italy. Still others chose sides for religious reasons, such as the Protestant princes in Germany, who exploited the Valois-Habsburg conflict to extract religious concessions from the emperor in 1555. The Ottoman Turks saw in this fight an opportunity to expand their territory.

The Ottoman Empire reached its height of power under Sultan Suleiman I, known as **Suleiman the Magnificent** (r. 1520–1566). In 1526, a Turkish expedition destroyed the Hungarian army at Mohács (see the illustration on page 443). Three years later, the Ottomans laid siege to Vienna; though unsuccessful, the attack sent shock waves throughout Christian Europe. In 1535, Charles V led a campaign to capture Tunis, the lair of North African pirates loyal to the Ottomans. Desperate to overcome Charles's superior Habsburg forces, the French king Francis I forged an alliance with the Turkish sultan. Coming to the aid of the French, the Turkish fleet besieged the Habsburg troops holding Nice, on the southern coast of France. Francis even ordered all inhabitants of nearby Toulon to vacate the town so that he could turn it into a Muslim colony for eight months, complete with a mosque and slave market. The French alliance with the Turks scandalized many Christians, but it reflected the spirit of the times:

Suleiman the Magnificent: Sultan of the Ottoman Empire (r. 1520–1566) at the time of its greatest power.

The Siege of Vienna, 1529

This illustration from an Ottoman manuscript of 1588 depicts the Turkish siege of Vienna (the siege guns can be seen in the center of the picture). Sultan Suleiman I (Suleiman the Magnificent) led an army of more than 100,000 men against Vienna, capital of the Austrian Habsburg lands. Several attacks on the city failed, and the Ottomans withdrew in October 1529. They maintained control over Hungary, but the logistics of moving so many men and horses kept them from advancing any farther westward into Europe. (*The Art Archive/Topkapi Museum Istanbul/Dagli Orti.*)



the age-old idea of the Christian crusade against Islam now had to compete with a new political strategy that considered religion only one factor among many in power politics. Religion could be sacrificed, if need be, on the altar of state building.

Constantly distracted by the challenges of the Ottomans to the east and the German Protestants at home, Charles V could not crush the French with one swift blow. Years of conflict drained the treasuries of all rulers, because warfare was becoming more expensive. The formula that war raises revenues that in turn build governments could devolve into an absurdity if wars could not be won. The race for battlefield superiority was on.

Financing War

The sixteenth century marked the beginning of superior Western military technology. All armies grew in size and their firepower became ever more deadly, increasing the cost of war. Heavier artillery

pieces meant that the rectangular walls of medieval cities had to be transformed into fortresses with jutting ramparts and gun emplacements. Royal revenues could not keep up with war expenditures. To pay their bills, governments routinely devalued their coinage (the sixteenth-century equivalent of printing more paper money), causing prices to rise rapidly.

Charles V boasted the largest army in Europe, but like everyone else he sank into debt. Between 1520 and 1532, Charles borrowed 5.4 million ducats, primarily to pay his troops; from 1552 to 1556, his war loans soared to 9.6 million ducats. On his death in 1547, Francis I owed the bankers of Lyon almost 7 million French pounds — approximately the entire royal income for that year. The European powers literally fought themselves into bankruptcy. Taxation, the sale of offices, and outright confiscation failed to bring in enough money to satisfy the war machine. Both the Habsburg and the Valois kings

looked to the leading bankers to finance their costly wars.

Foremost among these financiers was the Fugger bank, the largest such enterprise in sixteenth-century Europe. Based in the southern German imperial city of Augsburg, the Fugger family and their associates built an international financial empire that helped to make kings. The enterprise began with Jakob Fugger (1459–1525), who became personal banker to Charles V's grandfather Maximilian I. Constantly short of cash, Maximilian granted the Fugger family numerous mining and minting concessions. To pay for the service of providing and accepting bills of exchange, the Fuggers charged substantial fees and made handsome profits. By the end of his life, Maximilian was so deeply in debt to Jakob Fugger that he had to pawn the royal jewels.

In 1519, Fugger assembled a consortium of German and Italian bankers to secure the election of Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor. For the next three decades, the alliance between Europe's biggest international bank and its largest empire remained very close. Between 1527 and 1547, the Fugger bank's assets more than doubled; more than half came from loans to the Habsburgs. Charles stayed barely one step ahead of his creditors, and his successor in Spain gradually lost control of the Spanish state finances. Debt forced the Valois and the Habsburgs to sign the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559, ending more than sixty years of warfare, but the cycle of financial crises and warfare continued until the late eighteenth century.

Divided Realms

All European rulers viewed religious division as a dangerous challenge to the unity and stability of their rule. Subjects who considered their rulers heretics or blasphemers could only cause trouble, as the Peasants' War of 1525 had amply demonstrated. Moreover, religious differences encouraged the formation of competing noble factions, which easily led to violence when weak monarchs or children ruled.

France. King Francis I tolerated Protestants until the Affair of the Placards in 1534. Even then, the government did not try to root out Protestantism, and the Reformed (Calvinist) church grew steadily. During the 1540s and 1550s, many French noble families—including some of the most powerful—converted to Calvinism and afforded the Protestants a measure of protection, es-

pecially in southern and western France. Francis and his successor, Henry II (r. 1547–1559), succeeded in maintaining a balance of power between Catholics and Calvinists, but after Henry's death the weakened monarchy could no longer hold together the fragile realm. The real drama of the Reformation in France took place after 1560, when the country plunged into four decades of religious wars, whose savagery was unparalleled elsewhere in Europe.

England and Scotland. Religious divisions at the very top threatened the control of the English and Scottish rulers. Before his death in 1547, Henry VIII had succeeded in making England officially Protestant, but would they remain Protestants and if so, what kind of Protestants would his subjects become? Each of his children offered answers to that question, and the answers could not have been more contradictory. The advisers of the boy king Edward VI (r. 1547–1553) furthered the Reformation by welcoming prominent religious refugees from the continent. The refugees had been deeply influenced by Calvinism and wanted to see England move in that austere direction. But Edward died at age fifteen, opening the way to his Catholic half-sister, Mary Tudor, who had been restored to the line of succession by an act of Parliament under Henry VIII in 1544.

When Mary (r. 1553–1558) came to the throne, she restored Catholicism and persecuted Protestants. Nearly three hundred Protestants perished at the stake, and more than eight hundred fled to the Protestant German states and Switzerland. Finally, when Anne Boleyn's daughter, Elizabeth, succeeded her half-sister Mary, becoming Queen Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603), the English Protestant cause again gained momentum. Under Elizabeth's leadership, Anglicanism eventually defined the character of the English nation. Catholics were tolerated only if they kept their opinions on religion and politics to themselves. A tentative but nonetheless real peace returned to England.

Still another pattern of religious politics unfolded in Scotland, where powerful noble clans directly challenged royal power. Protestants formed a small minority in Scotland until the 1550s. The most prominent Scottish reformer, John Knox (1514–1572), spent many of his early years in exile in England and on the continent because of his devout Calvinism. At the center of Scotland's conflict over religion stood Mary of Guise, a native French woman and Catholic married to the king of Scotland, James V. After he died in 1542, she surrounded herself and her daughter Mary Stuart,

also a Catholic and heir to the throne, with French advisers. When Mary Stuart married Francis, the son of Henry II and the heir to the French throne, in 1558 many Scottish noblemen, alienated by this pro-French atmosphere, joined the pro-English, anti-French Protestant cause.

John Knox helped bring matters to a head when he published in 1558 a diatribe against both Mary Tudor of England and Mary of Guise. The era's suspicion of female rulers and regents also played a part in the work, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment [Rule] of Women*. In 1560, Protestant nobles gained control of the Scottish Parliament and dethroned the regent Mary of Guise. Eventually they forced her daughter, Mary, by then known as queen of Scots, to flee to England, and installed Mary's infant son James as king. Scotland would turn toward the Calvinist version of the Reformation and thus establish the potential for conflict with England and its Anglican church.

The German States. In the German states, the Protestant princes and cities formed the Schmalkaldic League in 1531. Headed by the elector of Saxony and Philip of Hesse (the two leading Protestant princes), the league included most of the imperial cities, the chief source of the empire's wealth. Opposing the league were Emperor Charles V, the bishops, and the few remaining Catholic princes. Although Charles had to concentrate on fighting the French and the Turks during the 1530s, he eventually secured the western Mediterranean and then turned his attention back home to central Europe to try to resolve the growing religious differences in his lands.

In 1541, Charles convened an Imperial Diet at Regensburg in an effort to mediate between Protestants and Catholics, only to see negotiations between the two sides rapidly break down. Rather than accept a permanent religious schism, Charles prepared to fight the Protestant Schmalkaldic League. To this end, he secured French neutrality in 1544 and papal support in 1545. War broke out in 1547, the year after Martin Luther's death. Using seasoned Spanish veterans and German allies, Charles occupied the German imperial cities in the south, restoring Catholic elites and suppressing the Reformation. In 1547, he defeated the Schmalkaldic League's armies at Mühlberg and captured the leading Lutheran princes. Jubilant, Charles restored Catholics' right to worship in Protestant lands while permitting Lutherans to keep their own rites. Protestant resistance to the declaration was deep and widespread: many pas-

sors went into exile, and riots broke out in many cities.

For Charles V, the reaction of his former allies proved far more alarming than Protestant resistance. His success frightened some Catholic powers. With Spanish troops controlling Milan and Naples, Pope Julius III (r. 1550–1555) feared that papal authority would be subjugated by imperial might. In the Holy Roman Empire, Protestant princes spoke out against “imperial tyranny.” Jealously defending their traditional liberties against an overmighty emperor, the Protestant princes, led by Duke Maurice of Saxony, a former ally, raised another army to fight Charles. The princes declared war in 1552 and chased a surprised, unprepared, and practically bankrupt emperor back to Italy.

Forced to compromise, Charles V agreed to the **Peace of Augsburg** in 1555. The settlement recognized the Lutheran church in the empire; accepted the secularization of church lands but “reserved” the remaining ecclesiastical territories (mainly the bishoprics) for Catholics; and, most important, established the principle that all princes, whether Catholic or Lutheran, enjoyed the sole right to determine the religion of their lands and subjects. Significantly, Calvinist, Anabaptist, and other dissenting groups were excluded from the settlement. Ironically, the religious revolt of the common people had culminated in a princes' reformation. As the constitutional framework for the Holy Roman Empire, the Augsburg settlement preserved a fragile peace in central Europe until 1618, but the exclusion of Calvinists would prompt future conflict.

Exhausted by decades of war and disappointed by the disunity in Christian Europe, Emperor Charles V resigned his many thrones in 1555 and 1556, leaving his Netherlandish-Burgundian and Spanish dominions to his son, Philip II, and his Austrian lands to his brother, Ferdinand (who was also elected Holy Roman Emperor to succeed Charles). Retiring to a monastery in southern Spain, the most powerful of the Christian monarchs spent his last years quietly seeking salvation.

REVIEW: How did religious divisions complicate the efforts of rulers to maintain political stability and build stronger states?

Peace of Augsburg: The treaty of 1555 that settled disputes between Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and his Protestant princes. It recognized the Lutheran church and established the principle that all Catholic or Lutheran princes enjoyed the sole right to determine the religion of their lands and subjects.

Conclusion

Europe became a global power while at the same time undergoing a searing internal religious upheaval that permanently divided Christians. Even as Portuguese and Spanish explorers claimed new lands and Catholic missionaries gathered new souls for the church from Mexico to Japan, Luther,

Calvin, and a host of others formed competing branches of Protestants in Europe. Lutherans, Calvinists, and Anglicans disagreed on many points of doctrine and church organization, but they all broke definitively from the Roman Catholic church. Protestant laypeople and priests established new Christian communities with new forms of ritual, new doctrines, new social prac-



Reformation Europe, c. 1560

The fortunes of Roman Catholicism were at their lowest point around 1560. Northern Germany and Scandinavia owed allegiance to the Lutheran church; England broke away under a national church headed by its monarchs; and the Calvinist Reformation would extend across large areas of western, central, and eastern Europe. Southern Europe remained solidly Catholic.

tices, and clergy with vastly different powers and personal lives from those of the Roman Catholic clergy. Catholic priests could not marry; Protestant clergymen could. Catholic clergymen said Mass and heard confessions; Protestant clergy preached the word of God and left confession and penance to the individual sinner, a matter between God and the human heart. Central to the Protestant cause was the belief that people are saved by faith alone; no amount of good works will bring salvation.

Erasmus and many intellectuals and artists of his generation had hoped that Emperor Charles V, the most powerful ruler in all Europe, would be able to bring peace, justice, and victory against the infidel Turks. For the generation that came of age before the Reformation, Christian humanism, the new invention of printing, and the maritime exploits of the Portuguese and Spanish seemed to promise a new golden age for Europe. The Protestant Reformation shattered their dream of powerful princes encouraging gradual improvement and change from within the Catholic church. Instead of leading a crusade against Islam, Charles V wore himself out in ceaseless struggle against Francis I of France and the German Protestants. Christianity split into a number of hostile camps battling one another with words and swords. The consequences were censorship, repression of dissenters, and, for many, death. After the brutal suppression of popular revolts in the 1520s and 1530s,

religious persecution became a Christian institution: Luther called on the princes to kill rebellious peasants in 1525, Zwingli advocated the drowning of Anabaptists, and Calvin supported the death sentence for Michael Servetus. Executions in Catholic lands provided Protestants with a steady stream of martyrs. The two peace settlements in the 1550s failed to provide long-term solutions: the Peace of Augsburg gradually disintegrated as the religious struggles in the empire intensified, and the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis provided only a brief respite. Worse was yet to come. In the following generations, civil war and international conflicts would set Catholics against Protestants in numerous futile attempts to restore a single faith.

FOR FURTHER EXPLORATION

- **For suggested references, including Web sites, for topics in this chapter,** see page SR-1 at the end of the book.
- **For additional primary-source material from this period,** see Chapter 14 in *Sources of THE MAKING OF THE WEST*, Third Edition.
- **For Web sites and documents related to topics in this chapter,** see *Make History* at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

CHAPTER REVIEW

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Christopher Columbus (421)	predestination (432)
Hernán Cortés (425)	Henry VIII (433)
Christian humanism (427)	Anabaptists (436)
Martin Luther (429)	Council of Trent (439)
Charles V (430)	Jesuits (439)
John Calvin (432)	Suleiman the Magnificent (443)
	Peace of Augsburg (446)

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Which European countries led the way in maritime exploration and what were their motives?
2. How did Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, and Henry VIII challenge the Roman Catholic church?
3. How did the forces for radical change unleashed by the Protestant Reformation interact with the urge for social order and stability?
4. How did religious divisions complicate the efforts of rulers to maintain political stability and build stronger states?

MAKING CONNECTIONS

1. Why was Charles V ultimately unable to prevent religious division in his lands?
2. How did the different religious groups respond to the opportunity presented by the printing press?

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IMPORTANT EVENTS

1492	Columbus reaches the Americas	1534	Henry VIII breaks with Rome; Affair of the Placards in France
1494	Italian Wars begin; Treaty of Tordesillas divides Atlantic world between Portugal and Spain	1536	Calvin publishes <i>Institutes of the Christian Religion</i>
1516	Erasmus publishes Greek edition of the New Testament; More writes <i>Utopia</i>	1540	Jesuits (Society of Jesus) established as new Catholic order
1517	Luther composes ninety-five theses to challenge Catholic church	1545–1563	Catholic Council of Trent condemns Protestant beliefs and confirms church doctrine and sacraments
1520	Luther publishes three treatises; Zwingli breaks from Rome	1547	Charles V defeats Protestants at Mühlberg
1525	German Peasants' War	1555	Peace of Augsburg ends religious wars and recognizes Lutheran church in German states
1527	Charles V's imperial troops sack Rome	1559	Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis ends wars between Habsburg and Valois rulers
1529	Colloquy of Marburg assembles to address disagreements between German and Swiss church reformers		



Wars of Religion and the Clash of Worldviews

1560–1648

In May 1618, Protestants in the kingdom of Bohemia furiously protested the Holy Roman Emperor's attempts to curtail their hard-won religious freedoms. Protestants wanted to build new churches; the Catholic emperor wanted to stop them. Tensions boiled over when two Catholic officials tried to dissolve the meetings of Protestants. On May 23, a crowd of angry Protestants surged up the stairs of the royal castle in Prague, trapped the two Catholic deputies, dragged them screaming for mercy to the windows, and hurled them to the pavement below. One of the rebels jeered: "We will see if your [Virgin] Mary can help you!" But because they landed in a dung heap, the Catholic deputies survived. One of the two limped off on his own; the other was carried by his servants to safety. Although no one died, the defenestration (from the French for "window," *la fenêtre*) of Prague touched off the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), which eventually involved almost every major power in Europe. Before it ended, the fighting had devastated the lands of central Europe and produced permanent changes in European politics and culture.

The Thirty Years' War grew out of the religious conflicts initiated by the Reformation. When Martin Luther began the Protestant Reformation in 1517, few could have predicted that he would be unleashing such dangerous forces, but religious turmoil and warfare followed almost immediately upon Luther's break with the Catholic church. From its establishment in 1555 until the early 1600s, the Peace of Augsburg maintained relative calm in the lands of the Holy Roman Empire by granting each ruler the right to determine the religion of his territory. But in western Europe, religious strife increased dramatically after 1560 as Protestants made inroads in France, the Spanish-ruled Netherlands, and England. All in all, nearly constant warfare marked the century

The Defenestration of Prague, 1618

In this copper-plate engraving by Swiss artist Matthäus Merian (1593–1650), Czech Protestants attack the Catholic deputies sent to disband their meeting. The attackers are about to throw the two Catholics out of the windows of the royal castle (that is, the Catholics are about to suffer "defenestration"). The defenestration touched off the Thirty Years' War. (*Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY.*)

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between 1560 and 1648. These struggles often began as religious conflicts, but religion was rarely the sole motive; political ambitions, commercial competition, and long-standing rivalries between the leading powers inevitably raised the stakes of conflict.

Although particularly dramatic and deadly, the church-state crisis was only one of a series of upheavals that shaped this era. In the early seventeenth century, a major economic downturn led to food shortages, famine, and disease in much of Europe. These catastrophes hit especially hard in the central European lands devastated by the fighting of the Thirty Years' War and helped shift the balance of economic power to northwestern Europe, away from the Mediterranean and central Europe. The deepening sense of crisis prompted some to seek new, nonreligious grounds for all forms of authority, whether artistic, political, or philosophical. The emergence of a secular worldview that relied on new scientific methods of research would ultimately reshape Western attitudes over the long term.

FOCUS QUESTION: What were the long-term political, economic, and intellectual consequences of the conflicts over religious belief?

Religious Conflicts Threaten State Power, 1560–1618

The Peace of Augsburg made Lutheranism a legal religion in the predominantly Catholic Holy Roman Empire, but it did not extend recognition to Calvinists. Although the followers of Martin Luther (Lutherans) and those of John Calvin (Calvinists) similarly refused the authority of the Catholic church, they disagreed with each other

about religious doctrine and church organization. The rapid expansion of Calvinism after 1560 threatened to alter the religious balance of power in much of Europe. Calvinists challenged Catholic dominance in France, the Spanish-ruled Netherlands, Scotland, and Poland-Lithuania. In England, they sought to influence the new Protestant monarch, Elizabeth I. Calvinists were not the only source of religious contention, however. Philip II of Spain fought the Muslim Ottoman Turks in the Mediterranean and expelled the remnants of the Muslim population in Spain. To the east, the Russian tsar Ivan IV fought to make Muscovy the center of an empire based on Russian Orthodox Christianity.

French Wars of Religion, 1562–1598

Calvinism spread in France after 1555, when the Genevan Company of Pastors sent missionaries supplied with false passports and often disguised as merchants. The Calvinist pastors moved rapidly among their growing flock, which gathered in secret in towns near Paris or in the south. Calvinist nobles provided military protection to local congregations and helped set up a national organization for the French Calvinist—or Huguenot—church. In 1562, rival Huguenot and Catholic armies began fighting a series of wars that threatened to tear the French nation into shreds (Map 15.1).

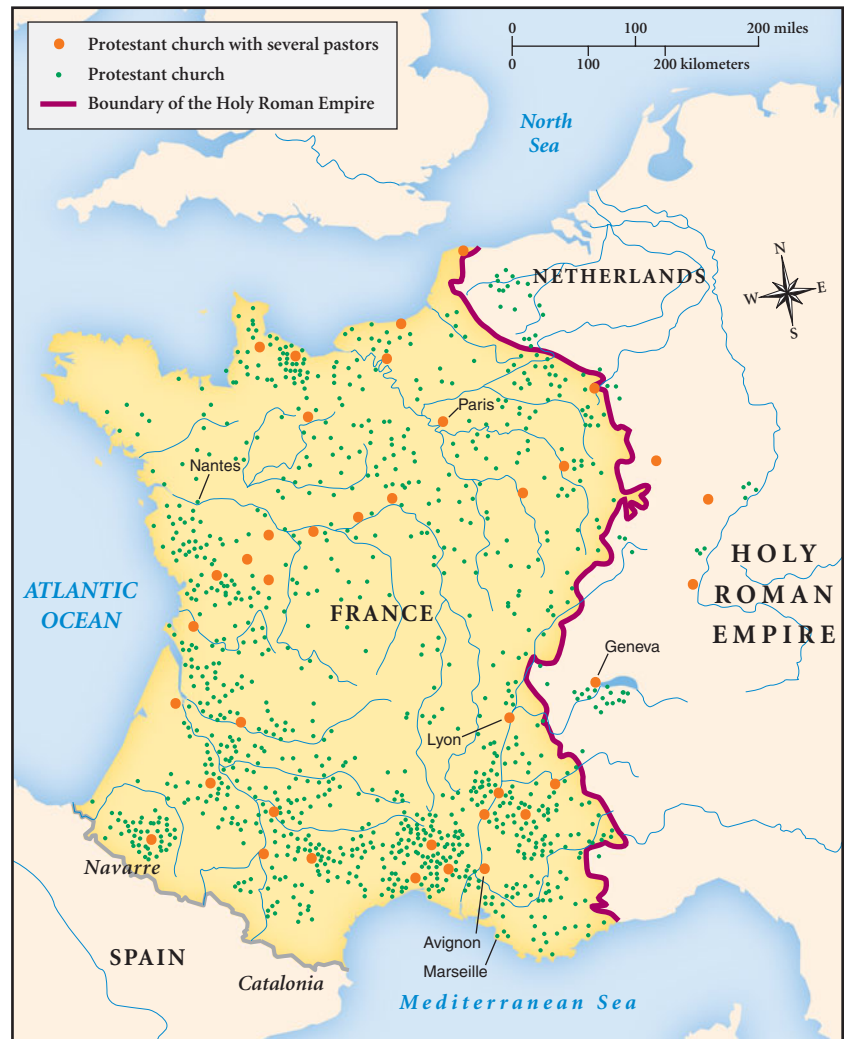
Religious Division in the Nobility. Armed struggle erupted because the French kings could not keep a lid on religious conflict. By the end of the 1560s, nearly one-third of the nobles had joined the Huguenots, and they could raise their own armies. Conversion to Calvinism in French noble families often began with the noblewomen, some of whom sought intellectual independence as well as spiritual renewal in the new faith. Charlotte de

1560	■ 1562 French Wars of Religion	1580	■ 1588 England defeats Spanish Armada	1600	
	■ 1566 Calvinist revolt against Spain		■ 1598 Edict of Nantes		
	■ 1569 Poland-Lithuania formed				
	■ 1571 Battle of Lepanto				■ 1601 Shakespeare, <i>Hamlet</i>
	■ 1572 St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre				

Bourbon, for example, fled from a Catholic convent and eventually married William of Orange, the leader of the anti-Spanish resistance in the Netherlands. Calvinist noblewomen protected pastors, provided money and advice, and helped found schools and establish relief for the poor.

A series of family tragedies prevented the French kings from acting decisively to prevent the spread of Calvinism. King Henry II was accidentally killed during a jousting tournament in 1559 and his fifteen-year-old son, Francis, died soon after. Ten-year-old Charles IX (r. 1560–1574) became king, with his mother, **Catherine de Médicis**, as regent, or acting ruler. An ambassador commented on the weakness of Catherine's hold: "It is sufficient to say that she is a woman, a foreigner, and a Florentine to boot, born of a simple house, altogether beneath the dignity of the Kingdom of France." The Huguenots followed the lead of the Bourbon family, who were close relatives of the French king and stood first in line to inherit the throne if the Valois kings failed to produce a male heir. The most militantly Catholic nobles took their cues from the Guise family, who aimed to block Bourbon ambitions. Catherine tried to play the Bourbon and Guise factions against each other, but civil war erupted in 1562. Both sides committed terrible atrocities. Priests and pastors were murdered, and massacres of whole congregations became frighteningly commonplace.

Catherine de Médicis: Italian-born mother of French king Charles X; she served as regent and tried but failed to prevent religious warfare between Calvinists and Catholics.



MAP 15.1 Protestant Churches in France, 1562

Calvinist missionaries took their message from their headquarters in Geneva across the border into France. The strongest concentration of Protestants was in southern France. The Bourbons, leaders of the Protestants in France, had their family lands in Navarre, a region in southwestern France that had been divided between France and Spain.

■ 1618 Thirty Years' War

■ 1635 French declare war on Spain

■ 1648 Peace of Westphalia

1620

1640

1660

■ 1625 Grotius, *The Laws of War and Peace*

■ 1633 Galileo forced to recant



Massacre Motivated by Religion

The Italian artist Giorgio Vasari painted *St. Bartholomew's Night: The Massacre of the Huguenots* for a public room in Pope Gregory XIII's residence. How did the artist celebrate what he saw as a Catholic victory over Protestant heresy? (Scala/Art Resource, NY.)

St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, 1572. Although a Catholic herself, Catherine feared the rise of Guise influence, so she arranged the marriage of the king's Catholic sister, Marguerite de Valois, to Henry of Navarre, a Huguenot and Bourbon. Just four days after the wedding in August 1572, assassins tried but failed to kill one of the Huguenot nobles allied with the Bourbons. Perhaps herself implicated in the botched plot and panicked at the thought of Huguenot revenge, Catherine convinced her son to go on the offensive by ordering the death of Huguenot leaders who had come to Paris for the wedding. Violence almost immediately spiraled out of control. On St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, a bloodbath began, fueled by years of growing animosity between Catholics and Protestants. (See *Massacre Motivated by Religion*, at left.) In three days, Catholic mobs murdered three thousand Huguenots in Paris. Wherever Calvinists lacked military protection, they were at risk. Ten thousand Huguenots died in the provinces over the next six weeks. The pope joyfully ordered the church bells rung throughout Catholic Europe; Spain's Philip II wrote Catherine that it was "the best and most cheerful news which at present could come to me."

The massacre settled nothing. Huguenot pamphleteers now proclaimed their right to resist a tyrant who worshipped idols (a practice that Calvinists equated with Catholicism). This right of resistance was linked to a political notion of contract; upholding the true religion was part of the contract imagined as binding the ruler to his subjects. Both the right of resistance and the idea of a contract fed into the larger doctrine of constitutionalism—that a government's legitimacy rested on its upholding a constitution or contract between ruler and ruled. Constitutionalism was used to justify resistance movements from the sixteenth century onward. Protestants and Catholics alike now saw the religious conflict as an international struggle for survival that required aid to their fellow Catholics or Protestants in other countries. In this way, the French Wars of Religion paved the way for wider international conflicts over religion in the decades to come.

Henry IV and the Edict of Nantes. The religious division in France grew even more dangerous when Charles IX died and his brother Henry III (r. 1574–1589) became king. Like his brothers before him, Henry III failed to produce an heir. Next in line to the throne was none other than the Protestant Bourbon leader Henry of Navarre, a distant cousin of the Valois ruling family and brother-in-law of Charles and Henry. Convinced

that Henry III lacked the will to root out Protestantism, the Guises formed the Catholic League, which requested help from Spanish king Philip II. Henry III responded with a fatal trick: in 1588, he summoned the two Guise leaders to a meeting and had his men kill them. A few months later, a fanatical monk stabbed Henry III to death, and Henry of Navarre became Henry IV (r. 1589–1610), despite Philip II's attempt to block his ascension with military intervention.

Henry IV soon concluded that to establish control over war-weary France he had to place the interests of the French state ahead of his Protestant faith. In 1593, he publicly embraced Catholicism, reputedly explaining his conversion with the statement “Paris is worth a Mass.” Within a few years he defeated the ultra-Catholic opposition and drove out the Spanish. In 1598, he made peace with Spain and issued the **Edict of Nantes**, in which he granted the Huguenots a large measure of religious toleration. The approximately 1.25 million Huguenots became a legally protected minority within an officially Catholic kingdom of some 20 million people. Protestants were free to worship in specified towns and were allowed their own troops, fortresses, and even courts. Few believed in religious toleration, but Henry IV followed the advice of those moderate Catholics and Calvinists called *politiques* who urged him to give priority to the development of a durable state. Although their opponents hated them for their compromising spirit, the *politiques* believed that religious disputes could be resolved only in the peace provided by strong government.

The Edict of Nantes ended the French Wars of Religion, but Henry still needed to reestablish monarchical authority and hold the fractious nobles in check. He used court festivities and royal processions to rally subjects around him, and he allowed rich merchants and lawyers to buy offices and, in exchange for an annual payment, pass their positions on to their heirs to sell them to someone else. This new social elite was known as the “nobility of the robe” (named after the robes that magistrates wore, much like those judges wear today). Income raised by the increased sale of offices reduced the state debt and also helped Henry strengthen the monarchy. His efforts did not, however, prevent his enemies from assassinating him in 1610 after nineteen unsuccessful attempts.

Edict of Nantes: The decree issued by French king Henry IV in 1598 that granted the Huguenots a large measure of religious toleration.

politiques (poh lih TEEK): Political advisers during the sixteenth-century French Wars of Religion who argued that compromise in matters of religion would strengthen the monarchy.

Challenges to Spain's Authority

Although he failed to prevent Henry IV from taking the French throne in 1589, Philip II of Spain (r. 1556–1598) was the most powerful ruler in Europe (Map 15.2). In addition to the western Habsburg lands in Spain and the Netherlands, Philip had inherited from his father, Charles V, all the Spanish colonies recently settled in the New World of the Americas. Gold and silver funneled from the colonies supported his campaigns against the Ottoman Turks and the French and the English Protestants. But all of the money of the New World could not prevent Philip's eventual defeat in the Netherlands, where Calvinist rebels established an independent Dutch Republic that soon vied with Spain, France, and England for commercial supremacy.

Philip II, the Catholic King. A deeply devout Catholic, **Philip II** came to the Spanish throne at age twenty-eight determined to restore Catholic unity in Europe and lead the Christian defense against the Muslims. In his quest, Philip benefited from a series of misfortunes. His four wives all died, but through them he became part of four royal families: Portuguese, English, French, and Austrian. His brief marriage to Mary Tudor (Mary I of England) did not produce an heir, but it and his subsequent marriage to Elisabeth de Valois, the sister of Charles IX and Henry III of France, gave him reason enough for involvement in English and French affairs. In 1580, when the king of Portugal died without a direct heir, Philip took over this neighboring realm with its rich empire in Africa, India, and the Americas.

Philip insisted on Catholic unity in his own possessions and worked to forge an international Catholic alliance against the Ottoman Turks. In 1571, he achieved the single greatest military victory of his reign when he joined with Venice and the papacy to defeat the Turks in a great sea battle off the Greek coast at **Lepanto**. Fifty thousand sailors and soldiers fought on the allied side, and eight thousand died. Spain now controlled the western Mediterranean. But Philip could not rest on his laurels. Between 1568 and 1570, the Moriscos—Muslim converts to Christianity who

Philip II: King of Spain (r. 1556–1598) and the most powerful ruler in Europe; he reigned over the western Habsburg lands and all the Spanish colonies recently settled in the New World.

Lepanto: A site off the Greek coast where, in 1571, the allied Catholic forces of Spain's king Philip II, Venice, and the papacy defeated the Ottoman Turks in a great sea battle; the victory gave the Christian powers control of the Mediterranean.



MAP 15.2 The Empire of Philip II, r. 1556–1598

Spanish king Philip II drew revenues from a truly worldwide empire. In 1580, he was the richest European ruler, but the demands of governing and defending his control of such far-flung territories eventually drained many of his resources.

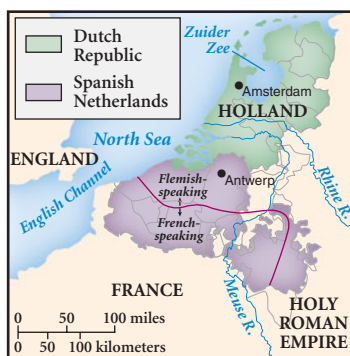
remained secretly faithful to Islam—had revolted in the south of Spain, killing ninety priests and fifteen hundred Christians. Philip retaliated by forcing fifty thousand to leave their villages and resettle in other regions. In 1609, his successor, Philip III, ordered their expulsion from Spanish territory, and by 1614 some 300,000 Moriscos had been forced to relocate to North Africa.

The Revolt of the Netherlands.

The Calvinists of the Netherlands were less easily intimidated than the Moriscos: they were far from Spain and accustomed to being left alone. When Calvinists in the Netherlands attacked Catholic

churches in 1566, smashing stained-glass windows and statues of the Virgin Mary, Philip sent an army to punish the rebels. Calvinist resistance continued despite this occupation, and in November

1576 Philip's long-unpaid armies sacked Antwerp, then Europe's wealthiest commercial city. In eleven days of horror known as the Spanish Fury, the Spanish soldiers slaughtered seven thousand people. Led by Prince William of Orange (whose name came from the lands he owned in southern France), the Netherlands' seven Protestant northern provinces formally allied with the ten Catholic southern provinces and drove out the Spaniards. The



The Netherlands during the Revolt, c. 1580



Philip II of Spain

The king of Spain is shown here (kneeling in black) with his allies at the battle of Lepanto, the doge of Venice on his left and Pope Pius V on his right. El Greco painted this canvas, sometimes called *The Dream of Philip II*, in 1578 or 1579. The painting is typically mannerist in the way it crowds figures into every available space, uses larger-than-life or elongated bodies, and creates new and often bizarre visual effects. What can we conclude about Philip II's character from the way he is depicted here? (© The National Gallery, London.)

southern provinces nonetheless remained Catholic, French-speaking in parts, and suspicious of the increasingly strict Calvinism in the north. In 1579, they returned to the Spanish fold. Despite the assassination in 1584 of William of Orange, Spanish troops never regained control in the north. Spain would not formally recognize Dutch independence until 1648, but by the end of the sixteenth century the Dutch Republic (sometimes called Holland after the most populous of its seven provinces) was a self-governing state sheltering a variety of religious groups.

Religious toleration thrived because the central government did not have the power to enforce religious orthodoxy. Urban merchant and professional families known as regents controlled the towns and provinces. In the absence of a national bureaucracy, a single legal system, or a central court, each province governed itself and sent del-

egates to the one common institution, the States General, which carried out the wishes of the strongest individual provinces and their ruling families. Although the princes of Orange resembled a ruling family, their powers paled next to those of local elites. One-third of the Dutch population remained Catholic, and local authorities allowed them to worship as they chose in private. The Dutch Republic also had a relatively large Jewish population because many Jews had settled there after being driven out of Spain and Portugal. From 1597, Jews could worship openly in their synagogues. This openness to various religions would help to make the Dutch Republic one of Europe's chief intellectual and scientific centers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Well situated for maritime commerce, the Dutch Republic developed a thriving economy based on shipping and shipbuilding. Dutch

merchants favored free trade in Europe because they could compete at an advantage. Whereas elites in other countries focused on their landholdings, the Dutch looked for investments in trade. After the Dutch gained independence, Amsterdam became the main European money market for two centuries. The city was also a primary commodities market and a chief supplier of arms—to allies, neutrals, and even enemies. Dutch entrepreneurs

produced goods at lower prices than competitors and marketed them more efficiently. The Dutch controlled many overseas markets thanks to their preeminence in seaborne commerce: by 1670, the Dutch commercial fleet was larger than the English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Austrian fleets combined.

Elizabeth I's Defense of English Protestantism

As the Dutch revolt unfolded, Philip II became increasingly infuriated with **Elizabeth I** (r. 1558–1603), who had succeeded her half-sister Mary Tudor as queen of England. Philip had been married to Mary and had enthusiastically seconded Mary's efforts to return England to Catholicism. When Mary died in 1558, Elizabeth rejected Philip's proposal of marriage and promptly brought Protestantism back to England. Eventually, she provided funds and troops to the Dutch Protestant cause. As Elizabeth moved to solidify her personal power and the authority of the Anglican church (Church of England), she had to squash uprisings by Catholics in the north and at least two serious plots against her life. In the long run, however, her greater challenges came from the Calvinist Puritans and Philip II.

Puritanism and the Church of England. The **Puritans** were strict Calvinists who opposed all vestiges of Catholic ritual in the Church of England. After Elizabeth became queen, many Puritans returned from exile abroad, but Elizabeth resisted their demands for drastic changes in church ritual and governance. The Church of England's Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, issued under her authority in 1563, incorporated elements of Catholic ritual along with Calvinist doctrines. Puritan ministers angrily denounced the Church of England's "popish attire and foolish disguising, . . . tithings, holy days, and a thousand more abominations." To accomplish their reforms, Puritans tried to undercut the crown-appointed bishops' authority by placing control of church administration in the hands of a local presbytery, that is, a group made up of the minister and the elders of the congregation. Elizabeth rejected this Calvinist presbyterianism.



Queen Elizabeth I of England

The Anglican (Church of England) Prayerbook of 1569 included a hand-colored print of Queen Elizabeth saying her prayers. As queen, Elizabeth was also official head of the Church of England—the scepter or sword at her feet symbolizes her power. She named bishops and made final decisions about every aspect of church governance. (HIP/Art Resource, NY.)

■ For more help analyzing this image, see the visual activity for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

Elizabeth I: English queen (r. 1558–1603) who oversaw the return of the Protestant Anglican church and, in 1588, the successful defense of the realm against the Spanish Armada.

Puritans: Strict Calvinists who opposed all vestiges of Catholic ritual in the Church of England.

The Puritans nonetheless steadily gained influence. Known for their emphasis on strict moral lives, the Puritans tried to close England's theaters and Sunday fairs. Every Puritan father—with the help of his wife—was to “make his house a little church” by teaching the children to read the Bible. At Puritan urging, a new translation of the Bible, known as the King James Bible after Elizabeth's successor, James I, was authorized in 1604. Believing themselves God's elect—those whom God has chosen for mercy and salvation—and England an “elect nation,” the Puritans also pushed Elizabeth to help Protestants on the continent. Elizabeth initially resisted, but after Philip II annexed Portugal and began to interfere in French affairs, she sent funds to the Dutch rebels and in 1585 dispatched seven thousand soldiers to help them.

Triumph over Spain. Although enraged by Elizabeth's aid to the Dutch rebels against his rule, Philip II bided his time as long as Elizabeth remained unmarried and her Catholic cousin Mary Stuart, better known as Mary, Queen of Scots, stood next in line to inherit the English throne. In 1568, Scottish Calvinists forced Mary to abdicate the throne of Scotland in favor of her one-year-old son James (eventually James I of England), who was then raised as a Protestant. After her abdication, Mary spent nearly twenty years under house arrest in England, fomenting plots against Elizabeth. In 1587, when a letter from Mary offering her succession rights to Philip was discovered, Elizabeth overcame her reluctance to execute a fellow monarch and ordered Mary's beheading.

Now determined to act, Philip II sent his armada (Spanish for “fleet”) of 130 ships from Lisbon toward the English Channel in May 1588. The English scattered the Spanish Armada by sending blazing fire ships into its midst. A great gale then forced the Spanish to flee around Scotland. When the armada limped home in September, half the ships had been lost and thousands of sailors were dead or starving. Protestants throughout Europe rejoiced. Philip and Catholic Spain suffered a crushing psychological blow. A Spanish monk lamented, “Almost the whole of Spain went into mourning.”

By the time Philip II died in 1598, his great empire had begun to lose its luster. The costs of fighting the Dutch, the English, and the French had mounted, and an overburdened peasantry could no longer pay the taxes required to meet rising expenses. In his novel *Don Quixote* (1605), the Spanish writer Miguel de Cervantes captured the disappointment of thwarted imperial ambition. Cervantes himself had been wounded at Lepanto. His novel's hero, a minor nobleman, wants to understand “this thing they call reason of state,” but he reads so many romances and books of chivalry that he loses his wits and wanders the countryside hoping to re-create the heroic deeds of times past.

England could never have defeated Spain in a head-to-head battle on land, but Elizabeth made the most of her limited means and consolidated the country's position as a Protestant power. In her early years, she held out the prospect of marriage to many political suitors; but in order to maintain her—and England's—independence, she never married. Her chosen successor, James I (r. 1603–1625), came to the throne as king of both Scotland and England. Shakespeare's tragedies *Hamlet* (1601), *King Lear* (1605), and *Macbeth* (1606), written around the time of James's succession, might all be read as commentaries on the uncertainties faced by Elizabeth and James. But Elizabeth's story, unlike Shakespeare's tragedies, had a happy ending; she left James secure in a kingdom of growing weight in world politics.



Retreat of the Spanish Armada, 1588

The Clash of Faiths and Empires in Eastern Europe

In the east, the most contentious border divided Christian Europe from the Islamic realm of the Ottoman Turks. Even after their defeat at Lepanto in 1571, the Ottomans continued their attacks, seizing Venetian-held Cyprus in 1573. In the Balkans, the Turks allowed their Christian subjects to cling to the Orthodox faith rather than forcibly converting them to Islam. They also tolerated many prosperous Jewish communities, which grew with the influx of Jews expelled from Spain.

The Muscovite tsars officially protected the Russian Orthodox church, which faced no competition within Russian lands. Building on the base

laid by his grandfather Ivan III, Tsar Ivan IV (r. 1533–1584) stopped at nothing in his endeavor to make Muscovy the center of a mighty Russian empire. Given to unpredictable fits of rage, Ivan tortured priests, killed numerous *boyars* (nobles), and murdered his own son with an iron rod during a quarrel. His epithet “the Terrible” reflects not only the terror he unleashed but also the awesome impression he evoked. Cunning and cruel, Ivan came to embody barbarism in the eyes of Westerners. One English visitor commented disapprovingly that the Russian government “is very similar to the Turkish, which they apparently try to imitate.”

Ivan initiated Russian expansion eastward into Siberia and also tried to gain new territory to the west, when he tried, unsuccessfully, to seize parts

of present-day Estonia and Latvia to provide Russia direct access to the Baltic Sea. Two formidable foes blocked Ivan’s plans for expansion: Sweden (which then included much of present-day Finland) and Poland-Lithuania. Their rulers hoped to annex the eastern Baltic provinces themselves. Poland and the grand duchy of Lithuania united into a single commonwealth in 1569 and controlled an extensive territory

stretching from the Baltic Sea to deep within present-day Ukraine and Belarus. Poland-Lithuania, like the Dutch Republic, was one of the great exceptions to the general trend toward greater monarchical authority; the country’s nobles elected their king and placed severe limits on his authority. Noble converts to Lutheranism or Calvinism feared religious persecution by the Catholic majority, so the Polish-Lithuanian nobles insisted that their kings accept the principle of religious toleration as a prerequisite for election.

Poland-Lithuania threatened the rule of Ivan’s successors in Russia. After Ivan IV died in 1584, a terrible period of chaos known as the Time of Troubles ensued, during which the king of Poland-Lithuania tried to put his son on the Russian throne. In 1613, an army of nobles, townspeople, and peasants finally expelled the intruders and put on the throne a nobleman, Michael Romanov (r. 1613–1645), who established an enduring new dynasty. With the return of peace, Muscovite Russia resumed the process of state building.

REVIEW: How did state power depend on religious unity at the end of the sixteenth century and start of the seventeenth?

The Thirty Years’ War, 1618–1648

Although the eastern states managed to avoid civil wars over religion in the early seventeenth century, the rest of Europe was drawn into the final and most deadly of the wars of religion, the Thirty Years’ War. It began in 1618 with conflicts between Catholics and Protestants within the Holy Roman Empire and eventually involved most European states. By its end in 1648, many central European lands lay in ruins and the balance of power had shifted away from the Habsburg powers—Spain and Austria—toward France, England, and the Dutch Republic. Prolonged warfare created turmoil and suffering, but it also fostered the growth of armies and bureaucracies; out of the carnage would emerge centralized and powerful states that made increasing demands on ordinary people.

Origins and Course of the War

The fighting that devastated central Europe had its origins in a combination of religious dispute, ethnic competition, and political weakness. The Austrian Habsburgs officially ruled over the huge Holy Roman Empire, which comprised eight major ethnic groups. The emperor and four of the seven electors who chose him were Catholic; the other three electors were Protestants. The Peace of Augsburg of 1555 (see Chapter 14) was supposed to maintain the balance between Catholics and Lutherans, but it had no mechanism for resolving conflicts; tensions rose as the new Catholic religious order, the Jesuits, won many Lutheran cities back to Catholicism and as Calvinism, unrecognized under the peace, made inroads into Lutheran areas. By 1613, two of the three Protestant electors had become Calvinists.

These conflicts came to a head when the Catholic Habsburg heir Archduke Ferdinand was crowned king of Bohemia in 1617. The Austrian Habsburgs held not only the imperial crown of the Holy Roman Empire but also a collection of separately administered royal crowns, of which Bohemia was one. Once crowned, Ferdinand began to curtail the religious freedom previously granted to Protestants. The Czechs, the largest ethnic group in Bohemia, responded with the so-called defenestration of Prague and promptly established a Protestant assembly to spearhead resistance. A year later, when Ferdinand was elected emperor (as Ferdinand II, r. 1619–1637), the rebellious Bohemians deposed him and chose in his place the young Calvinist Frederick V of the Palatinate



Russia, Poland-Lithuania, and Sweden in the Late 1500s

(r. 1616–1623). A quick series of clashes ended in 1620 when the imperial armies defeated the out-manned Czechs at the battle of White Mountain, near Prague. Like the martyrdom of the religious reformer Jan Hus in 1415, White Mountain became an enduring symbol of the Czechs' desire for self-determination. They would not gain their independence until 1918.

White Mountain did not end the war, which soon spread to the German lands of the empire. Private mercenary armies (armies for hire) began to form during the fighting, and the emperor had little control over them. The meteoric rise of one commander, Albrecht von Wallenstein (1583–1634), showed how political ambition could trump religious conviction. A Czech Protestant by birth, Wallenstein offered in 1625 to raise an army for Ferdinand II and soon had in his employ 125,000 soldiers, who occupied and plundered much of Protestant Germany with the emperor's approval.

The Lutheran king of Denmark, Christian IV (r. 1596–1648), responded by invading northern Germany to protect the Protestants and to extend his own influence. Despite Dutch and English encouragement, Christian lacked adequate military support, and Wallenstein's forces defeated him. Emboldened by his general's victories, Ferdinand issued the Edict of Restitution in 1629, which outlawed Calvinism in the empire and reclaimed Catholic church properties confiscated by the Lutherans.

With Protestant interests in serious jeopardy, Gustavus Adolphus (r. 1611–1632) of Sweden marched into Germany in 1630. Declaring his support for the Protestant cause, he also intended to gain control over trade in northern Europe. His highly trained army of some 100,000 soldiers made Sweden, with a population of only one million, the supreme power of northern Europe. Hoping to block Spanish intervention in the war and win influence and perhaps territory in the Holy Roman Empire, the French monarchy's chief minister, Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642), offered to subsidize the Lutheran Gustavus. This agreement between the Swedish Lutheran and French Catholic powers to fight the Catholic Habsburgs showed that state interests could outweigh all other considerations.

Gustavus defeated the imperial army and occupied the Catholic parts of southern Germany before he was killed at the battle of Lützen in 1632. Once again the tide turned, but this time it swept Wallenstein with it. Because Wallenstein was rumored to be negotiating with Protestant powers, Ferdinand dismissed his general and had him assassinated.

France openly joined the fray in 1635 by declaring war on Spain and soon after forged an alliance with the Calvinist Dutch to aid them in their ongoing struggle for official independence from Spain. Religion took a backseat to dynastic rivalry as the two Catholic powers France and Spain

The Violence of the Thirty Years' War

The French artist Jacques Callot produced this engraving of the Thirty Years' War as part of a series called *The Miseries and Misfortunes of War* (1633). It shows the rape, torture, and pillaging inflicted by soldiers on noncombatants they found in their path. (*The Granger Collection, New York.*)



DOCUMENT

The Horrors of the Thirty Years' War

Hans Grimmelshausen experienced the Thirty Years' War firsthand and then wrote about it in his novel The Adventures of a Simpleton (published in 1669). He had been a Lutheran schoolboy when soldiers from an unidentified army looted his town. Later he served as a musketeer in the Catholic imperial armies and converted to Catholicism. In the novel, he writes from the point of view of a "simpleton," a naive peasant who does not understand what is happening around him as a group of cavalymen ransack the village.

What they did not intend to take along they broke and spoiled. Some ran their swords into the hay and straw, as if there hadn't been hogs enough to stick. Some shook the feathers out of beds and put bacon slabs, hams, and other stuff in the tick-

ing, as if they might sleep better on these. Others knocked down the hearth and broke the windows, as if announcing an everlasting summer. They flattened out copper and pewter dishes and baled the ruined goods. They burned up bedsteads, tables, chairs, and benches, though there were yards of dry firewood outside the kitchen. Jars and crocks, pots and casseroles all were broken, either because they preferred their meat broiled or because they thought they'd eat only one meal with us. In the barn, the hired girl was handled so roughly that she was unable to walk away, I am ashamed to report. They stretched the hired man out flat on the ground, stuck a wooden wedge in his mouth to keep it open, and emptied a milk bucket full of stinking manure drippings

down his throat; they called it a Swedish cocktail. He didn't relish it and made a very wry face. . . . Then they used thumb-screws, which they cleverly made out of their pistols, to torture the peasants, as if they wanted to burn witches. Though he had confessed to nothing as yet, they put one of the captured hayseeds in the bake-oven and lighted a fire in it. They put a rope around someone else's head and tightened it like a tourniquet until blood came out of his mouth, nose, and ears. In short, every soldier had his favorite method of making life miserable for peasants, and every peasant had his own misery.

Source: *The Adventures of Simplicius Simplicissimus*, 2nd ed. Trans. George Schulz-Behrend (Columbia, S.C.: Camden House, 1993), 6–7.

pummeled each other. Advised by his minister Richelieu, who held the high rank of cardinal in the Catholic church, the French king Louis XIII (r. 1610–1643) hoped to profit from the troubles of Spain in the Netherlands and from the conflicts between the Austrian emperor and his Protestant subjects. The Swedes kept up their pressure in Germany, the Dutch attacked the Spanish fleet, and a series of internal revolts shook the cash-strapped Spanish crown. In 1640, peasants in the rich northeastern province of Catalonia rebelled, overrunning Barcelona and killing the viceroy; the Catalans resented government confiscation of their crops and demands that they house and feed soldiers on their way to the French frontier. The Portuguese revolted in 1640 and proclaimed independence like the Dutch. In 1643, the Spanish suffered their first major defeat at French hands. Although the Spanish were forced to concede independence to Portugal (part of Spain only since 1580), they eventually suppressed the Catalan revolt.

France, too, finally faced exhaustion after years of rising taxes and recurrent revolts. Richelieu died in 1642. Louis XIII followed him a few months later and was succeeded by his five-year-old son, Louis XIV. With yet another foreign queen mother—she was the daughter of the Spanish

king—serving as regent and an Italian cardinal, Mazarin, providing advice, French politics once again moved into a period of instability, rumor, and crisis. All sides were ready for peace.

The Effects of Constant Fighting

When peace negotiations began in the 1640s, they did not come a moment too soon for the ordinary people of Europe. Some towns had faced up to ten or eleven prolonged sieges during the decades of fighting. Even worse suffering took place in the countryside. Peasants fled their villages, which were often burned down (see Document, "The Horrors of the Thirty Years' War," above). At times, desperate peasants revolted and attacked nearby castles and monasteries. War and intermittent outbreaks of plague cost some German towns one-third or more of their population. One-third of the inhabitants of Bohemia also perished.

Soldiers did not fare all that much better. An Englishman who fought for the Dutch army in 1633 described how he slept on the wet ground, got his boots full of water, and "at peep of day looked like a drowned ratt." Governments increasingly short of funds often failed to pay the troops, and frequent mutinies, looting, and pillaging resulted. Armies attracted all sorts of displaced people



MAP 15.3 The Thirty Years' War and the Peace of Westphalia, 1648

The Thirty Years' War involved many of the major continental European powers. The arrows marking invasion routes show that most of the fighting took place in central Europe in the lands of the Holy Roman Empire. The German states and Bohemia sustained the greatest damage during the fighting. None of the combatants emerged unscathed because even ultimate winners such as Sweden and France depleted their resources of men and money.

desperately in need of provisions. In the last year of the Thirty Years' War, the Imperial-Bavarian Army had 40,000 men entitled to draw rations—and more than 100,000 wives, prostitutes, servants, children, and other camp followers forced to scrounge for their own food.

The Peace of Westphalia, 1648

The comprehensive settlement provided by the **Peace of Westphalia**—named after the German province where negotiations took place—would serve as a model for resolving future conflicts among warring European states. For the first

time, a diplomatic congress convened to address international disputes, and those signing the treaties guaranteed the resulting settlement. A method still in use, the congress was the first to bring *all* parties together, rather than two or three at a time.

The Winners and Losers. France and Sweden gained most from the Peace of Westphalia. Although France and Spain continued fighting until 1659, France acquired parts of Alsace and replaced Spain as the prevailing power on the continent. Baltic conflicts would not be resolved until 1661, but Sweden took several northern territories from the Holy Roman Empire (Map 15.3).

The Habsburgs lost the most. The Spanish Habsburgs recognized Dutch independence after eighty years of war. The Swiss Confederation and the German princes demanded autonomy from the Austrian Habsburg rulers of the Holy Roman

Peace of Westphalia: The settlement (1648) of the Thirty Years' War; it established enduring religious divisions in the Holy Roman Empire by which Lutheranism would dominate in the north, Calvinism in the area of the Rhine River, and Catholicism in the south.

Empire. Each German prince gained the right to establish Lutheranism, Catholicism, or Calvinism in his state, a right denied to Calvinist rulers by the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. The independence ceded to German princes sustained political divisions that would remain until the nineteenth century and prepared the way for the emergence of a new power, the Hohenzollern Elector of Brandenburg, who increased his territories and developed a small but effective standing army. After losing considerable territory in the west, the Austrian Habsburgs turned eastward to concentrate on restoring Catholicism to Bohemia and wresting Hungary from the Turks.

The Peace of Westphalia permanently settled the distributions of the main religions in the Holy Roman Empire: Lutheranism would dominate in the north, Calvinism in the area of the Rhine River,

and Catholicism in the south. Most of the territorial changes in Europe remained intact until the nineteenth century. In the future, international warfare would be undertaken for reasons of national security, commercial ambition, or dynastic pride rather than to enforce religious uniformity. As the politiques of the late sixteenth century had hoped, state interests now outweighed motivations of faith in political affairs.

Growth of State Authority. Warfare increased the reach of states: as armies grew to bolster the war effort, governments needed more money and more supervisory officials. The rate of land tax paid by French peasants doubled in the eight years after France joined the war. In addition to raising taxes, governments deliberately depreciated the value of the currency, which often resulted in inflation and soaring prices. Rulers also sold new offices and manipulated the embryonic stock and bond markets. When all else failed, they declared bankruptcy. The Spanish government, for example, did so three times in the first half of the seventeenth century. From Portugal to Muscovy, ordinary people resisted new taxes by forming makeshift armies and battling royal forces. With their colorful banners, unlikely leaders, strange names (the Nu-Pieds, or “Barefooted,” in France, for instance), and crude weapons, the rebels usually proved no match for state armies, but they did keep officials worried and troops occupied.

To meet these new demands, monarchs relied on advisers who took on the role of modern prime ministers. Continuity in Swedish affairs, especially after the death of Gustavus Adolphus, largely depended on Axel Oxenstierna, who held office for more than forty years. Louis XIII’s chief minister, Cardinal Richelieu, proclaimed the priority of *raison d’état* (reason of state), that is, the state’s interest above all else. He silenced Protestants within France because they had become too independent, and he crushed noble and popular resistance to Louis’s policies. He set up intendants—delegates from the king’s council dispatched to the provinces—to oversee police, army, and financial affairs.

To justify the growth of state authority and the expansion of government bureaucracies, rulers carefully cultivated their royal images. (See The Arts and State Power, at left.) James I of England

The Arts and State Power

King Philip IV of Spain commissioned Diego Velázquez to paint this portrait in 1634–1635. He hung the painting in the new palace, called Buen Retiro, that he built near Madrid in the 1630s. Philip’s court at Buen Retiro included formal gardens, artificial ponds, a huge iron bird cage (which led some critics to call the whole thing a chicken coop), a zoo, and a courtyard for bullfights as well as rooms filled with sculptures and paintings. Note that Philip looks completely in control, almost impassive, even though the horse is rearing. In this way the artist emphasizes the king’s mastery. (All rights reserved. © Museo Nacional del Prado—Madrid.)



raison d’état (ray ZOHN day TAH): French for “reason of state,” the political doctrine, first proposed by Cardinal Richelieu of France, which held that the state’s interests should prevail over those of religion.

argued that he ruled by divine right and was accountable only to God: “The state of monarchy is the supremest thing on earth; for kings are not only God’s lieutenant on earth, but even by God himself they are called gods.” He advised his son to maintain a manly appearance (his own well-known homosexual liaisons did not make him seem less manly to his subjects): “Eschew to be effeminate in your clothes, in perfuming, preening, or such like.” Appearance counted for so much that most rulers regulated who could wear which kinds of cloth and decoration, reserving the richest and rarest, such as ermine and gold, for themselves.

REVIEW: Why did a war fought over religious differences result in stronger states?

Economic Crisis and Realignment

The devastation caused by the Thirty Years’ War deepened an economic crisis that was already under way. After a century of rising prices, caused partly by massive transfers of gold and silver from the New World and partly by population growth, in the early 1600s prices began to level off and even to drop, and in most places population growth slowed. With fewer goods being produced, international trade fell into recession. Agricultural yields also declined, and peasants and townspeople alike were less able to pay the escalating taxes needed to finance the wars. Famine and disease trailed grimly behind economic crisis and war, in some areas causing large-scale uprisings and revolts. Behind the scenes, the economic balance of power gradually shifted as northwestern Europe began to dominate international trade and broke the stranglehold of Spain and Portugal in the New World.

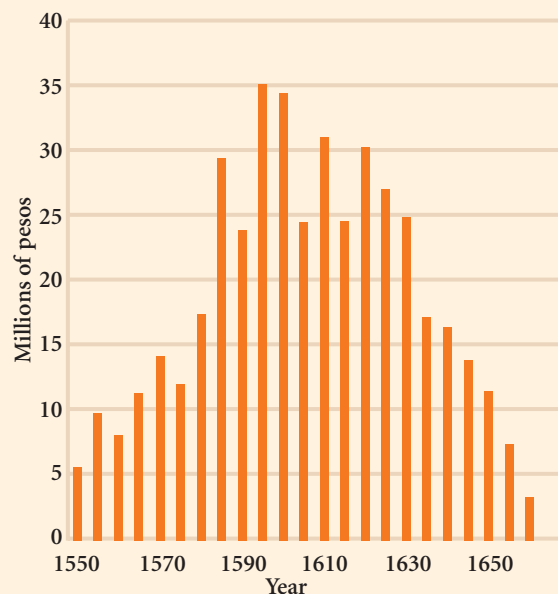
From Growth to Recession

Population grew and prices rose in the second half of the sixteenth century. Even though religious and political turbulence led to population decline in some cities, such as war-torn Antwerp, overall rates of growth remained impressive: in the sixteenth century, parts of Spain doubled in population and England’s population grew by 70 percent. The supply of precious metals swelled, too. In the 1540s, new silver mines were discovered in Mexico and Peru. Spanish gold imports peaked in the 1550s,

silver in the 1590s. (See “Taking Measure,” below.) This flood of precious metals combined with population growth to fuel an astounding inflation in food prices in western Europe — 400 percent in the sixteenth century — and a more moderate rise in the cost of manufactured goods. Wages rose much more slowly, at about half the rate of the increase in food prices. Governments always overspent revenues, and by 1600 most of Europe’s rulers faced deep deficits.

Recession did not strike everywhere at the same time, but the warning signs were unmistakable. Foreign trade slumped as war and an uncertain money supply made business riskier. After 1625, silver imports to Spain declined, in part because so many of the native Americans who worked in Spanish colonial mines died from disease and in part because the mines themselves were progressively depleted. Textile production fell in many countries and in some places nearly

TAKING MEASURE



The Rise and Fall of Silver Imports to Spain, 1550–1660

Gold and silver from the New World enabled the king of Spain to pursue aggressive policies in Europe and around the world. At what point did silver imports reach their highest level? Was the fall in silver imports precipitous or gradual? What can we conclude about the resources available to the Spanish king? (From Earl J. Hamilton, *American Revolution and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501–1650* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934].)

NEW SOURCES, NEW PERSPECTIVES

Tree Rings and the Little Ice Age

Global cooling helped bring about the economic crisis of the seventeenth century. Glaciers advanced, average temperatures fell, and winters were often exceptionally severe. Canals and rivers essential to markets froze over. Great storms disrupted ocean traffic—in fact, one storm changed the escape route of the Spanish Armada. Even in the valleys far from the mountain glaciers, cooler weather meant lower crop yields, which quickly translated into hunger and greater susceptibility to disease, leading in turn to population decline. Some historians of climate refer to the entire period 1600–1850 as the little ice age because glaciers advanced during this time and retreated only after 1850; others argue that the period 1550–1700 was the coldest, but either time frame includes the seventeenth century. Given the current debates about global warming, how can we sift through the evidence to come up with a reliable interpretation? Since systematic

records of European temperatures were kept only from the 1700s onward, how do historians know that the weather was cooler?

Information about climate comes from various sources. The advance of glaciers can be seen in letters complaining to the authorities. In 1601, for example, panic-stricken villagers in Savoy (in the French Alps) wrote, “We are terrified of the glaciers . . . which are moving forward all the time and have just buried two of our villages.” Yearly temperature fluctuations can be determined from the dates of wine harvests; growers harvested their grapes earliest when the weather was warmest and latest when it was coolest. Scientists study ice cores taken from Greenland to determine temperature variations; such studies seem to indicate that the coolest times were the periods 1160–1300; the 1600s; and 1820–1850. The period 1730–1800 appears to have been warmer. Recently, scientists have de-

veloped techniques for sampling corals in the tropics and sediments on oceanic shelves to provide evidence of climate change.

But the most striking are data gathered from tree rings (the science is called dendrochronology or dendroclimatology). Timber samples have been taken from very old oak trees and also from ancient beams in buildings and archaeological digs and from logs left long undisturbed in northern bogs and riverbeds. In cold summers, trees lay down thinner growth rings; in warm ones, thicker rings. Information about tree rings confirms the conclusions drawn from wine harvest and ice core samples: the seventeenth century was relatively cold. Recent tree ring studies have shown that some of the coldest summers were caused by volcanic eruptions; according to a study of more than one hundred sites in North America and Europe, the five coldest summers in the past four

collapsed, largely because of decreased demand and a shrinking labor force. Even the relatively limited trade in African slaves stagnated, though its growth would resume after 1650 and skyrocket after 1700. African slaves were first transported to the new colony of Virginia in 1619, foreshadowing a major transformation of economic life in the New World colonies.

Demographic slowdown also signaled economic trouble. Despite population growth in some areas, Europe’s total population may actually have declined, from 85 million in 1550 to 80 million in 1650. In the Mediterranean, growth had already stopped in the 1570s. The most sudden reversal occurred in central Europe as a result of the Thirty Years’ War: one-fourth of the inhabitants of the Holy Roman Empire perished in the 1630s and 1640s. Population growth continued only in England, the Dutch Republic and the Spanish Netherlands, and Scandinavia.

Where the population stagnated or declined, agricultural prices dropped because of less de-

mand, and farmers who produced for the market suffered. The price of grain fell most precipitously, causing many farmers to convert grain-growing land to pasture or vineyards. In some places, peasants abandoned their villages and left land to waste, as had happened during the plague epidemic of the late fourteenth century. The only country that emerged unscathed from this downturn was the Dutch Republic, thanks to a growing population and tradition of agricultural innovation. Inhabiting Europe’s most densely populated area, the Dutch developed systems of field drainage, crop rotation, and animal husbandry that provided high yields of grain for both people and animals. Their foreign trade, textile industry, crop production, and population all grew. After the Dutch, the English fared best; unlike the Spanish, the English never depended on infusions of New World gold and silver to shore up their economy, and unlike most continental European countries, England escaped the direct impact of the Thirty Years’ War.



The Frozen Thames

This painting by Abraham Hondius of the frozen Thames River in London dates to 1677. In the 1670s and 1680s the Thames froze several times. Diarists recorded that shopkeepers even set up their stalls on the ice. The expected routines of daily life changed during the cooling down of the seventeenth century, and contemporaries were shocked enough by the changes to record them for posterity. (*Museum of London*.)

hundred years were in 1601, 1641, 1669, 1699, and 1912 (four out of five in the seventeenth century), and all but the summer of 1699 came in years following recorded eruptions.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. What were the historical consequences of global cooling in the seventeenth century?
2. Why would trees be especially valuable sources of information about climate?

FURTHER READING

Climate of the Past: <http://www.clim-past.net/recentpapers.html>
 Jones, P. D., ed. *History and Climate: Memories of the Future?* 2001.

Historians have long disagreed about the causes of the early-seventeenth-century recession. Some cite the inability of agriculture to support a growing population by the end of the sixteenth century; others blame the Thirty Years' War, the states' demands for more taxes, the irregularities in money supply resulting from rudimentary banking practices, or the waste caused by middle-class expenditures in the desire to emulate the nobility. To this list of causes, recent researchers have added climatic changes. (See "New Sources, New Perspectives," page 466.) Cold winters and wet summers meant bad harvests, and these natural disasters ushered in a host of social catastrophes. When the harvest was bad, prices shot back up and many could not afford to feed themselves.

Consequences for Daily Life

The recession of the early 1600s had both short-term and long-term effects. In the short term, it

aggravated the threat of food shortages, increased the outbreaks of famine and disease, and caused people to leave their families and homes. In the long term, it deepened the division between prosperous and poor peasants and fostered the development of a new pattern of late marriages and smaller families.

Famine and Disease. When grain harvests fell short, peasants immediately suffered because, outside of England and the Dutch Republic, grain had replaced more expensive meat as the essential staple of most Europeans' diets. By the end of the sixteenth century, the average adult European ate more than four hundred pounds of grain per year. Peasants lived on bread, soup with a little fat or oil, peas or lentils, garden vegetables in season, and only occasionally a piece of meat or fish. Usually the adverse years differed from place to place, but from 1594 to 1597 most of Europe suffered from shortages; the resulting famine triggered revolts from Ireland to Muscovy.



The Life of the Poor

This mid-seventeenth-century painting by the Dutch artist Adriaen Pietersz van de Venne depicts the poor peasant weighed down by his wife and child. An empty food bowl signifies their hunger. In retrospect, this painting seems unfair to the wife of the family; she is shown in clothes that are not nearly as tattered as her husband's and is portrayed entirely as a burden, rather than as a help in getting by in hard times. In reality, many poor men abandoned their homes in search of work, leaving their wives behind to cope with hungry children and what remained of the family farm. (Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, Mrs. F. F. Prentiss Fund, 1920. Inv # 1960.94.)

Most people, however, did not respond to their dismal circumstances by rebelling. They simply left their huts and hovels and took to the road in search of food and charity. Men left their families to search for better conditions in other parishes or even other countries. Those left behind might be reduced to eating chestnuts, roots, bark, and grass. Overwhelmed officials recorded pitiful tales of suffering. Women and children died while waiting in line for food at convents or churches. In eastern France in 1637, a witness reported, "The roads were paved with people. . . . Finally it came to cannibalism." Compassion sometimes gave way

to fear when hungry vagabonds, who sometimes banded together to beg for bread, became more aggressive, occasionally threatening to burn a barn if they were not given food.

Successive bad harvests led to malnutrition, which weakened people and made them more susceptible to such epidemic diseases as the plague, typhoid fever, typhus, dysentery, smallpox, and influenza. Disease did not spare the rich, although many epidemics hit the poor hardest. The plague was feared most: in one year it could cause the death of up to half of a town's or village's population, and it struck with no discernible pattern. Nearly 5 percent of France's entire population died just in the plague of 1628–1632.

The Changing Status of the Peasantry. Economic crisis widened the gap between rich and poor. Peasants shouldered many burdens, including rent and various fees for inheriting or selling land and tolls for using mills, wine presses, or ovens. States collected direct taxes on land and sales taxes on such consumer goods as salt, an essential preservative. Protestant and Catholic churches alike exacted a tithe (a tax equivalent to one-tenth of the parishioner's annual income); often the clergy took their tithe in the form of crops and collected it directly during the harvest. Any reversal of fortune could force peasants into the homeless world of vagrants and beggars, who numbered as much as 2 percent of the total population.

In England, the Dutch Republic, northern France, and northwestern Germany, the peasantry was disappearing. Improvements gave some peasants the means to become farmers who rented substantial holdings, produced for the market, and in good times enjoyed relative comfort and higher status. Those who could not afford to plant new crops such as maize (American corn) or to use techniques that ensured higher yields became simple laborers with little or no land of their own. One-half to four-fifths of the peasants did not have enough land to support a family. They descended deeper into debt during difficult times and often lost their land to wealthier farmers or to city officials intent on developing rural estates.

As the recession deepened, women lost some of their economic opportunities. Widows who had been able to take over their late husbands' trade now found themselves excluded by the urban guilds or limited to short tenures. Many women went into domestic service until they married, some for their entire lives. When town governments began to fear the effects of increased mo-

bility from country to town and town to town, they carefully regulated the work of female servants, requiring women to stay in their positions unless they could prove mistreatment by a master.

Effects on Marriage and Childbearing. European families reacted to economic downturn by postponing marriage and having fewer children. When hard times passed, more people married and had more children. But even in the best of times, one-fifth to one-quarter of all children died in their first year, and half died before age twenty. Childbirth still carried great risks for women, about 10 percent of whom died in the process. Even in the richest and most enlightened homes, childbirth often occasioned an atmosphere of panic. To allay their fears, women sometimes depended on magic stones, special pilgrimages, or prayers. Midwives delivered most babies; physicians were scarce, and even those who did attend births were generally less helpful than midwives. The Englishwoman Alice Thornton described in her diary how a doctor bled her to prevent a miscarriage after a fall (bloodletting, often by the application of leeches, was a common medical treatment); her son died anyway in a breech birth that almost killed her, too.

It might be assumed that families would have more children to compensate for high death rates, but beginning in the early seventeenth century and continuing until the end of the eighteenth, families in all ranks of society started to limit the number of children. Because methods of contraception were not widely known, they did this for the most part by marrying later; the average age at marriage during the seventeenth century rose from the early twenties to the late twenties. The average family had about four children. Poorer families seem to have had fewer children, wealthier ones more. Peasant couples, especially in eastern and southeastern Europe, had more children than urban couples because cultivation still required intensive manual labor—and having children was the most economical means of securing enough laborers.

The consequences of late marriage were profound. Young men and women were expected to put off marriage (and sexual intercourse) until their mid to late twenties—if they were among the lucky 50 percent who lived that long and not among the 10 percent who never married. Because both Protestant and Catholic clergy alike stressed sexual fidelity and abstinence before marriage, the number of births out of wedlock was relatively small (2–5 percent of births); premarital intercourse was generally tolerated only after a couple had announced their engagement.

The Economic Balance of Power

Just as the recession produced winners and losers among ordinary people, so too it created winners and losers among the competing states of Europe. The economies of southern Europe declined during this period, whereas those of the northwest emerged stronger. Competition in the New World reflected and reinforced this shift as the English, Dutch, and French rushed to establish trading outposts and permanent settlements to compete with the Spanish and Portuguese.

Regional Differences. The new powers of northwestern Europe with their growing Atlantic trade gradually displaced the Mediterranean economies, which had dominated European commerce since the time of the Greeks and Romans. With expanding populations and geographical positions that promoted Atlantic trade, England and the Dutch Republic vied with France to become the leading mercantile powers. Northern Italian industries were eclipsed; Spanish commerce with the New World dropped. Amsterdam replaced Seville, Venice, Genoa, and Antwerp as the center of European trade and commerce. Even the plague contributed to this difference. Whereas central Europe and the Mediterranean countries took generations to recover from its ravages, northwestern Europe quickly replaced its lost population, no doubt because this area's people had suffered less from the effects of the Thirty Years' War and from the malnutrition related to the economic crisis.

All but the remnants of serfdom had disappeared in western Europe, yet in eastern Europe nobles reinforced their dominance over peasants, and the burden of serfdom increased. The price rise of the sixteenth century prompted Polish and eastern German nobles to increase their holdings and step up their production of grain for western markets. They demanded more rent and dues from their peasants, whom the government decreed must stay in their villages. In the economic downturn of the first half of the seventeenth century, peasants who were already dependent became serfs—completely tied to the land. A local official might complain of “this barbaric and as it were Egyptian servitude,” but he had no power to fight the nobles. In Muscovy, the complete enserfment of the peasantry would eventually be recognized in the Code of Laws in 1649. Although enserfment produced short-term profits for landlords, in the long run it retarded economic development in eastern Europe and kept most of the population in a stranglehold of illiteracy and hardship.

Competition in the New World. Economic realignment also took place across the Atlantic ocean. Because Spain and Portugal had divided between themselves the rich spoils of South America, other prospective colonizers had to carve niches in seemingly less hospitable places, especially North America and the Caribbean (Map 15.4). Eventually, the English, French, and Dutch would dominate commerce with these colonies. Many European states, including Sweden and Denmark, rushed to join the colonial competition as a

way of increasing national wealth. To this end, they chartered private joint-stock companies to enrich investors by importing fish, furs, tobacco, and precious metals, if they could be found, and to develop new markets for European products.

In establishing permanent colonies, the Europeans created whole new communities across the Atlantic. Careful plans could not always surmount the hazards of transatlantic shipping, however. Originally, the warm climate of Virginia made it an attractive destination for the Pilgrims, a small

English sect that attempted to separate from the Church of England. But the *Mayflower*, which had sailed for Virginia with Pilgrim emigrants, landed far to the north in Massachusetts, where in 1620 the settlers founded New Plymouth Colony. By the 1640s, the British North American colonies had more than fifty thousand people—not including the Indians, whose numbers had been decimated in epidemics and wars—and the foundations of representative government in locally chosen colonial assemblies.

In contrast, French Canada had only about three thousand European inhabitants by 1640. Though thin in numbers, the French rapidly moved into the Great Lakes region. Fur traders sought beaver pelts to make the hats that had taken Paris fashion by storm. Jesuit missionaries lived with native American groups, learning their languages and describing their ways of life. Both England and France turned their attention to the Caribbean in the 1620s and 1630s when they occupied the islands of the West Indies after driving off the native Caribs. These islands would prove ideal for a plantation economy of tobacco and sugarcane.

Even as the British and French moved into North America and the Caribbean, Spanish explorers traveled the Pacific coast up to what is now northern California and pushed into New Mexico. On the other side of the world, in the Philippines, the Spanish competed with local Muslim rulers and indigenous tribal leaders to extend their control. Catholic missionaries printed tracts in Spanish and the islands' native Tagalog and established a university in 1611. Spanish officials



MAP 15.4 European Colonization of the Americas, c. 1640

Europeans coming to the Americas established themselves first in coastal areas. The English, French, and Dutch set up most of their colonies in the Caribbean and North America because the Spanish and Portuguese had already colonized the easily accessible regions in South America. Vast inland areas still remained unexplored and uncolonized in 1640.



“Savages” of the New World

The half-dressed savage appears much like a noble Italian in Paolo Farinati’s 1595 painting *America*; he holds a crucifix in his right hand, signifying his conversion to Christianity. But to his left, a figure is roasting human flesh. Europeans were convinced that many native peoples were cannibals. What can we conclude from this painting about European attitudes toward peoples of the New World? (*Villa della Torre, Mezzane de Sotto, Verona.*)

worked closely with the missionaries to rule over a colony composed of indigenous peoples, Spaniards, and some Chinese merchants.

REVIEW: What were the consequences of economic recession in the early 1600s?

The Rise of Secular and Scientific Worldviews

The countries that moved ahead economically in the first half of the seventeenth century—England, the Dutch Republic, and to some extent France—turned out to be the most receptive to new secular worldviews. In the long-term process known as **secularization**, religion became a matter of private conscience rather than public policy. Secularization did not entail a loss of religious faith, but it did prompt a search for nonreligious explanations for political authority and natural phenomena. During the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, art, political theory, and science all began to break their bonds with religion. The visual arts, for example, more frequently depicted secular subjects. Scientists and scholars sought laws in nature to explain politics as well as

movements in the heavens and on earth. A scientific revolution was in the making. Yet traditional attitudes did not disappear. Belief in magic and witchcraft pervaded every level of society. People of all classes believed that the laws of nature reflected a divine plan for the universe. They accepted supernatural explanations for natural phenomena, a view only gradually and partially undermined by new ideas.

The Arts in an Age of Crisis

Two new forms of artistic expression—professional theater and opera—provided an outlet for secular values in an age of conflict over religious beliefs. The greatest playwright of the English language, William Shakespeare, never referred to religious disputes in his plays, and he always set his most personal reflections on political turmoil and uncertainty in faraway times or places. Religion played an important role in the new mannerist and baroque styles of painting, however, even though many rulers commissioned paintings on secular subjects for their own uses.

Theater in the Age of Shakespeare. The first professional acting companies performed before paying audiences in London, Seville, and Madrid in the 1570s. In previous centuries, traveling companies made their living by playing at major religious festivals and by repeating their performances in small towns and villages along the way. A huge outpouring of playwriting followed upon the formation of permanent professional theater

secularization: The trend toward making religious faith a private domain rather than one directly connected to state power and science; it prompted a search for nonreligious explanations for political authority and natural phenomena.

companies. The Spanish playwright Lope de Vega (1562–1635) alone wrote more than fifteen hundred plays. Theaters were extremely popular despite Puritan opposition in England and Catholic objections in Spain. Shopkeepers, apprentices, lawyers, and court nobles crowded into open-air theaters to see everything from bawdy farces to profound tragedies.

The most enduring and influential playwright of the time was the Englishman William Shakespeare (1564–1616), who wrote three dozen plays, comedies as well as tragedies, and acted in one of the chief troupes. Although Shakespeare's plays were not set in contemporary England, they reflected the concerns of his age: the nature of power and the crisis of authority. His tragedies in particular show the uncertainty and even chaos that result when power is misappropriated or misused. In *Hamlet* (1601), for example, Hamlet's mother marries the man who murdered his royal father and usurped the crown. In the end, Hamlet, his mother, and the usurper all die. One character in the final act describes the tragic story of Prince Hamlet as one "Of carnal, bloody, and unnatural acts;/Of accidental judgments, casual slaughters;/Of deaths put on by cunning and forced cause." Like many real-life people, Shakespeare's tragic characters found little peace in the turmoil of their times.

Mannerism and the Baroque in Art. Although painting did not always touch broad popular audiences in the ways that theater could, new styles in art and especially church architecture helped shape ordinary people's experience of religion. In the late sixteenth century, the artistic style known as mannerism emerged in the Italian states and soon spread across Europe. Mannerism was an almost theatrical style that allowed painters to distort perspective to convey a message or emphasize a theme. The most famous mannerist painter, called El Greco because he was of Greek origin, trained in Venice and Rome before he moved to Spain in the 1570s. The religious intensity of El Greco's pictures found a ready audience in Catholic Spain, which had proved immune to the Protestant suspicion of ritual and religious imagery (see Philip II of Spain, page 457).

The most important new style was the **baroque**, which, like mannerism, originated in the Italian states. In place of the Renaissance emphasis on harmonious design, unity, and clarity, the

baroque featured curves, exaggerated lighting, intense emotions, release from restraint, and even a kind of artistic sensationalism. Like many other historical designations, the word *baroque* was not used as a label by people living at the time; in the eighteenth century, art critics coined the word to mean shockingly bizarre, confused, and extravagant, and until the late nineteenth century, art historians and collectors largely disdained the baroque.

Closely tied to Catholic resurgence after the Reformation, the baroque melodramatically reaffirmed the emotional depths of the Catholic faith and glorified both church and monarchy (see "Seeing History," page 473). The style spread from Rome to other Italian states and then into central Europe. The Catholic Habsburg territories, including Spain and the Spanish Netherlands, embraced the style. The Spanish built baroque churches in their American colonies as part of their massive conversion campaign.

Opera. A new secular musical form, the opera, grew up parallel to the baroque style in the visual arts. First influential in the Italian states, opera combined music, drama, dance, and scenery in a grand sensual display, often with themes chosen to please the ruler and the aristocracy. Operas could be based on typically baroque sacred subjects or on traditional stories. Like many playwrights, including Shakespeare, opera composers often turned to familiar stories their audiences would recognize and readily follow. One of the most innovative composers of opera was Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643), whose work contributed to the development of both opera and the orchestra. His earliest operatic production, *Orfeo* (1607), was based on Greek mythology. It required an orchestra of about forty instruments, and unlike previous composers, Monteverdi wrote parts for specific instruments as well as voices.

The Natural Laws of Politics

In reaction to the religious wars, writers not only began to defend the primacy of state interests over those of religious conformity but also insisted on secular explanations for politics. Machiavelli had pointed in this direction with his advice to Renaissance princes in the early sixteenth century, but this secular intellectual movement gathered steam in the aftermath of the religious violence unleashed by the Reformation. Adherents believed that religious toleration could not take hold until government could be organized on some principle other than one king, one faith. The French

baroque (buh ROHK): An artistic style of the seventeenth century that featured curves, exaggerated lighting, intense emotions, release from restraint, and even a kind of artistic sensationalism.

SEEING HISTORY

Religious Differences in Painting of the Baroque Period: Rubens and Rembrandt

Although the arts rarely reflect rigid religious or political divisions, artists do respond to the times in which they live. Protestant artists could not ignore the growing influence of the baroque style, but they also sought to distinguish themselves from it because of its association with the Catholic Counter-Reformation. The baroque style emphasized intense emotions, monumental decors, and even a kind of artistic sensationalism. Protestant artists, like Protestant preachers, wanted to produce strong reactions, too, but they placed more emphasis on the inner experience than on public display.

Here you see two paintings on the same biblical theme, one by Peter Paul

Rubens (1577–1640), the great Catholic pioneer of the baroque style, and one by Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669), a Dutch Protestant. The subject of the paintings, taken from the Old Testament, is a scandalous one: when King David saw Bathsheba bathing, he fell in love with her, seduced her, and arranged for her husband to be killed in battle so that he might marry her.

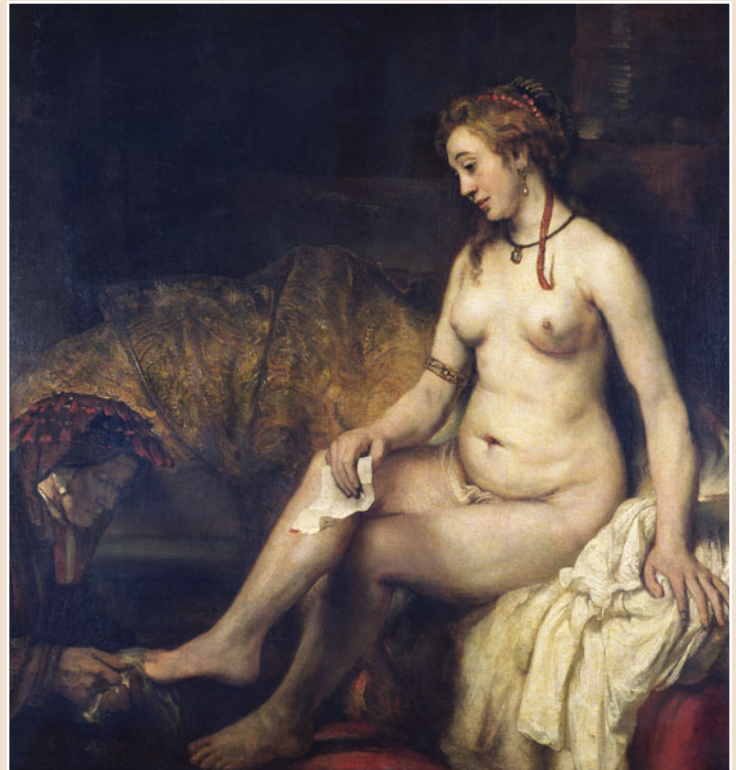
Even though the central figure is the same in each painting, the artists' treatments are not. Look at the differences in settings, the number of people in the pictures, the colors, the lighting, and especially the facial expressions. In the Rubens, Bathsheba is about to receive a letter of summons from King David (shown on the

balcony above), whereas in the Rembrandt she has just read the letter. What are the differences in feeling conveyed in the two depictions of Bathsheba? Why would Rembrandt draw attention to the sadness felt by Bathsheba, and how might this relate to the Protestant emphasis on each person's individual relationship to God? How do the setting and the lighting reinforce this emphasis on inwardness in the Rembrandt painting? Do not assume, however, that every difference in approach can be attributed to religious differences. Rembrandt created his own sensation by depicting Bathsheba almost entirely nude (and using his own mistress as the model).



Peter Paul Rubens, *Bathsheba at the Fountain*, c. 1635.

(© Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden, Germany/The Bridgeman Art Library.)



Rembrandt van Rijn, *Bathsheba at Her Bath*, 1654.

(© Louvre, Paris, France/Giraudon/The Bridgeman Art Library.)

politiques Michel de Montaigne and Jean Bodin started the search for those principles, and the Dutch legal scholar Hugo Grotius developed ideas on government that would influence John Locke and the American revolutionaries of the eighteenth century.

Montaigne and Bodin. Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592) was a French magistrate who resigned his office in the midst of the wars of religion to write about the need for tolerance and open-mindedness. Although himself a Catholic, Montaigne painted on the beams of his study the statement “All that is certain is that nothing is certain.” To capture this need for personal reflection in a tumultuous age of religious discord, he invented the essay as a short and pithy form of expression. He revived the ancient doctrine of skepticism, which held that total certainty is never attainable—a doctrine, like toleration of religious differences, that was repugnant to Protestants and Catholics alike, both of whom were certain that their religion was the right one. He also questioned the common European habit of calling the native peoples of the New World barbarous and savage: “Everyone gives the title of barbarism to everything that is not in use in his own country.”

The French Catholic lawyer Jean Bodin (1530–1596) sought systematic secular answers to the problem of disorder in *The Six Books of the Republic* (1576). Comparing the different forms of government throughout history, he concluded that there were three basic types of sovereignty: monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. Only strong monarchical power offered hope for maintaining order, he insisted. Bodin rejected any doctrine of the right to resist tyrannical authority: “I denied that it was the function of a good man or of a good citizen to offer violence to his prince for any reason, however great a tyrant he might be” (and, it might be added, whatever his ideas on religion). While Bodin’s ideas helped lay the foundation for absolutism, the idea that the monarch should be the sole and uncontested source of power, his systematic discussion of types of governments implied that they might be subject to choice and undercut the notion that monarchies were ordained by God, as most rulers maintained.

Grotius and Natural Law. During the Dutch revolt against Spain, Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) furthered secular thinking by attempting to systematize the notion of “natural law”—laws of nature that give legitimacy to government and stand above the actions of any particular ruler or

religious group. Grotius argued that natural law stood beyond the reach of either secular or divine authority; it would be valid even if God did not exist (though Grotius himself believed in God). By this account, natural law—not scripture, religious authority, or tradition—should govern politics. Such ideas got Grotius into trouble with both Catholics and Protestants. His work *The Laws of War and Peace* (1625) was condemned by the Catholic church, while the Dutch Protestant government arrested him for taking part in religious controversies. Grotius’s wife helped him escape prison by hiding him in a chest of books. He fled to Paris, where he got a small pension from Louis XIII and served as his ambassador to Sweden. The Swedish king Gustavus Adolphus claimed that he kept Grotius’s book under his pillow even while at battle. Grotius was one of the first to argue that international conventions should govern the treatment of prisoners of war and the making of peace treaties.

Grotius’s conception of natural law also challenged the widespread use of torture. Most states and the courts of the Catholic church used torture when a serious crime had been committed and the evidence seemed to point to a particular defendant but no definitive proof had been established. The judges ordered torture—hanging the accused by the hands with a rope thrown over a beam, pressing the legs in a leg screw, or just tying the hands very tightly—to extract a confession, which had to be given with a medical expert and notary present and had to be repeated without torture. Children, pregnant women, the elderly, aristocrats, kings, and even professors were exempt.

To be in accord with natural law, Grotius argued, governments had to defend natural rights, which he defined as life, body, freedom, and honor. Grotius did not encourage rebellion in the name of natural law or rights, but he did hope that someday all governments would adhere to these principles and stop killing their own and one another’s subjects in the name of religion. Natural law and natural rights would play an important role in the founding of constitutional governments from the 1640s forward and in the establishment of various charters of human rights in our own time.

The Scientific Revolution

Although the Catholic and Protestant churches encouraged the study of science and many prominent scientists were themselves clerics, the search for a secular, scientific method of determining the laws of nature undermined traditional accounts of

natural phenomena. Christian doctrine had incorporated the scientific teachings of ancient philosophers, especially Ptolemy and Aristotle; now these came into question. A revolution in astronomy contested the Ptolemaic view, endorsed by the Catholic church, which held that the sun revolved around the earth. Startling breakthroughs took place in medicine, too, which laid the foundations for modern anatomy and pharmacology. Supporters of these new developments argued for a **scientific method** that would combine experimental observation and mathematical deduction. The use of scientific method culminated in the astounding breakthroughs of Isaac Newton at the end of the seventeenth century. Newton's ability to explain the motion of the planets, as well as everyday objects on earth, gave science enormous new prestige.

The Revolution in Astronomy. The traditional account of the movement of the heavens derived from the second-century Greek astronomer Ptolemy, who put the earth at the center of the cosmos. Above the earth were fixed the moon, the stars, and the planets in concentric crystalline spheres; beyond these fixed spheres dwelt God and the angels. The planets revolved around the earth at the command of God. In this view, the sun revolved around the earth; the heavens were perfect and unchanging, and the earth was “corrupted.” Ptolemy insisted that the planets revolved in perfectly circular orbits (because circles were more “perfect” than other figures). To account for the actual elliptical paths that could be observed and calculated, he posited orbits within orbits, or epicycles.

In 1543, the Polish clergyman Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543) began the revolution in astronomy by publishing his treatise *On the Revolution of the Celestial Spheres*. Copernicus attacked the Ptolemaic account, arguing that the earth and planets revolved around the sun, a view known as **heliocentrism** (a sun-centered universe). He discovered that by placing the sun instead of the earth at the center of the system of spheres, he could eliminate many epicycles from the calculations. In other words, he claimed that the heliocentric view simplified the mathematics. Copernicus died soon after publishing his theories, but when the Italian monk Giordano Bruno (1548–1600) taught helio-

centrism, the Catholic Inquisition (set up to seek out heretics) arrested him and burned him at the stake.

Copernicus's views began to attract widespread attention in the early 1600s, when astronomers systematically collected evidence that undermined the Ptolemaic view. A leader among them was the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe (1546–1601), who designed his own instruments and observed a new star in 1572 and a comet in 1577. These discoveries called into question the traditional view that the universe was unchanging. Brahe still rejected heliocentrism, but the assistant he employed when he moved to Prague in 1599, Johannes Kepler (1571–1630), was converted to the Copernican view. Kepler continued Brahe's collection of planetary observations and used the evidence to develop his three laws of planetary motion, published between 1609 and 1619. Kepler's laws provided mathematical backing for heliocentrism and directly challenged the claim long held, even by Copernicus, that planetary motion was circular. Kepler's first law stated that the orbits of the planets are ellipses, with the sun always at one focus of the ellipse.

The Italian Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) provided more evidence to support the heliocentric view and also challenged the doctrine that the heavens were perfect and unchanging. After learning in 1609 that two Dutch astronomers had built a telescope, he built a better one and observed the earth's moon, four satellites of Jupiter, the phases of Venus (a cycle of changing physical appearances), and sunspots. The moon, the planets, and the sun were no more perfect than the earth, he insisted, and the shadows he could see on the moon could only be the product of hills and valleys like those on earth. Galileo portrayed the earth as a moving part of a larger system, only one of many planets revolving around the sun, not as the fixed center of a single, closed universe.

Because he recognized the utility of the new science for everyday projects, Galileo published his work in Italian, rather than Latin. But he meant only to instruct an educated elite of merchants and aristocrats. The new science, he claimed, suited “the minds of the wise,” not “the shallow minds of the common people.” After all, his discoveries challenged the commonsensical view that it is the sun that rises and sets while the earth stands still. If the Bible was wrong about motion in the universe, as Galileo's position implied, the error came from the Bible's use of common language to appeal to the lower orders. The Catholic church was not mollified by this explanation. In 1616, the church for-

scientific method: The combination of experimental observation and mathematical deduction that was used to determine the laws of nature and became the secular standard of truth.

heliocentrism: The view articulated by Polish clergyman Nicolaus Copernicus that the earth and planets revolve around the sun.

The Trial of Galileo

In this anonymous painting of the trial held in 1633, Galileo appears seated on a chair in the center facing the church officials who accused him of heresy for insisting that the sun, not the earth, was the center of the universe (heliocentrism). Catholic officials forced him to recant or suffer the death penalty. (Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY)



bade Galileo to teach that the earth moves; then, in 1633, it accused him of not obeying the earlier order. Forced to appear before the Inquisition, he agreed to publicly recant his assertion about the movement of the earth to save himself from torture and death. (See Document, “Sentence Pronounced against Galileo,” page 477, and painting, The Trial of Galileo, above.) Afterward, he lived under house arrest and could publish his work only in the Dutch Republic, which had become a haven for iconoclastic scientists and thinkers.

Breakthroughs in Medicine. Just as astronomical knowledge was based on Ptolemy’s work, medical knowledge in Europe was, until the mid-sixteenth century, based on the writings of the second-century Greek physician Galen, Ptolemy’s contemporary. Galen derived his knowledge of the anatomy of the human body from partial dissections. In the same year that Copernicus challenged the traditional account in astronomy (1543), the Flemish scientist Andreas Vesalius (1514–1564) did the same for anatomy. Drawing on public dissections (which had been condemned by the Catholic church since 1300) he performed himself, Vesalius refuted Galen’s work in his illustrated anatomical text, *On the Construction of the Human Body*. The German physician Paracelsus (1493–1541) went even further than Vesalius. In 1527, he burned Galen’s text at the University of Basel, where he was a professor of medicine. Paracelsus performed operations (at the time, most academic physicians

taught medical theory, not practice) and pursued his interests in magic, alchemy, and astrology. He also experimented with new drugs and thus helped establish the modern science of pharmacology.

Like Vesalius, the Englishman William Harvey (1578–1657) used dissection to examine the circulation of blood within the body, demonstrating how the heart worked as a pump. The heart and its valves were “a piece of machinery,” Harvey insisted. They obeyed mechanical laws just as the planets and earth revolved around the sun in a mechanical universe. Nature could be understood by experiment and rational deduction, not by following traditional authorities.

Scientific Method: Bacon and Descartes. In the 1630s, the European intellectual elite began to accept the new scientific views. Ancient learning, the churches and their theologians, and long-standing popular beliefs all seemed to be undercut by the scientific method. Two men were chiefly responsible for spreading the reputation of the scientific method in the first half of the seventeenth century: the English Protestant politician Sir Francis Bacon (1561–1626) and the French Catholic mathematician and philosopher René Descartes (1596–1650). They represented the two essential halves of the scientific method: inductive reasoning through observation and experimental research, and deductive reasoning from self-evident principles.

In *The Advancement of Learning* (1605), Bacon attacked reliance on ancient writers and optimisti-

DOCUMENT

Sentence Pronounced against Galileo (1633)

In 1633, the Roman Inquisition, a committee of cardinals of the Catholic church, considered the case against Galileo and pronounced its final judgment. It found Galileo guilty of heresy against Catholic doctrine for defending heliocentrism but allowed him to recant and thus avoid the death penalty usual in cases of heresy. In 1980, Pope John Paul II appointed a commission to review the evidence and verdict. Four years later, the commission published its findings and concluded that the judges who condemned Galileo were wrong.

We say, pronounce, sentence, and declare that you, the above-mentioned Galileo, because of the things deduced in the trial and confessed by you as above, have rendered yourself according to this Holy

Office [Inquisition] vehemently suspected of heresy, namely of having held and believed a doctrine which is false and contrary to the divine and Holy Scripture: that the sun is the center of the world and does not move from east to west, and the earth moves and is not the center of the world, and that one may hold and defend as probable an opinion after it has been declared and defined contrary to Holy Scripture. Consequently you have incurred all the censures and penalties imposed and promulgated by the sacred canons and all particular and general laws against such delinquents. We are willing to absolve you from them provided that first, with a sincere heart and unfeigned faith, in front of us you abjure, curse, and detest the above-mentioned

errors and heresies, and every other error and heresy contrary to the Catholic and Apostolic Church, in the manner and form we will prescribe to you.

Furthermore, so that this serious and pernicious error and transgression of yours does not remain completely unpunished, and so that you will be more cautious in the future and an example for others to abstain from similar crimes, we order that the book *Dialogue* [*Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems*, published in 1632] by Galileo Galilei be prohibited by public edict.

Source: Maurice A. Finocchiaro, ed., *The Galileo Affairs: A Documentary History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 291.

cally predicted that the scientific method would lead to social progress. The minds of the medieval scholars, he said, had been “shut up in the cells of a few authors (chiefly Aristotle, their dictator) as their persons were shut up in the cells of monasteries and colleges,” and they could therefore produce only “cobwebs of learning” that were “of no substance or profit.” Advancement would take place only through the collection, comparison, and analysis of information. Knowledge, in Bacon’s view, must be empirically based (that is, gained by observation and experiment). Claiming that God had called the Catholic church “to account for their degenerate manners and ceremonies,” Bacon looked to the Protestant English state, which he served as lord chancellor, for leadership on the road to scientific advancement.

Although Descartes agreed with Bacon’s denunciation of traditional learning, he saw that the attack on tradition might only replace the dogmatism of the churches with the skepticism of Montaigne—that nothing at all was certain. Descartes aimed to establish the new science on more secure philosophical foundations, those of mathematics and logic. In his *Discourse on Method* (1637), he argued that mathematical and mechanical principles provided the key to understanding all of nature, including the actions of people and

states. All prior assumptions must be repudiated in favor of one elementary principle: “I think, therefore I am.” Everything else could—and should—be doubted, but even doubt showed the certain existence of someone thinking. Begin with the simple and go on to the complex, Descartes asserted, and believe only those ideas that present themselves “clearly and distinctly.” He insisted that human reason could not only unravel the secrets of nature but also prove the existence of God. Although he hoped to secure the authority of both church and state, his reliance on human reason rather than faith irritated authorities, and his books were banned in many places. He moved to the Dutch Republic to work in peace. Scientific research, like economic growth, became centered in the northern, Protestant countries, where it was less constrained by church control than in the Catholic south.

Newton and the Consolidation of the Scientific Revolution. The power of the new scientific method was dramatically confirmed in the grand synthesis of the laws of movement developed by the English natural philosopher Isaac Newton (1642–1727). Born five years after the publication of Descartes’s *Discourse on Method* and educated at Cambridge University, where he later became a professor, Newton attacked an astounding variety

of problems in mathematics, mechanics, and optics. For example, he established the basis for the new mathematics of moving bodies, the infinitesimal calculus. After years of labor, he finally brought his most significant mathematical and mechanical discoveries together in his masterwork, *Principia Mathematica* (1687). In it, he developed his law of universal gravitation, which explained both movement on earth and the motion of the planets. His law held that every body in the universe exerts over every other body an attractive force directly proportional to the product of their masses and inversely proportional to the square of the distance between them. This law of universal gravitation explained Kepler's elliptical planetary orbits just as it accounted for the way an apple fell to the ground.

To establish his law of universal gravitation, Newton first applied mathematical principles to formulate three fundamental physical laws: (1) in the absence of force, motion continues in a straight line; (2) the rate of change in the motion of an object is a result of the forces acting on it; and (3) the action of one object on another has an equal and opposite reaction. Newtonian physics thus combined mass, inertia, force, velocity, and acceleration—all key concepts in modern science—and made them quantifiable. Newton knew that the stakes were high: "From the same principles [of motion] I now demonstrate the frame of the System of the World."

Once set in motion, in Newton's view, the universe operated like a masterpiece made possible by the ingenuity of God. Newton saw no conflict between faith and science. He believed that by demonstrating that the physical universe followed rational principles, natural philosophers could prove the existence of God and so liberate humans from doubt and the fear of chaos. Even while laying the foundation for modern physics, optics, and mechanics, Newton spent long hours trying to calculate the date of the beginning of the world and its end with the second coming of Jesus. Others, less devout than Newton, envisioned a clockwork universe that had no need for God's continuing intervention.

Some scientists, especially those on the continent, were reluctant to accept Newton's planetary theories. The Dutch scientist Christian Huygens, for example, declared the concept of attraction (action at a distance) "absurd." But within a couple of generations, Newton's work had gained widespread assent, partly because of experimental verification.

Magic and Witchcraft

Despite the new emphasis on clear reasoning, observation, and independence from past authorities, magic and science were still closely linked even in the greatest minds. Many scholars, like Paracelsus and Newton, studied alchemy alongside other scientific pursuits. Elizabeth I maintained a court astrologer who was also a serious mathematician, and many writers distinguished between "natural magic," which was close to experimental science, and demonic "black magic." The astronomer Tycho Brahe defended his studies of alchemy and astrology as part of natural magic.

In a world in which most people believed in astrology, magical healing, prophecy, and ghosts, it is hardly surprising that many of Europe's learned people also firmly believed in witchcraft, that is, the exercise of magical powers gained by a pact with the devil. The same Jean Bodin who argued against religious fanaticism insisted on death for witches—and for those magistrates who would not prosecute them. In France alone, 345 books and pamphlets on witchcraft appeared between 1550 and 1650. Trials of witches peaked in Europe between 1560 and 1640, the very time of the celebrated breakthroughs of the new science. Montaigne was one of the few to speak out against executing accused witches: "It is taking one's conjectures rather seriously to roast someone alive for them," he wrote in 1580.

Belief in witches was not new in the sixteenth century. Witches had long been blamed for de-

Giving a Child to Satan

This woodcut from Francesco Maria Guazzo's *Compendium Maleficarum* of 1608 shows witches giving a child to the devil. Many believed that witches made a pact with the devil to carry out his evil deeds. (The Art Archive/Dagli Orti [A].)



stroying crops and causing personal catastrophes ranging from miscarriage to madness. What was new was official persecution by state and religious authorities. In a time of economic crisis, plague, warfare, and the clash of religious differences, witchcraft trials provided an outlet for social stress and anxiety, legitimated by state power. Denunciation and persecution of witches coincided with the spread of reform, both Protestant and Catholic. Witch trials concentrated especially in the German lands of the Holy Roman Empire, the boiling cauldron of the Thirty Years' War.

The victims of the persecution were overwhelmingly female: women accounted for 80 percent of the accused witches in about 100,000 trials in Europe and North America during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. About one-third were sentenced to death. Before 1400, when witchcraft trials were rare, nearly half of those accused had been men. Why did attention now shift to women? Official descriptions of witchcraft oozed lurid details of sexual orgies, incest, homosexuality, and cannibalism, in which women acted as the devil's sexual slaves. Social factors help explain the prominence of women among the accused. Accusers were almost always better off than those they accused. The poorest and most socially marginal people in most communities were elderly spinsters and widows. Because they were thought likely to hanker after revenge on those more fortunate, they were singled out as witches.

Witchcraft trials declined when scientific thinking about causes and effects raised questions about the evidence used in court: how could judges or jurors be certain that someone was a witch? The tide turned everywhere at about the same time, as physicians, lawyers, judges, and even clergy came to suspect that accusations were based on popular superstition and peasant untrustworthiness. As early as the 1640s, French courts ordered the arrest of witch-hunters and released suspected witches. In 1682, a French royal decree treated witchcraft as fraud and imposture, meaning that the law did not recognize anyone as a witch. In 1693, the jurors who had convicted twenty witches in Salem, Massachusetts, recanted, claiming: "We confess that we ourselves were not capable to understand. . . . We justly fear that we were sadly deluded and mistaken." The Salem jurors had not stopped believing in witches; they had simply lost confidence in their ability to identify them. This was a general pattern. Popular attitudes had not changed; what had changed was the attitudes of the elites. When physicians and judges had believed in witches and carried out official persecutions, with torture, those accused of witchcraft had

gone to their deaths in record numbers. But when the same groups distanced themselves from popular beliefs, the trials and the executions stopped.

REVIEW: How could belief in witchcraft and the rising prestige of scientific method coexist?

Conclusion

The witchcraft persecutions reflected the traumas of these times of religious war, economic decline, and crises of political and intellectual authority. Faced with new threats, some people blamed poor widows or struggling neighbors for their problems; others joined desperate revolts, and still others emigrated to the New World to seek a better life. Even rulers confronted frightening choices: forced abdication, death in battle, or assassination often accompanied their religious decisions, and economic shocks could threaten the stability of their governments.

Deep differences over religion shaped the destinies of every European power in this period. These quarrels came to a head in the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), which cut a path of destruction through central Europe and involved most of the European powers. Repulsed by the effects of religious violence on international relations, European rulers agreed to a peace that effectively removed disputes between Catholics and Protestants from the international arena. The growing separation of political motives from religious ones did not mean that violence or conflict had ended, however. Struggles for religious uniformity within states would continue, though on a smaller scale. Larger armies required more state involvement, and almost everywhere rulers emerged from these decades of war with expanded powers that they would seek to extend further in the second half of the seventeenth century. The growth of state power directly changed the lives of ordinary people: more men went into the armies, and most families paid higher taxes. The constant extension of state power is one of the defining themes of modern history; religious warfare gave it a jump-start.

For all their power and despite repeated efforts, rulers could not control economic, social, or intellectual trends. The economic downturn of the seventeenth century produced unexpected consequences for European states even while it made life miserable for many ordinary people; economic power and vibrancy shifted from the Mediterranean world to northwestern Europe because England, France, and the Dutch Republic,

MAPPING THE WEST

**The Religious Divisions of Europe, c. 1648**

The Peace of Westphalia recognized major religious divisions within Europe that have endured for the most part to the present day. Catholicism dominated in southern Europe, Lutheranism had its stronghold in northern Europe, and Calvinism flourished along the Rhine River. In southeastern Europe, the Islamic Ottoman Turks accommodated the Greek Orthodox Christians under their rule but bitterly fought the Catholic Austrian Habsburgs for control of Hungary.

especially, suffered less from the fighting of the Thirty Years' War and recovered more quickly from the loss of population and production during bad times.

In the face of violence and uncertainty, some began to look for secular alternatives in art, politics, and science. Although it would be foolish to claim that everyone's mental universe changed because of the clash between religious and secular worldviews, a truly monumental shift in attitudes had begun. Secularization encompassed the growing popularity of nonreligious forms of art, such as theater and opera; the search for nonreligious foundations of political authority; and the establishment of scientific method as the standard of truth. Proponents of these changes did not renounce their religious beliefs or even hold them less

fervently, but they did insist that attention to state interests and scientific knowledge could diminish religious violence and popular superstitions.

FOR FURTHER EXPLORATION

- For suggested references, including Web sites, for topics in this chapter, see page SR-1 at the end of the book.
- For additional primary-source material from this period, see Chapter 15 in *Sources of THE MAKING OF THE WEST*, Third Edition.
- For Web sites and documents related to topics in this chapter, see *Make History* at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

CHAPTER REVIEW

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Catherine de Médicis (453)	Peace of Westphalia (463)
Edict of Nantes (455)	<i>raison d'état</i> (464)
<i>politiques</i> (455)	secularization (471)
Philip II (455)	baroque (472)
Lepanto (455)	scientific method (475)
Elizabeth I (458)	heliocentrism (475)
Puritans (458)	

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How did state power depend on religious unity at the end of the sixteenth century and start of the seventeenth?
2. Why did a war fought over religious differences result in stronger states?
3. What were the consequences of economic recession in the early 1600s?
4. How could belief in witchcraft and the rising prestige of scientific method coexist?

MAKING CONNECTIONS

1. How did the balance of power shift in Europe between 1560 and 1648? What were the main reasons for the shift?
2. Relate the new developments in the arts and sciences to the political and economic changes of this period of crisis.

For practice quizzes, a customized study plan, and other study tools, see the Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

IMPORTANT EVENTS

1562	French Wars of Religion begin	1598	French Wars of Religion end with Edict of Nantes
1566	Revolt of Calvinists in the Netherlands against Spain begins	1601	William Shakespeare, <i>Hamlet</i>
1569	Formation of commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania	1618	Thirty Years' War begins
1571	Battle of Lepanto marks victory of West over Ottomans at sea	1625	Hugo Grotius publishes <i>The Laws of War and Peace</i>
1572	St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of French Protestants	1633	Galileo Galilei is forced to recant his support of heliocentrism
1588	English defeat of the Spanish Armada	1635	French join the Thirty Years' War by declaring war on Spain
		1648	Peace of Westphalia ends the Thirty Years' War



State Building and the Search for Order

1648–1690

In May 1664, King Louis XIV of France organized a weeklong series of entertainments for his court at Versailles, where he had recently begun construction of a magnificent new palace. More than six hundred members of his court attended the series of spectacles called “The Delights of the Enchanted Island.” The carefully orchestrated activities opened with an elaborate parade of the king and his courtiers, accompanied by an eighteen-foot-high float in the form of a chariot dedicated to Apollo, Greek god of the sun and Louis’s personally chosen emblem. The king’s favorite artists presented works specially prepared for the occasion, including ballets, plays, and musical concerts. Equestrian tournaments, visits to the king’s personal collection of wild animals and birds, and a huge fireworks display captivated the audience. Every detail of the festivities appeared in an official program published the same year.

Louis XIV spared no expense in promoting his image, especially to those most dangerous to him, the leading nobles of his kingdom. Other mid-seventeenth-century rulers followed his example or explicitly rejected it, but they could not afford to ignore it. All governments faced the daunting task of rebuilding authority after the wars over religion and the economic recession of the early seventeenth century. As part of his campaign to underline his majesty, Louis encouraged leading nobles to dispense huge sums to entertain him and his court. He always spent even more in order to show that he was richer and more powerful than any noble or than any other monarch.

Louis XIV’s model of state building was known as absolutism, a system of government in which the ruler claims sole and uncontested power. Although absolutism exerted great influence beginning in the mid-1600s, especially in central and eastern Europe, it faced competition

Louis XIV and His Bodyguards

One of Louis XIV’s court painters, the Flemish artist Adam Frans van der Meulen, depicted the king arriving at the palace of Versailles, still under construction (the painting dates from 1669). None of the gardens, pools, or statues had been installed. Louis is the only figure facing the viewer, and his dress is much more colorful than that of anyone else in the painting. (*Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY.*)

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from **constitutionalism**, a system in which the ruler shares power with an assembly of elected representatives. Constitutionalism led to weakness in Poland-Lithuania, but it provided a strong foundation for state power in England, the Dutch Republic, and the British North American colonies. Constitutionalism triumphed in England, however, only after one king had been executed as a traitor and another had been deposed. The English conflicts over the nature of authority found their most enduring expression in the writings of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, which laid the foundations of modern political science.

Whether absolutist or constitutionalist, nations faced similar challenges in the mid-seventeenth century. Competition in the international arena required resources, and all states raised taxes in this period, provoking popular protests and rebellions. Monarchs still relied on religion to justify their divine right to rule, but they increasingly sought secular defenses of their powers, too. **Absolutism** and constitutionalism were the two main responses to the threat of disorder and breakdown left as a legacy of the wars over religion.

The search for order took place not only in government and politics but also in intellectual, cultural, and social life. Artists sought means of glorifying power and expressing order and symmetry in new fashion. As states consolidated their power, elites endeavored to distinguish themselves more clearly from the lower orders. The upper classes emulated the manners developed at court and tried in every way to distance themselves from anything viewed as vulgar or lower class. Officials, clergy, and laypeople all worked to reform the poor, now seen

as a major source of disorder. Whether absolutist or constitutionalist, seventeenth-century states all aimed to extend control over their subjects' lives.

FOCUS QUESTION: What were the most important differences between absolutism and constitutionalism, and how did they establish order?

Louis XIV: Absolutism and Its Limits

French king **Louis XIV** (r. 1643–1715) personified the absolutist ruler, who in theory shared his power with no one. Louis personally made all important state decisions and left no room for dissent. In 1655, he reputedly told the Paris high court of justice, “*L’état, c’est moi*” (“I am the state”), emphasizing that state authority rested in him personally. Louis cleverly manipulated the affections and ambitions of his courtiers, chose as his ministers middle-class men who owed everything to him, built up Europe’s largest army, and snuffed out every hint of religious or political opposition. Yet the absoluteness of his power should not be exaggerated. Like all other rulers of his time, Louis depended on the cooperation of many people: local officials who enforced his decrees, peasants and artisans who joined his armies and paid his taxes, creditors who loaned crucial funds, clergy who preached his notion of Catholicism, and nobles who joined court festivities rather than staying home and causing trouble.

constitutionalism: A system of government in which rulers share power with parliaments made up of elected representatives.

absolutism: A system of government in which the ruler claims sole and uncontested power.

Louis XIV: French king (r. 1643–1715) who personified the absolutist ruler; in theory he shared his power with no one, but in practice he had to gain the cooperation of nobles, local officials, and even the ordinary subjects who manned his armies and paid his taxes.

1640	■ 1642–1646 English civil war	■ 1649 Charles I beheaded; new Russian legal code	1660
		■ 1651 Hobbes, <i>Leviathan</i>	
		■ 1648 Peace of Westphalia; Fronde revolt in France; Ukrainian Cossacks rebel; Dutch Republic recognized as independent	■ 1661 Barbados institutes slave code

The Fronde, 1648–1653

Louis XIV's absolutism built on a long French tradition of increasing centralization of state authority, but before he could establish his preeminence he had to weather a series of revolts known as the Fronde. Derived from the French word for a child's slingshot, the term was used by critics to signify that the revolts were mere child's play. In fact, however, they posed an unprecedented threat to the French crown. Louis was only five when he came to the throne in 1643 upon the death of his father, Louis XIII, who with his chief minister, Cardinal Richelieu, had steered France through increasing involvement in the Thirty Years' War, rapidly climbing taxes, and innumerable tax revolts. Louis XIV's mother, Anne of Austria, and her Italian-born adviser and rumored lover, Cardinal Mazarin (1602–1661), ruled in the young monarch's name.

To meet the financial pressure of fighting the Thirty Years' War, Mazarin sold new offices, raised taxes, and forced creditors to extend loans to the government. In 1648, a coalition of his opponents presented him with a charter of demands that, if granted, would have given the parlements (high courts) a form of constitutional power with the right to approve new taxes. Mazarin responded by arresting the leaders of the parlements. He soon faced the series of revolts that at one time or another involved nearly every social group in France.

The Fronde posed an immediate menace to the young king. Fearing for his safety, his mother and members of his court took Louis and fled Paris. With civil war threatening, Mazarin and Anne agreed to compromise with the parlements. The nobles saw an opportunity to reassert their claims to power against the weakened monarchy and renewed their demands for greater local control, which they had lost when the French Wars of Religion ended in 1598. Leading noblewomen often played key roles in the opposition to



Louis XIV, Conqueror of the Fronde

In this painting of 1654, Louis XIV is depicted as the Roman god Jupiter, who crushes the discord of the Fronde (represented on the shield by the Medusa's head made up of snakes). When the Fronde began, Louis was only ten years old; at the time of this painting, he was sixteen. The propaganda about his divine qualities had already begun. (*Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY.*)

Mazarin, carrying messages and forging alliances, especially when male family members were in prison. While the nobles sought to regain power and local influence, the middle and lower classes chafed at the repeated tax increases. Conflicts erupted throughout the kingdom as nobles, parlements, and city councils all raised their own

■ 1667 First of Louis XIV's many wars

■ 1683 Austrian Habsburgs break Turkish siege of Vienna

■ 1685 Louis XIV revokes Edict of Nantes

1670

1680

1690

■ 1678 Madame de Lafayette, *The Princess of Clèves*

■ 1688 William and Mary crowned

■ 1690 Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*; *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*



The Fronde, 1648–1653

armies to fight either the crown or each other, and rampaging soldiers devastated rural areas and disrupted commerce. The urban poor, such as those in the southwestern city of Bordeaux, sometimes revolted as well.

Neither the nobles nor the judges of the parlements really wanted to overthrow the king; they simply wanted a greater share in power. Mazarin and Anne eventually got the upper hand because their opponents failed to maintain unity in fighting the king's forces. But Louis XIV never forgot the humiliation and uncertainty that

marred his childhood. His own policies as ruler would be designed to prevent the recurrence of any such revolts. Yet, for all his success, peasants would revolt against the introduction of new taxes on at least five more occasions in the 1660s and 1670s, requiring tens of thousands of soldiers to reestablish order. Absolutism was in part a fervent hope and not always a reality.

Court Culture as an Element of Absolutism

When Cardinal Mazarin died in 1661, Louis XIV, then twenty-two years old, decided to rule without a first minister. He described the dangers of his situation in memoirs he wrote later for his son's instruction: "Everywhere was disorder. My Court

as a whole was still very far removed from the sentiments in which I trust you will find it." Louis listed many other problems in the kingdom, but none occupied him more than his attempts to control France's leading nobles, some of whom came from families that had opposed him militarily during the Fronde.

Typically quarrelsome, the French nobles had long exercised local authority by maintaining their own fighting forces, meting out justice on their estates, arranging jobs for underlings, and resolving their own conflicts through dueling. Louis set out to domesticate the warrior nobles by replacing violence with court ritual, such as the festivities at Versailles described at the beginning of this chapter. Using a systematic policy of bestowing pensions, offices, honors, gifts, and the threat of disfavor or punishment, Louis induced the nobles to cooperate with him and made himself the center of French power and culture. The aristocracy increasingly vied for his favor, attended the ballets and theatricals he put on, and learned the rules of etiquette he supervised—in short, became his clients, dependent on him for advancement. Great nobles competed for the honor of holding his shirt when he dressed, foreign ambassadors squabbled for places near him, and royal mistresses basked in the glow of his personal favor. Far from the court, however, nobles could still make considerable trouble for the king, and royal officials learned to compromise with them.

Those who did come to the king's court were kept on their toes. The preferred styles changed without notice, and the tiniest lapse in attention to etiquette could lead to ruin. Madame de

Louis XIV Visits the Royal Tapestry Workshop

This tapestry was woven at the Gobelins tapestry workshop between 1673 and 1680. It shows Louis XIV (wearing a red hat) and his minister Colbert (dressed in black, holding his hat) visiting the workshop on the outskirts of Paris. The workshop artisans scurry to show Louis all the luxury objects they manufacture. Louis bought the workshop in 1662 and made it a national enterprise for making tapestries and furniture. (Bridgeman-Giraudon/Art Resource, NY.)



DOCUMENT

Marie de Sévigné, Letter Describing the French Court (1675)

Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, marquise de Sévigné (1626–1696), was the most famous letter writer of her time. A noblewoman born in Paris, she frequented court circles and wrote about her experiences to her friends and relatives, especially her daughter. Although not published in her lifetime, her letters soon gained fame and were copied and read by those in her circle. She wrote her later letters with this audience in mind and so downplayed her own personal feelings, except those of missing her daughter to whom she was deeply attached. This letter from 1675 to her daughter recounts court intrigue surrounding Louis XIV's mistress and the shock when one of France's leading generals was killed in battle. Though Sévigné enjoyed spending time at Louis XIV's

court, she could also write about it with biting wit.

They [the king and his court] were to set off today for Fontainebleau [one of the king's castles near Paris], where the entertainments were to become boring by their very multiplicity. Everything was ready when a bolt fell from the blue that shattered the joy. The populace says it is on account of *Quantova* [Sévigné's nickname for the king's mistress, Madame de Montespan, who gave birth to seven children fathered by Louis XIV], the attachment is still intense. Enough fuss is being made to upset the curé [priest] and everybody else, but perhaps not enough for her, for in her visible triumph there is an underlying sad-

ness. You talk of the pleasures of Versailles, and at the time when they were off to Fontainebleau to plunge into joys, lo and behold M. De Turenne [commander of the French armies during the Dutch War] killed, general consternation, Monsieur le Prince [de Condé, another leading general], rushing off to Germany, France in desolation. Instead of seeing the end of the campaigns and having your brother back [Sévigné's son served in the army], we don't know where we are. There you have the world in its triumph and, since you like them, surprising events.

Source: *Madame de Sévigné: Selected Letters*, translated Leonard Tancock (New York: Penguin Books, 1982), 165.

Lafayette described the court in her novel *The Princess of Clèves* (1678): “The Court gravitated around ambition. Nobody was tranquil or indifferent—everybody was busily trying to better his or her position by pleasing, by helping, or by hindering somebody else.” Elisabeth Charlotte, duchess of Orléans, the German-born sister-in-law of Louis, complained that “everything here is pure self-interest and deviousness.” (See Document, “Marie de Sévigné, Letter Describing the French Court,” above.)

Politics and the Arts. Louis XIV appreciated the political uses of every form of art. Mock battles, extravaganzas, theatrical performances, even the king's dinner—Louis's daily life was a public performance designed to enhance his prestige. Calling himself the Sun King, after Apollo, Greek god of the sun, Louis stopped at nothing to burnish this radiant image. He played Apollo in ballets performed at court; posed for portraits with the emblems of Apollo (laurel, lyre, and tripod); and adorned his palaces with statues of the god. He also emulated the style and methods of ancient Roman emperors. At a celebration for the birth of his first son in 1662, Louis dressed in Roman attire, and many engravings and paintings showed him as a Roman emperor. Commissioned histo-

ries vaunted his achievements, and coins and medals spread his likeness throughout the realm.

The king's officials treated the arts as a branch of government. The king gave pensions to artists who worked for him and sometimes protected writers from clerical critics. The most famous of these was the playwright Molière, whose comedy *Tartuffe* (1664) made fun of religious hypocrites and was loudly condemned by church leaders. Louis forced Molière to delay public performances of the play after its premiere at the festivities of May 1664 but resisted calls for his dismissal. Louis's ministers set up royal academies of dance, painting, architecture, music, and science and took control of the Académie française (French Academy), which to this day decides on correct usage of the French language. Louis's government also regulated the number and locations of theaters and closely censored all forms of publication.

Music and theater enjoyed special prominence. Louis commissioned operas to celebrate royal marriages, baptisms, and military victories. His favorite composer, Jean-Baptiste Lully, wrote sixteen operas for court performances as well as many ballets. Louis himself danced in the ballets if a role seemed especially important. Playwrights often presented their new plays first to the court. Pierre Corneille and Jean-Baptiste Racine

wrote tragedies set in Greece or Rome that celebrated the new aristocratic virtues that Louis aimed to inculcate: a reverence for order and self-control. All the characters were regal or noble, all the language lofty, all the behavior aristocratic.

The Palace of Versailles. Louis glorified his image as well through massive public works projects. Veterans' hospitals and new fortified towns on the frontiers represented his military might. Urban improvements, such as the reconstruction of the Louvre palace in Paris, proved his wealth. But his most ambitious project was the construction of a new palace at Versailles, twelve miles from the turbulent capital (see illustration below).

Building began in the 1660s. By 1685, the frenzied effort engaged thirty-six thousand workers, not including the thousands of troops who diverted a local river to supply water for pools and fountains. The gardens designed by landscape architect André Le Nôtre reflected the spirit of Louis XIV's rule: their geometrical arrangements and clear

lines showed that art and design could tame nature and that order and control defined the exercise of power. Le Nôtre's geometrical landscapes were later imitated in places as far away as St. Petersburg in Russia and Washington, D.C. Versailles symbolized Louis's success in reining in the nobility and dominating Europe, and other monarchs eagerly mimicked French fashion and often conducted their business in French.

Yet for all its apparent luxury and frivolity, life at Versailles was often cramped and cold. Fifteen thousand people crowded into the palace's apartments, including all the highest military officers, the ministers of state, and the separate households of each member of the royal family. Refuse collected in the corridors during the incessant building, and thieves and prostitutes overran the grounds. By the time Louis actually moved from the Louvre to Versailles in 1682, he had reigned as monarch for thirty-nine years. After his wife's death in 1683, he secretly married his mistress, Françoise d'Aubigné, marquise de Maintenon, and

The Palace of Versailles

This painting by Jean-Baptiste Martin from the late seventeenth century gives a good view of one section of the palace and especially the geometrically arranged gardens. What would observers conclude about Louis XIV when they viewed this scene?

(Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY.)



conducted most state affairs from her apartments at the palace. Her opponents at court complained that she controlled all the appointments, but her efforts focused on her own projects, including her favorite: the founding in 1686 of a royal school for girls from impoverished noble families. She also inspired Louis XIV to increase his devotion to Catholicism.

Enforcing Religious Orthodoxy

Louis believed that he reigned by divine right. He served as God's lieutenant on earth and even claimed certain godlike qualities. As Bishop Jacques-Benigne Bossuet (1627–1704) explained, "We have seen that kings take the place of God, who is the true father of the human species. We have also seen that the first idea of power which exists among men is that of the paternal power; and that kings are modeled on fathers." The king, like a father, should instruct his subjects in the true religion, or at least make sure that others did so. In religious questions, too, the king's endeavors to gain more complete control showed both his wide-ranging ambition and the nature of the obstacles he faced.

Louis's campaign for religious conformity first focused on the Jansenists, Catholics whose doctrines and practices resembled some aspects of Protestantism. Following the posthumous publication of the book *Augustinus* (1640) by the Flemish theologian Cornelius Jansen (1585–1638), the Jansenists stressed the need for God's grace in achieving salvation. They emphasized the importance of original sin and resembled the English Puritans in their austere religious practice. Prominent among the Jansenists was Blaise Pascal (1623–1662), a mathematician of genius, who wrote his *Provincial Letters* (1656–1657) to defend Jansenism against charges of heresy. Many judges in the parlements likewise endorsed Jansenist doctrine.

Some questioned Louis's understanding of the finer points of doctrine: according to his sister-in-law, Louis himself "has never read anything about religion, nor the Bible either, and just goes along believing whatever he is told." But Louis rejected any doctrine that gave priority to considerations of individual conscience over the demands of the official church hierarchy, especially when that doctrine had been embraced by some noble supporters of the Fronde. Louis preferred teachings that stressed obedience to authority. Therefore, in 1660 he began enforcing various papal bulls (decrees) against Jansenism and closed down Jansenist theological centers. Jansenists were forced underground for the rest of his reign.

After many years of escalating pressure on the Calvinist Huguenots, Louis decided in 1685 to eliminate all of the Calvinists' rights. Louis considered the Edict of Nantes (1598), by which his grandfather Henry IV granted the Protestants religious freedom and a degree of political independence, a temporary measure, and he fervently hoped to reconvert the Huguenots to Catholicism. His **revocation of the Edict of Nantes** closed their churches and schools, banned all their public activities, and exiled those who refused to embrace the state religion. Tens of thousands of Huguenots responded by emigrating to England, Brandenburg-Prussia, the Dutch Republic, or North America. Many now wrote for publications attacking Louis XIV's absolutism. Protestant European countries were shocked by this crackdown on religious dissent and would cite it in justification of their wars against Louis.

Extending State Authority at Home and Abroad

Louis XIV could not have enforced his religious policies without the services of a nationwide bureaucracy. **Bureaucracy**—a network of state officials carrying out orders according to a regular and routine line of authority—comes from the French word *bureau*, for "desk," which came to mean "office," both in the sense of a physical space and a position of authority. Louis personally supervised the activities of his bureaucrats and worked to ensure his supremacy in all matters. But he always had to negotiate with nobles and local officials who sometimes thwarted his will.

Bureaucracy and Mercantilism. Louis extended the bureaucratic forms his predecessors had developed, especially the use of intendants, officials who held their positions directly from the king rather than owning their offices, as crown officials had traditionally done. Louis handpicked an intendant for each region to represent his rule against entrenched local interests such as the parlements, provincial estates, and noble governors; they supervised the collection of taxes, the financing of public works, and the provisioning of the army. In 1673, Louis decreed that the parlements could no longer vote against his proposed laws or even speak against them. His

revocation of the Edict of Nantes: French king Louis XIV's decision to eliminate the rights of Calvinists granted in the edict of 1598; Louis banned all Calvinist public activities and forced those who refused to embrace the state religion to flee.

bureaucracy: A network of state officials carrying out orders according to a regular and routine line of authority.

intendants reduced local powers over finances and insisted on more efficient tax collection.

Louis's success in consolidating his authority depended on hard work, an eye for detail, and an ear to the ground. In his memoirs he described the tasks he set for himself:

to learn each hour the news concerning every province and every nation, the secrets of every court, the mood and weaknesses of each Prince and of every foreign minister; to be well-informed on an infinite number of matters about which we are supposed to know nothing; to elicit from our subjects what they hide from us with the greatest care; to discover the most remote opinions of our courtiers and the most hidden interests of those who come to us with quite contrary professions [claims].

To gather all this information, Louis relied on a series of talented ministers, usually of modest origins, who gained fame, fortune, and even noble status from serving the king. Most important among them was Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), the son of a wool merchant turned royal official. Colbert had managed Mazarin's personal finances and worked his way up under Louis XIV to become head of royal finances, public works, and the navy. He founded a family dynasty that eventually produced five ministers of state, an archbishop, two bishops, and three generals.

Colbert used the bureaucracy to establish a new economic doctrine, **mercantilism**. According to mercantilist policy, governments must intervene to increase national wealth by whatever means possible. Such government intervention inevitably increased the role and eventually the number of bureaucrats needed. Under Colbert, the French government established overseas trading companies, granted manufacturing monopolies, and standardized production methods for textiles, paper, and soap. A government inspection system regulated the quality of finished goods and compelled all craftsmen to organize into guilds, in which masters could supervise the work of the journeymen and apprentices. To protect French production, Colbert rescinded many internal customs fees but enacted high foreign tariffs, which cut imports of competing goods. To compete more effectively with England and the Dutch Republic, Colbert also subsidized shipbuilding, a policy that dramatically expanded the number of seaworthy vessels. Such mercantilist measures aimed to ensure France's prominence in world markets and to provide the resources needed to fight wars against the increasingly long list of en-

emies. Although later economists questioned the value of this state intervention in the economy, virtually every government in Europe embraced mercantilism.

Colbert's mercantilist projects extended to Canada, where in 1663 he took control of the trading company that had founded New France. He aimed to regulate all economic activity in the colonies. For example, he forbade colonial businesses from manufacturing anything already produced in mainland France. With the goal of establishing permanent settlements like those in the British North American colonies, he transplanted several thousand peasants from western France to the present-day province of Quebec, which France had claimed since 1608. He also tried to limit expansion westward, without success. Despite initial interruption of French fur-trading convoys by the Iroquois, in 1672 fur trader Louis Jolliet and Jesuit missionary Jacques Marquette reached the upper Mississippi River and traveled downstream as far as Arkansas. In 1684, French explorer Sieur de La Salle went all the way down to the Gulf of Mexico, claiming a vast territory for Louis XIV and calling it Louisiana after him. Colbert's successors embraced the expansion he had resisted, thinking it crucial to competing successfully with the English and the Dutch in the New World.

The Army and War. Colonial settlement occupied only a small portion of Louis XIV's attention, however, for his main foreign policy goal was to extend French power in Europe. In pursuing this purpose, he inevitably came up against the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs, whose lands encircled his. To expand French power, Louis needed the biggest possible army. His powerful ministry of war centralized the organization of French troops. Barracks built in major towns received supplies from a central distribution system. The state began to provide uniforms for the soldiers and to offer veterans some hospital care. A militia draft instituted in 1688 supplemented the army in times of war and enrolled a hundred thousand men. Louis's wartime army could field a force as large as that of all his enemies combined.

Absolutist governments always tried to increase their territorial holdings, and as Louis extended his reach, he gained new enemies. In 1667–1668, in the War of Devolution (so called because Louis claimed that lands in the Spanish Netherlands should devolve to him since the Spanish king had failed to pay the dowry of Louis's Spanish bride), Louis defeated the Spanish armies

mercantilism: The doctrine that governments must intervene to increase national wealth by whatever means possible.

but had to make peace when England, Sweden, and the Dutch Republic joined the war. In the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1668, he gained control of a few towns on the border of the Spanish Netherlands. Pamphlets sponsored by the Habsburgs accused Louis of aiming for “universal monarchy,” or domination of Europe.

In 1672, Louis XIV opened hostilities against the Dutch because they stood in the way of his acquisition of more territory in the Spanish Netherlands. He declared war again on Spain in 1673. By now the Dutch had allied themselves with their former Spanish masters to hold off the French. Louis also marched his troops into territories of the Holy Roman Empire, provoking many of the German princes to join with the emperor, the Spanish, and the Dutch in an alliance against Louis, now denounced as a “Christian Turk” for his imperialist ambitions. But the French armies more than held their own. Faced with bloody but inconclusive results on the battlefield, the parties agreed to the Treaty of Nijmegen of 1678–1679, which ceded several Flemish towns and the Franche-Comté region to Louis, linking Alsace to the rest of France. French government deficits soared, and in 1675 increases in taxes touched off the most serious antitax revolt of Louis’s reign.

Louis had no intention of standing still. Heartened by the Habsburgs’ seeming weakness, he pushed eastward, seizing the city of Strasbourg in 1681 and invading the province of Lorraine in 1684. In 1688, he attacked some of the small German cities of the Holy Roman Empire. As Louis’s own mental powers diminished with age, he apparently lost all sense of measure. His armies laid waste to German cities such as Mannheim; his government ordered the local military commander to “kill all those who would still wish to build houses there.” Between 1689 and 1697, a coalition known as the League of Augsburg—made up of England, Spain, Sweden, the Dutch Republic, the Austrian emperor, and various German princes—fought Louis XIV to a stalemate. When hostilities ended in the Peace of Rijswijk in 1697, Louis returned many of his conquests made since 1678 with the exception of Strasbourg (Map 16.1). Louis never lost his taste for war, but his allies learned how to set limits on his ambitions. (See Chapter 17 for the end of Louis’s reign.)

Louis was the last French ruler before Napoleon to accompany his troops to the battlefield. In later generations, as the military became more professional, French rulers left the fighting to their generals. Although Louis had eliminated

WARS OF LOUIS XIV

1667–1668

WAR OF DEVOLUTION

Enemies: Spain, Dutch Republic, England, Sweden
Ended by Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1668, with France gaining towns in Spanish Netherlands (Flanders)

1672–1678

DUTCH WAR

Enemies: Dutch Republic, Spain, Holy Roman Empire
Ended by Treaty of Nijmegen, 1678–1679, which gave several towns in Spanish Netherlands and Franche-Comté to France

1688–1697

WAR OF THE LEAGUE OF AUGSBURG

Enemies: Holy Roman Empire, Sweden, Spain, England
Ended by Peace of Rijswijk, 1697, with Louis returning all his conquests made since 1678 except Strasbourg

the private armies of his noble courtiers, he constantly promoted his own military prowess in order to keep his noble officers under his sway. He had miniature battle scenes painted on his high heels and commissioned tapestries showing his military processions into cities, even those he did not take by force. He seized every occasion to assert his supremacy, insisting that other fleets salute his ships first.

War required money and men, which Louis obtained by expanding state control over finances, conscription, and military supply. Thus, absolutism and warfare fed each other as the bureaucracy created new ways to raise and maintain an army and the army’s success in war justified further expansion of state power. But constant warfare also eroded the state’s resources. Further administrative and legal reform, the elimination of the buying and selling of offices, and the lowering of taxes—all were made impossible by the need for more money.

Ordinary people suffered the most for Louis’s ambitions. By the end of the Sun King’s reign, one in six Frenchmen had served in the military. Louis XIV’s armies swelled to twice the size of the armies France fielded during the Thirty Years’ War. In addition to the higher taxes paid by everyone, those who lived on the routes leading to the battlefields had to house and feed soldiers; only nobles were exempt from this requirement. Fulfilling these



MAP 16.1 Louis XIV's Acquisitions, 1668–1697

Every ruler in Europe hoped to extend his or her territorial control, and war was often the result. Louis XIV steadily encroached on the Spanish Netherlands to the north and the lands of the Holy Roman Empire to the east. Although coalitions of European powers reined in Louis's grander ambitions, he nonetheless incorporated many neighboring territories into the French crown.

demands could be difficult, if not impossible, especially during the months from November to March when weather made military campaigns difficult. Soldiers had to be fed, even when locals found themselves living off the food stored from the previous fall harvest. When food fell short, soldiers sometimes gave in to the temptation to pillage, extort, or steal from local residents.

REVIEW: How “absolute” was the power of Louis XIV?

Absolutism in Central and Eastern Europe

Central and eastern European rulers saw in Louis XIV a powerful model of absolutist state building, yet they did not blindly emulate the Sun King, in part because they confronted conditions peculiar to their regions. The ruler of Brandenburg-Prussia had to rebuild lands ravaged by the Thirty Years' War and unite far-flung territories. The Austrian Habsburgs needed to govern a mosaic of ethnic

TAKING MEASURE

State	Soldiers	Population	Ratio of soldiers/ total population
France	300,000	20 million	1:66
Russia	220,000	14 million	1:64
Austria	100,000	8 million	1:80
Sweden	40,000	1 million	1:25
Brandenburg-Prussia	30,000	2 million	1:66
England	24,000	10 million	1:410

*Figures for the end of the seventeenth century, ranging from 1688 for Prussia to 1710 for France

The Seventeenth-Century Army

The figures in this chart are only approximate, but they tell an important story. What conclusions can you draw about the relative weight of the military in the different European states? Why would England have such a smaller army than the others? Is the absolute or the relative size of the military the most important indicator?

(From André Corvisier, *Armées et sociétés en Europe de 1494 à 1789* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1976), 126.)

and religious groups while fighting off the Ottoman Turks. The Russian tsars wanted to extend their power over an extensive but relatively impoverished empire. The great exception to absolutism in eastern Europe was Poland-Lithuania, where a long crisis virtually destroyed central authority and pulled much of eastern Europe into its turbulent wake.

Brandenburg-Prussia: Militaristic Absolutism

Brandenburg-Prussia began as a puny state on the Elbe River, but it had a remarkable future. In the nineteenth century, it would unify the disparate German states into modern-day Germany. The ruler of Brandenburg was an elector, one of the seven German princes entitled to select the Holy Roman Emperor. Since the sixteenth century the ruler of Brandenburg had also controlled the duchy of East Prussia; after 1618, the state was called Brandenburg-Prussia. Despite meager resources, **Frederick William of Hohenzollern**, who was the Great Elector of Brandenburg-Prussia (r. 1640–1688), succeeded in welding his scattered lands into an absolutist state.

Pressured first by the necessities of fighting the Thirty Years' War and then by the demands of re-

construction, Frederick William was determined to force his territories' estates (representative assemblies) to grant him a dependable income. The Great Elector struck a deal with the Junkers (nobles) of each province: in exchange for allowing him to collect taxes, he gave them complete control over their enserfed peasants and exempted them from taxation. The tactic worked. By the end of his reign, the estates met only on ceremonial occasions.

Supplied with a steady income, Frederick William could devote his attention to military and bureaucratic consolidation. Over forty years he expanded his army from eight thousand to thirty thousand men. (See "Taking Measure," above.) The army mirrored the rigid domination of nobles over peasants that characterized Brandenburg-Prussian society: peasants filled the ranks, and Junkers became officers. Nobles also took positions as bureaucratic officials, but military needs always had priority. The elector named special war commissars to take charge not only of military affairs but also of tax collection. To hasten military dispatches, he also established one of Europe's first state postal systems.

As a Calvinist ruler, Frederick William avoided the ostentation of the French court, even while following the absolutist model of centralizing state power. He boldly rebuffed Louis XIV by welcoming twenty thousand French Huguenot refugees after Louis's revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In pursuing foreign and domestic policies that promoted state power and prestige, Frederick William adroitly switched sides in Louis's wars and would

Frederick William of Hohenzollern: The Great Elector of Brandenburg-Prussia (r. 1640–1688) who brought his nation through the end of the Thirty Years' War and then succeeded in welding his scattered lands into an absolutist state.

stop at almost nothing to crush resistance at home. In 1701, his son Frederick I (r. 1688–1713) persuaded Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I to grant him the title “king in Prussia.” Prussia had arrived as an important power.

An Uneasy Balance: Austrian Habsburgs and Ottoman Turks

Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I (r. 1658–1705) ruled over a variety of territories of different ethnicities, languages, and religions, yet in ways similar to his French and Prussian counterparts, he gradually consolidated his power. In addition to holding Louis XIV in check on his western frontiers, Leopold confronted the ever-present challenge of the Ottoman Turks to the east.

The Austrian Version of Absolutism. Like all the Holy Roman Emperors since 1438, Leopold was an Austrian Habsburg. He was simultaneously duke

of Upper and Lower Silesia, count of Tyrol, archduke of Upper and Lower Austria, king of Bohemia, king of Hungary and Croatia, and ruler of Styria and Moravia (Map 16.2). Some of these territories were provinces in the Holy Roman Empire; others were simply ruled from Vienna as Habsburg family holdings.

In response to the weakening of the Holy Roman Empire by the ravages of the Thirty Years’ War, the emperor and his closest officials took control over recruiting, provisioning, and strategic planning and worked to replace the mercenaries hired during the war with a permanent standing army that promoted professional discipline. To pay for the army and staff his growing bureaucracy, Leopold gained the support of local aristocrats and chipped away at provincial institutions’ powers.

Intent on replacing Bohemian nobles who had supported the 1618 revolt against Austrian authority, the Habsburgs promoted a new nobility made up of Czechs, Germans, Italians, Spaniards, and



MAP 16.2 State Building in Central and Eastern Europe, 1648–1699

The Austrian Habsburgs had long contested the Ottoman Turks for dominance of eastern Europe, and by 1699 they had pushed the Turks out of Hungary. In central Europe, the Austrian Habsburgs confronted the growing power of Brandenburg-Prussia, which had emerged from relative obscurity after the Thirty Years’ War to begin an aggressive program of expanding its military and its territorial base. As emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, the Austrian Habsburg ruler governed a huge expanse of territory, but the emperor’s control was in fact only partial because of guarantees of local autonomy.

even Irish who used German as their common tongue, professed Catholicism, and loyally served the Austrian dynasty. Bohemia became a virtual Austrian colony. “Woe to you,” lamented a Czech Jesuit in 1670, addressing Leopold, “the nobles you have oppressed, great cities made small. Of smiling towns you have made straggling villages.” Austrian censors prohibited publication of this protest for over a century.

Battle for Hungary. Austria had fought the Turks for control of Hungary for more than 150 years. In 1682, when war broke out again, Leopold I’s Austria controlled the northwest section of Hungary; the Turks occupied the center; and in the east, the Turks demanded tribute from the Hungarian princes who ruled Transylvania. In 1683, the Turks pushed all the way to the gates of Vienna and laid siege to the Austrian capital. With the help of Polish cavalry, the Austrians finally broke the siege and turned the tide in a major counteroffensive (see illustration at right). By the Treaty of Karlowitz of 1699, the Ottoman Turks surrendered almost all of Hungary to the Austrians, marking the beginning of the decline of Ottoman power.

Hungary’s “liberation” from the Turks came at a high price. The fighting laid waste vast stretches of Hungary’s central plain, and the population may have declined by as much as 65 percent in the seventeenth century. Once the Turks had been beaten back, Austrian rule over Hungary tightened. In 1687, the Habsburg dynasty’s hereditary right to the Hungarian crown was acknowledged by the Hungarian diet, a parliament revived by Leopold in 1681 to gain the cooperation of Hungarian nobles. The diet was dominated by a core of pro-Habsburg Hungarian aristocrats who would support the dynasty until it fell in 1918; Austrians and Hungarians looked down on the other ethnic groups, such as Croats and Romanians, who had enjoyed considerable autonomy under the Ottoman Turks. To root out remaining Turkish influence and assert Austrian superiority, Leopold systematically destroyed Turkish buildings and rebuilt Catholic churches, monasteries, roadside shrines, and monuments in the flamboyant Austrian baroque style.

Ottoman State Authority. The Ottoman Turks also pursued state consolidation, but in a very different fashion from Leopold I and other European rulers. The Ottoman state extended its authority through a combination of settlement and military control. Hundreds of thousands of Turkish families moved with Turkish soldiers into the Balkan peninsula in the 1400s and 1500s. As locals con-



The Siege of Vienna, 1683

This detail from a painting by Franz Geffels shows the camp of the Ottoman Turks. The Turkish armies had surrounded Vienna since July 14, 1683. Jan Sobieski led an army of Poles who joined with Austrians and Germans to beat back the Turks on September 12, 1683.

(© The Art Archive/Corbis.)

verted to Islam, administration passed gradually into their hands. The Ottoman state would last longer than the French absolutist monarchy. Nevertheless, the seventeenth century marked a period of cultural decline in the eyes of the Turks themselves.

The Ottoman rulers, the sultans, were often challenged by mutinous army officers, but they rarely faced peasant revolts. Rather than resisting state authorities, Ottoman peasants periodically worked for the state as mercenaries. The sultans played elites off each other, absorbing some into the state bureaucracy and pitting one level of authority against another. Despite frequent palace coups and assassinations of sultans, the Ottoman state survived. This constantly shifting social and political system explains how the Ottoman state could appear weak in Western eyes and still pose a massive military threat on Europe’s southeastern borders.

Russia: Setting the Foundations of Bureaucratic Absolutism

Seventeenth-century Russia seemed a world apart from the Europe of Leopold I and Louis XIV. Straddling Europe and Asia, the Russian lands stretched across Siberia to the Pacific Ocean. Western visitors either sneered or shuddered at the “barbarism” of Russian life, and Russians reciprocated by nursing deep suspicions of everything foreign. But under the surface, Russia was evolving as an absolutist state; the tsars wanted to claim unlimited autocratic power, but like their European counterparts they had to surmount internal disorder and come to an accommodation with noble landlords.

Serfdom and the Code of 1649. When Tsar Alexei (r. 1645–1676) tried to extend state authority by imposing new administrative structures and taxes in 1648, Moscow and other cities erupted in bloody rioting. The government immediately doused the fire. In 1649, Alexei convened the Assembly of the Land (consisting of noble delegates from the provinces) to consult on a sweeping law code to organize Russian society in a strict social hierarchy that would last for nearly two centuries. The code of 1649 assigned all subjects to a hereditary class according to their current occupation or state needs. Slaves and free peasants were merged into a serf class. As serfs, they could not change occupations or move; they were tightly tied to the

soil and to their noble masters. To prevent tax evasion, the code also forbade townspeople to move from the community where they resided. Nobles owed absolute obedience to the tsar and were required to serve in the army, but in return no other group could own estates worked by serfs. Serfs became the chattel of their lord, who could sell them like horses or land. Their lives differed little from those of the slaves on the plantations in the Americas.

Some peasants resisted enserfment. In 1667, **Stenka Razin**, the head of a powerful band of pirates and outlaws in southern Russia, led a rebellion that promised liberation from “the traitors and bloodsuckers of the peasant communes”—the great noble landowners, local governors, and Moscow courtiers. Captured four years later by the tsar’s army, Razin was taken to Moscow, where he was dismembered in front of the public and his body thrown to the dogs (see illustration at left). Thousands of his followers also suffered grisly deaths, but his memory lived on in folk songs and legends. Landlords successfully petitioned for the abolition of the statute of limitations on runaway serfs, the use of state agents in searching for runaways, and harsh penalties against those who harbored runaways. The increase in Russian state authority went hand in hand with the enforcement of serfdom.

The Tsar’s Absolute Powers. To extend his power and emulate his western rivals, Tsar Alexei wanted a bigger army, exclusive control over state policy, and a greater say in religious matters. The size of the army increased dramatically from 35,000 in the 1630s to 220,000 by the end of the century. The Assembly of the Land, once an important source of noble consultation, never met again after 1653. Alexei also imposed firm control over the Russian Orthodox church. In 1666, a church council reaffirmed the tsar’s role as God’s direct representative on earth. The state-dominated church took action against a religious group called the Old Believers, who rejected church efforts to bring Russian worship in line with Byzantine tradition. Whole communities of Old Believers starved or burned themselves to death rather than submit. Religious schism opened a gulf between the Russian people and the crown.

Stenka Razin in Captivity

After leading a revolt of thousands of serfs, peasants, and members of non-Russian tribes of the middle and lower Volga region, Stenka Razin was captured by Russian forces and led off to Moscow, as shown here, where he was executed in 1671. He has been the subject of songs, legends, and poems ever since. (*RIA Novosti*.)



Stenka Razin: The head of a powerful band of pirates and outlaws in southern Russia, who in 1667 led a rebellion that promised peasants liberation from noble landowners and officials; Razin was captured by the tsar’s army in 1671 and publicly executed in Moscow.

Nevertheless, modernizing trends prevailed. As the state bureaucracy expanded, adding more officials and establishing regulations and routines, the government intervened more and more in daily life. Decrees regulated tobacco smoking, card playing, and alcohol consumption and even dictated how people should leash and fence their pet dogs. Tsar Alexei set up the first Western-style theater in the Kremlin, and his daughter Sophia translated French plays. The most adventurous nobles began to wear German-style clothing. Some even argued that service and not just birth should determine rank. Russia's long struggle over Western influences had begun.

Poland-Lithuania Overwhelmed

Unlike Russia and the other eastern European powers, Poland-Lithuania did not follow the absolutist model. Decades of war weakened the monarchy and made the great nobles into virtually autonomous warlords. The great nobles dominated the Sejm (parliament), and to maintain an equilibrium among themselves, they each wielded an absolute veto power. This “free veto” constitutional system deadlocked parliamentary government. The monarchy lost its room to maneuver, and with it much of its remaining power.

In 1648, Ukrainian Cossack warriors revolted against the king of Poland-Lithuania, inaugurating two decades of tumult known as the Deluge. *Cossack* was the name given to runaway serfs and poor nobles who formed outlaw bands in the no-man's-land of southern Russia and Ukraine (Stenka Razin was a Cossack). The Polish nobles who claimed this potentially rich land scorned the Cossacks as troublemakers, but to the Ukrainian peasant population they were liberators. In 1654, the Cossacks offered Ukraine to Russian rule, provoking a Russo-Polish war that ended in 1667 when the tsar annexed eastern Ukraine and Kiev. Neighboring powers tried to profit from the chaos in Poland-Lithuania; Sweden, Brandenburg-Prussia, and Transylvania sent armies to seize territory.

Many towns were destroyed in the fighting, and as much as a third of the Polish population perished. The once prosperous Jewish and Protestant minorities suffered greatly: some fifty-six thousand Jews were killed by either the Cossacks, the Polish peasants, or the Russian troops, and thousands more had to flee or convert to Christianity. One rabbi wrote, “We were slaughtered each day, in a more agonizing way than cattle: they are butchered quickly, while we were being executed slowly.” Surviving Jews moved from towns to

shtetls (Jewish villages), where they took up petty trading, moneylending, tax gathering, and tavern leasing—activities that fanned peasant anti-Semitism. Desperate for protection amid the war, most Polish Protestants backed the violently anti-Catholic Swedes, and the victorious Catholic majority branded them as traitors. Some Protestant refugees fled to the Dutch Republic and England. In Poland-Lithuania it came to be assumed that a good Pole was a Catholic. The commonwealth had ceased to be an outpost of toleration.

The commonwealth revived briefly when a man of ability and ambition, Jan Sobieski (r. 1674–1696), was elected king. He gained a reputation throughout Europe when he led twenty-five thousand Polish cavalymen into battle in the siege of Vienna in 1683. His cavalry helped rout the Turks and turned the tide against the Ottomans. Married to a politically shrewd French princess, Sobieski openly admired Louis XIV's France. Despite his efforts to rebuild the monarchy, he could not halt Poland-Lithuania's decline into powerlessness. The Polish version of constitutionalism fatally weakened the state and made it prey to neighboring powers.



Poland-Lithuania in the Seventeenth Century

REVIEW: Why did absolutism flourish everywhere in eastern Europe except Poland-Lithuania?

Constitutionalism in England

In the second half of the seventeenth century, western and eastern European states began to move in different directions. In eastern Europe, nobles lorded over their serfs but owed almost slavish obedience in turn to their rulers. In western Europe, even in absolutist France, serfdom had almost entirely disappeared and nobles and rulers alike faced greater challenges to their control. The greatest challenges of all would come in England.

This outcome might seem surprising, for the English monarchs enjoyed many advantages compared with their continental rivals: they needed less money for their armies because they had stayed out of the Thirty Years' War, and their

island kingdom's population was only one-fourth the size of France's and of relatively homogeneous ethnicity, making it, in theory at least, easier to rule. Yet the English rulers failed in their efforts to install absolutist policies. The English revolutions of 1642–1660 and 1688–1689 overturned two kings, confirmed the constitutional powers of an elected parliament, and laid the foundation for the idea that government must guarantee certain rights to the people under the law.

England Turned Upside Down, 1642–1660

Disputes about the right to levy taxes and the nature of authority in the Church of England had long troubled the relationship between the English crown and Parliament. For more than a hundred years, wealthy English landowners had been accustomed to participating in government through Parliament and expected to be consulted on royal policy. Although England had no single constitutional document, a variety of laws, judicial decisions, charters and petitions granted by the king, and customary procedures all regulated relations between king and Parliament. When Charles I tried to assert his authority over Parliament, a civil war broke out. It set in motion an unpredictable chain of events, which included an extraordinary ferment of religious and political ideas. Some historians view the English civil war of 1642–1646 as the last great war of religion because it pitted Puritans against those trying to push the Anglican church toward Catholicism; others see in it the first modern revolution because it gave birth to democratic political and religious movements.

Charles I versus Parliament. When Charles I (r. 1625–1649) succeeded his father, James I, he faced an increasingly aggressive Parliament that resisted new taxes and resented the king's efforts to extend his personal control. In 1628, Parliament forced Charles to agree to the Petition of Right, by which he promised not to levy taxes without its consent. Charles hoped to avoid further interference with his plans by simply refusing to call Parliament into session between 1629 and 1640. Without it, the king's ministers had to find every loophole possible to raise revenues. They tried to turn "ship money," a levy on seaports in times of emergency, into an annual tax collected everywhere in the country. The crown won the ensuing court case, but many subjects still refused to pay what they considered to be an illegal tax.

Religious tensions brought conflicts over the king's authority to a head. The Puritans had long

agitated for the removal of any vestiges of Catholicism, but Charles, married to a French Catholic, moved Anglicanism in the opposite direction in the 1630s. With Charles's encouragement, the archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud (1573–1645), imposed increasingly elaborate ceremonies on the Anglican church. Angered by these moves toward "popery," the Puritans poured forth reproofing pamphlets and sermons. In response, Laud hauled them before the feared Court of Star Chamber, which the king personally controlled. The court ordered harsh sentences for Laud's Puritan critics; they were whipped, pilloried, branded, and even had their ears cut off and their noses split. When Laud tried to apply his policies to Scotland, however, they backfired completely: the stubborn Presbyterian Scots rioted against the imposition of the Anglican prayer book—the Book of Common Prayer—and in 1640 they invaded the north of England. To raise money to fight the war, Charles called Parliament into session and unwittingly opened the door to a constitutional and religious crisis.

The Parliament of 1640 did not intend revolution, but reformers in the House of Commons (the lower house of Parliament) wanted to undo what they saw as the royal tyranny of the 1630s. Parliament removed Laud from office, ordered the execution of an unpopular royal commander, abolished the Court of Star Chamber, repealed recently levied taxes, and provided for a parliamentary assembly at least once every three years, thus establishing a constitutional check on royal authority. Moderate reformers expected to stop there and resisted Puritan pressure to abolish bishops and eliminate the Anglican prayer book. But their hand was forced in January 1642, when Charles and his soldiers invaded Parliament and tried unsuccessfully to arrest those leaders who had moved to curb his power. Faced with mounting opposition within London, Charles quickly withdrew from the city and organized an army.

Civil War and the Challenge to All Authorities. The ensuing civil war between king and Parliament lasted four years (1642–1646) and divided the country. The king's army of royalists, known as Cavaliers, enjoyed the most support in northern and western England. The parliamentary forces, called Roundheads because they cut their hair short, had their stronghold in the southeast, including London. Although Puritans dominated on the parliamentary side, they were divided among themselves about the proper form of church government: the Presbyterians wanted a Calvinist church with some central authority, whereas the

Independents favored entirely autonomous congregations free from other church government (hence the term *congregationalism*, often associated with the Independents). The Puritans put aside their differences for the sake of military unity and united under an obscure member of the House of Commons, the country gentleman Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658), who sympathized with the Independents. After Cromwell skillfully reorganized the parliamentary troops, his New Model Army defeated the Cavaliers at the battle of Naseby in 1645. Charles surrendered in 1646.

Although the civil war between king and Parliament had ended in victory for Parliament, divisions within the Puritan ranks now came to the fore: the Presbyterians dominated Parliament, but the Independents controlled the army. The disputes between the leaders drew lower-class groups into the debate. (See “Contrasting Views,” page 500.) When Parliament tried to disband the New Model Army in 1647, disgruntled soldiers protested. Called **Levellers** because of their insistence on leveling social differences, the soldiers took on their officers in a series of debates about the nature of political authority. The Levellers demanded that Parliament meet annually, that members be paid so as to allow common people to participate, and that all male heads of households be allowed to vote. Their ideal of political participation excluded servants, the propertyless, and women but offered access to artisans, shopkeepers, and modest farmers. Cromwell and other army leaders rejected the Levellers’ demands as threatening to property owners. Cromwell insisted, “You have no other way to deal with these men but to break them in pieces. . . . If you do not break them they will break you.”

Just as political differences between Presbyterians and Independents helped spark new political movements, so too their conflicts over church organization fostered the emergence of new religious doctrines. The new sects had in common only their emphasis on the “inner light” of individual religious inspiration and a disdain for hierarchical authority. Their emphasis on equality



England during the Civil War

before God and greater participation in church governance appealed to the middle and lower classes. The Baptists, for example, insisted on adult baptism because they believed that Christians should choose their own church and that every child should not automatically become a member of the Church of England. The Quakers demonstrated their beliefs in equality and the inner light by refusing to doff their hats to men in authority. Manifesting their religious experience by trembling, or “quaking,” the Quakers believed that anyone—man or woman—inspired by a direct experience of God could preach.

Parliamentary leaders feared that the new sects would overturn the whole social hierarchy. Rumors abounded, for example, of naked Quakers

The World Turned Upside Down

The print from 1647 conveys the anxieties many people felt in the midst of religious and political upheaval. Nothing is as it should be: the feet are where the hands should be, the cart comes before the horse, a fish flies, and the wheelbarrow pushes the person. (By permission of the British Library.)



Levellers: Disgruntled soldiers in Cromwell’s New Model Army who wanted to “level” social differences and extend political participation to all male property owners.

CONTRASTING VIEWS

The English Civil War

The civil war between Charles I and Parliament (1642–1646) excited furious debates about the proper forms of political authority, debates that influenced political thought for two centuries or more. The Levellers, who served in the parliamentary army, wanted Parliament to be more accountable to ordinary men like themselves (Document 1). After the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, Lucy Hutchinson wrote a memoir in which she complained that Puritan had become a term of political slander. Her memoir shows how religious terms had been politicized by the upheaval (Document 2). Thomas Hobbes, in his famous political treatise Leviathan (1651), develops the consequences of the civil war for political theory (Document 3).

1. The Levellers, “The Agreement of the People, as Presented to the Council of the Army” (October 28, 1647)

Note especially two things about this document: (1) it focuses on Parliament as the chief instrument of reform, and (2) it claims that government depends on the consent of the people.

Since, therefore, our former oppressions and scarce-yet-ended troubles have been occasioned, either by want of frequent national meetings in Council [Parliament], or by rendering those meetings ineffectual, we are fully agreed and resolved to provide that hereafter our representatives be neither left to an uncertainty for the time nor made useless to the ends for which they are intended. In order whereunto we declare:—That the people of

England, being at this day very unequally distributed by Counties, Cities, and Borough for the election of their deputies in Parliament, ought to be more indifferently [equally] proportioned according to the number of the inhabitants. . . . That the power of this, and all future Representatives of this Nation, is inferior only to theirs who choose them, and doth extend, without the consent or concurrence of any other person or persons [the king], to the enacting, altering, and repealing of laws, to the erecting and abolishing of offices and courts, to the appointing, removing, and calling to account magistrates and officers of all degrees, to the making of war and peace, to the treating with foreign States [in other words, Parliament is the supreme power, not the king]. . . . These things we declare to be our native rights, and therefore are agreed and resolved to maintain them with our utmost possibilities against all opposition whatsoever.

Source: Samuel Rawson Gardiner, ed., *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1625–1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), 333–35.

2. Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson* (1664–1671)

Lucy Hutchinson wrote her memoir to defend her Puritan husband, who had been imprisoned upon the restoration of the monarchy.

If any were grieved at the dishonour of the kingdom, or the griping of the poor, or the unjust oppressions of the subject by a

running through the streets waiting for “a sign.” Some sects did advocate sweeping change. The Diggers promoted rural communism—collective ownership of all property. Seekers and Ranters questioned just about everything. One notorious Ranter, John Robins, even claimed to be God. A few men advocated free love. These developments convinced the political elite that tolerating the new sects would lead to skepticism, anarchism, and debauchery.

In keeping with their notions of equality and individual inspiration, many of the new sects provided opportunities for women to become preachers and prophets. The Quakers thought women especially capable of prophecy. One such prophet, Anna Trapnel, explained her vocation: “For in all that was said by me, I was nothing, the Lord put all in my mouth, and told me what I should say.” Women presented petitions, participated promi-

nently in street demonstrations, distributed tracts, and occasionally even dressed as men, wearing swords and joining armies. The duchess of Newcastle complained in 1650 that women were “affecting a Masculinacy . . . practicing the behaviour . . . of men.” The outspoken women in new sects like the Quakers underscored the threat of a social order turning upside down.

Oliver Cromwell. At the heart of the continuing political struggle was the question of what to do with the king, who tried to negotiate with the Presbyterians in Parliament. In late 1648, Independents in the army purged the Presbyterians from Parliament, leaving a “rump” of about seventy members. This Rump Parliament then created a high court to try Charles I. The court found him guilty of attempting to establish “an unlimited and tyrannical power” and pronounced a death sentence. On

thousand ways invented to maintain the riots of the courtiers and the swarms of needy Scots the king had brought in to devour like locusts the plenty of this land, he was a puritan; if any showed favour to any godly, honest person, kept them company, relieved them in want, or protected them against violent and unjust oppression, he was a puritan. . . . In short, all that crossed the views of the needy courtiers, the proud encroaching priests, the thievish projectors [speculators], the lewd nobility and gentry . . . all these were puritans; and if puritans, then enemies to the king and his government, seditious, factious hypocrites, ambitious disturbers of the public peace, and finally the pest of the kingdom.

Source: Christopher Hill and Edmund Dell, eds., *The Good Old Cause: The English Revolution of 1640–1660, Its Causes, Course and Consequences* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1949), 179–80.

3. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651)

In this excerpt, Hobbes depicts the anarchy of a society without a strong central authority, but he leaves open the question of whether that authority should be vested in “one Man” or “one Assembly of men,” that is, a king or a parliament.

During the time men live without a common Power to keep them all in awe, they are in that condition which is called Warre; and such a warre, as is of every man, against every man. . . . In such condition, there is no place for Industry; because the fruit thereof is uncertain: and consequently no Culture of the Earth; no Navigation, nor use of the commodities that may be imported by Sea; no commodious Building; no Instrument of moving, and

removing such things as require much force; no Knowledge of the face of the Earth; no account of Time; no Arts; no Letters; no Society; and which is worst of all, continuall feare, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short. The only way to erect such a Common Power, as may be able to defend them from the invasion of Forraigners, and the injuries of one another, and thereby to secure them in such sort, as that by their owne industrie, and by the Fruites of the Earth, they may nourish themselves and live contentedly; is, to conferre all their power and strength upon one Man, or upon one Assembly of men, that may reduce all their wills, by plurality of voices, unto one Will. . . . This is more than Consent, or Concord; it is a reall Unitie of them all, in one and the same Person, made by Covenant of every man with every man. . . . This done, the Multitude so united in one Person, is called a COMMON-WEALTH, in latine CIVITAS. This is the Generation of that great LEVIATHAN, or rather (to speake more reverently) of that *Mortall God*, to which wee owe under the *Immortall God*, our peace and defence.

Source: Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Richard E. Flathman and David Johnston (New York: Norton, 1997), 70, 95.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. Why would both the king and the parliamentary leaders find the Levellers' views disturbing?
2. Why did Hobbes's arguments about political authority upset supporters of both monarchy and Parliament?

January 30, 1649, Charles was beheaded before an enormous crowd, which reportedly groaned as one when the axe fell. Although many had objected to Charles's autocratic rule, few had wanted him killed. For royalists, Charles immediately became a martyr, and reports of miracles, such as the curing of blindness by the touch of a handkerchief soaked in his blood, soon circulated.

The Rump Parliament abolished the monarchy and the House of Lords (the upper house of

Execution of Charles I

This print of the execution of English king Charles I appeared on the first page of the fictitious confessions of his executioner, Richard Brandon, who supposedly claimed to feel pains in his own neck from the moment he cut off Charles's head. (© British Library, London, UK/The Bridgeman Art Library.)





Oliver Cromwell

In this painting of 1649, Robert Walker deliberately evokes previous portraits of English kings. Cromwell is shown preparing for battle in Ireland (note the shore and sea on Cromwell's right); he holds the baton of military command, and a young page is tying on a sash, symbol of his rank. Cromwell lived an austere life; he is depicted here without any sign of luxury. When he died, he was buried in Westminster Abbey, but in 1661 his body was exhumed and hanged in its shroud. His head was cut off and displayed outside Westminster Hall for nearly twenty years. (*National Portrait Gallery, London.*)

Parliament) and set up a Puritan republic with Oliver Cromwell (see illustration above) as chairman of the Council of State. Cromwell did not tolerate dissent from his policies. He saw the hand of God in events and himself as God's agent. Pamphleteers and songwriters ridiculed his red nose and accused him of wanting to be king, but few challenged his leadership. When his agents discovered plans for mutiny within the army, they executed the perpetrators; new decrees silenced the Levellers. Although Cromwell allowed the various Puritan sects to worship rather freely and permitted Jews with needed skills to return to England for the first time since the thirteenth century, Catholics could not worship publicly, nor could Anglicans use the Book of Common Prayer. The elites—many of them were still Anglican—were troubled by Cromwell's religious policies but pleased to see some social order reestablished.

The new regime aimed to extend state power just as Charles I had before. Cromwell laid the foundation for a Great Britain made up of England, Ireland, and Scotland by reconquering Scotland and subduing Ireland. Anti-English rebels in Ireland had seized the occasion of troubles between king and Parliament to revolt in 1641. When his position was secured in 1649, Cromwell went to Ireland with a large force and easily defeated the rebels, massacring whole garrisons and their priests. He encouraged expropriating the lands of the Irish "barbarous wretches," and Scottish immigrants resettled the northern county of Ulster. This seventeenth-century English conquest left a legacy of bitterness that the Irish even today call "the curse of Cromwell." In 1651, Parliament turned its attention overseas, putting mercantilist ideas into practice in the first Navigation Act, which allowed imports only if they were carried on English ships or came directly from the producers of goods. The Navigation Act was aimed at the Dutch, who dominated world trade; Cromwell tried to carry the policy further by waging naval war on the Dutch from 1652 to 1654.

At home, however, Cromwell faced growing resistance. His wars required a budget twice the size of Charles I's, and his increases in property taxes and customs duties alienated landowners and merchants. The conflict reached a crisis in 1653: Parliament considered disbanding the army, whereupon Cromwell abolished the Rump Parliament in a military coup and made himself Lord Protector. He now silenced his critics by banning newspapers and using networks of spies to read mail and keep tabs on his enemies. When Cromwell died in 1658, the diarist John Evelyn claimed, "There were none that cried but dogs." Cromwell intended that his son should succeed him, but his death only revived the prospect of civil war and political chaos. In 1660, a newly elected, staunchly Anglican Parliament invited Charles II, the son of the executed king, to return from exile.

The Glorious Revolution of 1688

The traditional monarchical form of government was reinstated in 1660, restoring Charles II (r. 1660–1685) to full partnership with Parliament. He promised "a liberty to tender consciences" in an attempt to extend religious toleration, especially to Catholics, with whom he sympathized. His successor James II (r. 1685–1688) pursued even more aggressive pro-Catholic policies, bringing dissent once more to a boil. In response, Parliament deposed James and installed his Protestant

daughter, Mary, and her Dutch husband, William, as joint monarchs. This Glorious Revolution marked the final triumph of constitutionalism over absolutism in England.

The Restored Monarchy. Charles II moved quickly to reestablish royal authority. More than a thousand Puritan ministers lost their positions, and attending a service other than one conforming with the Anglican prayer book was illegal after 1664. Natural disasters also marred the early years of his reign. The plague stalked London's rat-infested streets in May 1665 and claimed more than thirty thousand victims by September. Then in 1666, the Great Fire (see illustration on this page) swept the city. Some in Parliament feared, not without cause, that the English government would come to resemble French absolutism. In 1670, Charles II made a secret agreement, soon leaked, with Louis XIV in which he promised to announce his conversion to Catholicism in exchange for money for a war against the Dutch. Charles never proclaimed himself a Catholic, but in his Declara-

tion of Indulgence (1673) he did suspend all laws against Catholics and Protestant dissenters. Parliament refused to continue funding the Dutch war unless Charles rescinded his Declaration of Indulgence. Asserting its authority further, Parliament passed the Test Act in 1673, requiring all government officials to profess allegiance to the Church of England and in effect disavow Catholic doctrine. Then in 1678, Parliament precipitated the so-called Exclusion Crisis by explicitly denying the throne to a Roman Catholic. This action was aimed at the king's brother and heir, James, an open convert to Catholicism. Charles refused to allow it to become law.

The dynastic crisis over the succession of a Catholic gave rise to two distinct factions in Parliament: the Tories, who supported a strong, hereditary monarchy and the restored ceremony of the Anglican church, and the Whigs, who advocated parliamentary supremacy and toleration of Protestant dissenters such as Presbyterians. Both labels were originally derogatory: *Tory* meant an Irish Catholic bandit; *Whig* was the Irish Catholic

Great Fire of London, 1666

This view of London shows the three-day fire at its height. The writer John Evelyn described the scene in his diary: "All the sky was of a fiery aspect, like the top of a burning oven, and the light seen above 40 miles round about for many nights. God grant mine eyes may never behold the like, who now saw above 10,000 houses all in one flame; the noise and cracking and thunder of people, the fall of towers, houses, and churches, was like an hideous storm." Everyone in London at the time felt overwhelmed by the catastrophe, and many attributed it to God's punishment for the upheavals of the 1640s and 1650s. (*Museum of London*.)



designation for a Presbyterian Scot. The Tories favored James's succession despite his Catholicism, whereas the Whigs opposed a Catholic monarch. The loose moral atmosphere of Charles's court also offended some Whigs, who complained tongue in cheek that Charles was father of his country in much too literal a fashion (he had fathered more than one child by his mistresses but produced no legitimate heir).

Parliament's Revolt against James II. When he succeeded his brother, James seemed determined to force Catholicism on his subjects. Tories and Whigs joined together when a male heir—who would take precedence over James's two adult Protestant daughters—was born to James's second wife, an Italian Catholic, in 1688. They invited the Dutch ruler **William, prince of Orange**, and his wife, James's older daughter, Mary, to invade England. Mary was brought up as a Protestant and was willing to act with her husband against her father's pro-Catholic policies. James fled to France, and hardly any blood was shed. Parliament offered the throne jointly to William (r. 1689–1702) and Mary (r. 1689–1694) on the condition that they accept a bill of rights guaranteeing Parliament's full partnership in a constitutional government.

In the Bill of Rights (1689), William and Mary agreed not to raise a standing army or to levy taxes without Parliament's consent. They also agreed to call meetings of Parliament at least every three years, to guarantee free elections to parliamentary seats, and to abide by Parliament's decisions and not suspend duly passed laws. The agreement gave England's constitutional government a written, legal basis by formally recognizing Parliament as a self-contained, independent body that shared power with the rulers. Victorious supporters of the coup declared it the **Glorious Revolution** because it was achieved with so little bloodshed (at least in England).

The propertied classes who controlled Parliament prevented any resurgence of the popular turmoil of the 1640s. The Toleration Act of 1689 granted all Protestants freedom of worship, though non-Anglicans were still excluded from the universities; Catholics got no rights but were more often

left alone to worship privately. When the Catholics in Ireland rose to defend James II, William and Mary's troops brutally suppressed them. With the Whigs in power and the Tories in opposition, wealthy landowners now controlled political life throughout the realm. The factions' differences, however, were minor; essentially, the Tories had less access to the king's patronage. A contemporary reported that King William had said "that if he had good places [honors and land] enough to bestow, he should soon unite the two parties."

Social Contract Theory: Hobbes and Locke

Out of the turmoil of the English revolutions came a major rethinking of the foundations of all political authority. Although Thomas Hobbes and John Locke wrote in response to the upheavals of their times, they offered opposing arguments that were applicable to any place and any time, not just England of the seventeenth century. Hobbes justified absolute authority; Locke provided the rationale for constitutionalism. Yet both argued that all authority came not from divine right but from a **social contract** among citizens.

Hobbes. Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) was a royalist who sat out the English civil war of the 1640s in France, where he tutored the future king Charles II. Returning to England in 1651, he published his masterpiece, *Leviathan* (1651), in which he argued for unlimited authority in a ruler. Absolute authority could be vested in either a king or a parliament; it had to be absolute, Hobbes insisted, in order to overcome the defects of human nature. Believing that people are essentially self-centered and driven by the "right to self-preservation," Hobbes made his case by referring to science, not religion. To Hobbes, human life in a state of nature—that is, any situation without firm authority—was "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short." He believed that the desire for power and natural greed would inevitably lead to unfettered competition. Only the assurance of social order could make people secure enough to act according to law; consequently, giving up personal liberty, he maintained, was the price of collective security. Rulers derived their power, he concluded, from a contract in which absolute authority protects people's rights.

William, prince of Orange: Dutch ruler who, with his Protestant wife, Mary (daughter of James II), ruled England after the Glorious Revolution of 1688.

Glorious Revolution: The events of 1688 when Tories and Whigs replaced England's monarch James II with his Protestant daughter, Mary, and her husband, Dutch ruler William of Orange; William and Mary agreed to a Bill of Rights that guaranteed rights to Parliament.

social contract: The doctrine that all political authority derives not from divine right but from an implicit contract between citizens and their rulers.

Hobbes's notion of rule by an absolute authority left no room for political dissent or nonconformity, and it infuriated both royalists and supporters of Parliament. He enraged royalists by arguing that authority came not from divine right but from the social contract. Parliamentary supporters resisted Hobbes's claim that rulers must possess absolute authority to prevent the greater evil of anarchy; they believed that a constitution should guarantee shared power between king and Parliament, and protect individual rights under the law. Like Machiavelli before him, Hobbes became associated with a cynical, pessimistic view of human nature, and future political theorists often began their arguments by refuting Hobbes.

Locke. Rejecting both Hobbes and the more traditional royalist defenses of absolute authority, John Locke (1632–1704) used the notion of a social contract to provide a foundation for constitutionalism. Locke experienced political life firsthand as physician, secretary, and intellectual companion to the earl of Shaftesbury, a leading English Whig. In 1683, during the Exclusion Crisis, Locke fled with Shaftesbury to the Dutch Republic. There he continued work on his *Two Treatises of Government*, which, when published in 1690, served to justify the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Locke's position was thoroughly anti-absolutist. He denied the divine right of kings and ridiculed the common royalist idea that political power in the state mirrored the father's authority in the family. Like Hobbes, he posited a state of nature that applied to all people. Unlike Hobbes, however, he thought people were reasonable and the state of nature peaceful.

Locke insisted that government's only purpose was to protect life, liberty, and property, a notion that linked economic and political freedom. Ultimate authority rested in the will of a majority of men who owned property, and government should be limited to its basic purpose of protection. A ruler who failed to uphold his part of the social contract between the ruler and the populace could be justifiably resisted, an idea that would become crucial for the leaders of the American Revolution a century later. For England's seventeenth-century landowners, however, Locke helped validate a revolution that consolidated their interests and ensured their privileges in the social hierarchy.

Locke defended his optimistic view of human nature in the immensely influential *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690). He denied the existence of any innate ideas and asserted instead that each human is born with a mind that is a

tabula rasa (blank slate). Not surprisingly, Locke devoted considerable energy to rethinking educational practices; he believed that education crucially shaped the human personality by channeling all sensory experience. Everything humans know, he claimed, comes from sensory experience, not from anything inherent in human nature. Locke's views promoted the belief that "all men are created equal," a belief that challenged absolutist forms of rule and ultimately raised questions about women's roles as well. Although Locke himself owned shares in the Royal African Company and justified slavery, his writings were later used by abolitionists in their campaign against slavery.

REVIEW: What differences over religion and politics caused the conflict between king and Parliament in England?

Outposts of Constitutionalism

When William and Mary came to the throne in England in 1689, the Dutch and the English put aside the rivalries that had brought them to war against each other in 1652–1654, 1665–1667, and 1672–1674. Under William, the Dutch and the English together led the coalition that blocked Louis XIV's efforts to dominate continental Europe. The English and Dutch had much in common: oriented toward commerce, especially overseas, they were the successful exceptions to absolutism in Europe. Also among the few outposts of constitutionalism in the seventeenth century were the British North American colonies, which developed representative government while the English were preoccupied with their revolutions at home. Constitutionalism was not the only factor shaping this Atlantic world; as constitutionalism developed in the colonies, so too did the enslavement of black Africans as a new labor force.

The Dutch Republic

When the Dutch Republic gained formal independence from Spain in 1648, it had already established a decentralized, constitutional state. Rich merchants called regents effectively controlled the internal affairs of each province and through the Estates General named the *stadholder*, the executive officer responsible for defense and for representing the state at all ceremonial occasions. They



MAP 16.3 Dutch Commerce in the Seventeenth Century

Even before gaining formal independence from the Spanish in 1648, the Dutch had begun to compete with the Spanish and Portuguese all over the world. In 1602, a group of merchants established the Dutch East India Company, which soon offered investors an annual rate of return of 35 percent on the trade in spices with countries located on the Indian Ocean. Global commerce gave the Dutch the highest standard of living in Europe and soon attracted the envy of the French and the English.

almost always chose one of the princes of the house of Orange, but the stadholder resembled a president more than a king.

The decentralized state encouraged and protected trade, and the Dutch Republic soon became Europe's financial capital. The Bank of Amsterdam offered borrowers lower interest rates than those available in England and France. Praised for their industriousness, thrift, and cleanliness—and maligned as greedy, dull “butter-boxes”—the Dutch dominated overseas commerce with their shipping (Map 16.3). They imported products from all over the world: spices, tea, and silk from Asia; sugar and tobacco from the Americas; wool from England and Spain; timber and furs from Scandinavia;

grain from eastern Europe. A widely reprinted history of Amsterdam that appeared in 1662 described the city as “risen through the hand of God to the peak of prosperity and greatness. . . . The whole world stands amazed at its riches and from east and west, north and south they come to behold it.”

The Dutch rapidly became the most prosperous and best-educated people in Europe. Middle-class people supported the visual arts, especially painting, to an unprecedented degree. Artists and engravers produced thousands of works, and Dutch artists were among the first to sell to a mass market. Whereas in other countries kings, nobles, and churches bought art, Dutch buyers were mer-



A Typical Dutch Scene from Daily Life

Jan Steen painted *The Baker Arent Oostward and His Wife* in 1658. Steen ran a brewery and tavern in addition to painting, and he was known for his interest in the details of daily life. Dutch artists popularized this kind of “genre” painting, which showed ordinary people at work and play.

(*Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.*)

■ For more help analyzing this image, see the visual activity for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

chants, artisans, and shopkeepers. Engravings, illustrated histories, and oil paintings were all relatively inexpensive. One foreigner commented that “pictures are very common here, there being scarce an ordinary tradesman whose house is not decorated with them.” Dutch artists focused on familiar daily details because for them ordinary people had religious as well as political significance; even children at play could be infused with radiant beauty. The family household, not the royal court, determined the moral character of this intensely commercial society. Relative prosperity decreased the need for married women to work, so Dutch society developed the clear contrast between middle-class male and female roles that would become prevalent elsewhere in Europe and in America more than a century later. As one contemporary Dutch writer explained, “The husband must be on the street to practice his trade; the wife must stay at home to be in the kitchen.”

Extraordinarily high levels of urbanization and literacy created a large reading public. Dutch presses printed books censored elsewhere (printers or authors censored in one province simply shifted operations to another), and the University of Leiden attracted students and professors from all over Europe. Dutch tolerance extended to the works of Benedict Spinoza (1633–1677), a Jewish

philosopher and biblical scholar who was expelled by his synagogue for alleged atheism but left alone by the Dutch authorities. Spinoza strove to reconcile religion with science and mathematics, but his work scandalized many Christians and Jews because he seemed to equate God and nature. Like nature, Spinoza’s God followed unchangeable laws and could not be influenced by human actions, prayers, or faith.

Dutch learning, painting, and commerce all enjoyed wide renown in the seventeenth century, but this luster proved hard to maintain. The Dutch lived in a world of international rivalries in which strong central authority gave their enemies an advantage. Though inconclusive, the naval wars with England between 1652 and 1674 drained the state’s revenues. Even more dangerous were the land wars with France, which continued into the eighteenth century. The Dutch survived these challenges but increasingly depended on alliances with other powers, especially England after the Glorious Revolution. At the end of the seventeenth century, the Dutch elites became more exclusive, more preoccupied with ostentation, and less tolerant of deviations from strict Calvinism. Rather than encouraging native Dutch styles, they became more concerned with imitating French ones. The Dutch “golden age” was over.

Freedom and Slavery in the New World

The Dutch also lost ground to the French and English in the New World colonies. While the Dutch concentrated on shipping, including the slave trade, the seventeenth-century French and English established settler colonies that would eventually provide fabulous revenues to the home countries. Many European governments encouraged private companies to vie for their share of the slave trade, and slavery began to take clear institutional form in the New World in this period. While whites found in the colonies greater political and religious freedom than in Europe, they subjected black Africans to the most degrading forms of bondage.

The Rise of the Slave Trade. After the Spanish and Portuguese had shown that African slaves could be transported and forced to labor in South and Central America, the English and French endeavored to set up similar labor systems in their new Caribbean island colonies. White planters with large tracts of land bought African slaves to work fields of sugarcane; and as they gradually built up their holdings, the planters displaced most of the original white settlers, who moved to mainland North American colonies. After 1661, when Barbados instituted a slave code that stripped all Africans of rights under English law, slavery became codified as an inherited status that applied only to blacks. The result was a society of extremes: the very wealthy whites (about 7 percent of the population in Barbados) and the enslaved, powerless black majority. The English brought few of their religious or constitutional practices to the Caribbean.

Other Caribbean colonies followed a similar pattern of development. Louis XIV promulgated a “black code” in 1685 to regulate the legal status of slaves in the French colonies and to prevent non-Catholics from owning slaves. The code supposedly set limits on the violence planters could exercise and required them to house, feed, and clothe their slaves. But white planters simply ignored provisions of the code that did not suit them, and in any case, because the code defined slaves as property, slaves could not themselves bring suit in court to demand better treatment.

The governments of England, France, Spain, Portugal, the Dutch Republic, and Denmark all encouraged private companies to traffic in black Africans, while the highest church and government authorities in Catholic and Protestant countries alike condoned the gradually expanding slave trade. In 1600, about 9,500 Africans were exported

from Africa to the New World every year; by 1700, this number had increased nearly fourfold to 36,000 annually. Historians advance several different ideas about which factors increased the slave trade: some claim that improvements in muskets made European slavers more effective; others cite the rising price for slaves, which made their sale more attractive for Africans; still others focus on factors internal to Africa such as the increasing size of African armies and their use of muskets in fighting and capturing other Africans for sale as slaves. The way had been prepared for the development of an Atlantic economy based on slavery.

Constitutional Freedoms in the English Colonies.

Virtually left to themselves during the upheavals in England, the fledgling English colonies in North America developed representative government on their own. Almost every colony had a governor and a two-house legislature. The colonial legislatures constantly sought to increase their power and resisted the efforts of Charles II and James II to reaffirm royal control. William and Mary reluctantly allowed emerging colonial elites more control over local affairs. The social and political elite among the settlers hoped to impose an English social hierarchy dominated by rich landowners. Ordinary immigrants to the colonies, however, took advantage of plentiful land to carve out their own farms using white servants and, later, in some colonies, African slaves.

For native Americans, the expanding European presence meant something else altogether. They faced death through disease and warfare and the accelerating loss of their homelands. Unlike white settlers, many native Americans believed that land was a divine gift provided for their collective use and not subject to individual ownership. Europeans’ claims that they owned exclusive land rights consequently resulted in frequent skirmishes. In 1675–1676, for instance, three tribes allied under Metacomet (called King Philip by the English) threatened the survival of New England settlers, who savagely repulsed the attacks and sold their captives as slaves. Whites could portray native Americans as “noble savages,” but when threatened they often depicted them as conspiring villains and sneaky heathens who were akin to Africans in their savagery. The benefits of constitutionalism were reserved for Europeans.

REVIEW: Why did constitutionalism thrive in the Dutch Republic and the British North American colonies, even as their participation in the slave trade grew?

The Search for Order in Elite and Popular Culture

Constitutionalism's emphasis on a social contract fostered the guarantee of individual freedoms, yet the constitutional governments pursued profits in the burgeoning slave trade just as avidly as the absolutist ones. Freedom did not mean liberty for everyone. One of the great debates of the time—and thereafter—concerned the meaning of freedom: for whom, under what conditions, with what justifiable limitations could freedom be claimed? Freedom of the press found its first champion in the English poet John Milton, and freedom to choose one's own religion began to attract adherents too. These freedoms posed their own dilemmas: should publishers be allowed to print anything they wished and would religious toleration undermine the state's authority or even promote skepticism about religion in general?

Poetry, painting, architecture, and even science at this time all reflected in some measure the attempts to ground authority—to define the relation between freedom and order—in new ways. Authority concerned not just rulers and subjects but also the hierarchy of groups in society. As European states consolidated their powers, elites worked to distinguish themselves from the lower classes. They developed new codes of correct behavior for themselves and tried to teach order and discipline to their social inferiors. Their repeated efforts show, however, that popular culture had its own dynamics which resisted control from above.

Freedom and Constraint in the Arts and Sciences

Most Europeans feared disorder above all else. The French mathematician Blaise Pascal vividly captured their worries in his *Pensées* (Thoughts) of 1660: "I look on all sides, and I see only darkness everywhere." Though Pascal made important contributions to the mathematical theory of probabilities, he was skeptical about the human ability to forge order out of chaos: "Nature presents to me nothing which is not a matter of doubt and concern. . . . It is incomprehensible that God should exist, and incomprehensible that He should not exist." Pascal urged his readers to accept the wager that God existed. Reason could not determine whether God existed or not, Pascal concluded. Poets, painters, and architects all grappled with similar issues of faith, reason,

and authority, but most of them came to more positive conclusions than Pascal about human capacities.

Milton. The English Puritan poet John Milton (1608–1674) wrestled with the inevitable limitations on individual liberty. In 1643, in the midst of the civil war between king and Parliament, he published writings in favor of divorce. When Parliament enacted a censorship law aimed at such literature, Milton responded in 1644 with one of the first defenses of freedom of the press, *Areopagitica*. (See Document, "John Milton, Defense of Freedom of the Press," page 511.) In it, he argued that even controversial books about religion should be allowed because the state could not command religious belief. Milton favored limited



Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Ecstasy of St. Teresa of Ávila* (c. 1650)

This ultimate statement of baroque sculpture captures all the drama and even sensationalism of a mystical religious faith. Bernini based his figures on a vision reported by St. Teresa in which she saw an angel: "In his hands I saw a great golden spear, and at the iron tip there appeared to be a point of fire. This he plunged into my heart several times so that it penetrated my entrails. When he pulled it out I felt that he took them with it, and left me utterly consumed by the great love of God." (*Scala/Art Resource, NY*)

French Classicism

This painting by Nicolas Poussin, *Discovery of Achilles on Skyros* (1649–1650), shows the French interest in classical themes and ideals. In the Greek story, Thetis dresses her son Achilles as a young woman and hides him on the island of Skyros so he would not have to fight in the Trojan War. When a chest of treasures is offered to the women, Achilles reveals himself (he is the figure on the far right) because he cannot resist the sword. In telling the story, Poussin emphasizes harmony and almost a sedateness of composition, avoiding the exuberance and emotionalism of the baroque style. (Photograph © 2007 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



religious toleration; that is, he wanted religious freedom for the many varieties of Protestants, but not for Catholics or non-Christians. Milton served as secretary to the Council of State during Cromwell's rule and earned the enmity of Charles II by writing a justification for the execution of his father, Charles I.

Forced into retirement after the restoration of the monarchy, Milton published his epic poem *Paradise Lost* in 1667. He used the biblical Adam and Eve's fall from grace to meditate on human freedom and the tragedies of rebellion. Although Milton wanted to "justify the ways of God to man," his Satan, the proud angel who challenges God and is cast out of heaven, is so compelling as to be heroic. In the end, Adam and Eve embrace moral responsibility for their actions. Individuals learn the limits to their freedom, yet personal liberty remains essential to their humanity.

The Varieties of Artistic Style. The dominant artistic styles of the time—the baroque and the classical—both submerged the ordinary individual in a grander design. The baroque style proved to be especially suitable for public displays of faith and power that overawed individual beholders. The combination of religious and political purposes in baroque art is best exemplified in the architecture and sculpture of Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680), the papacy's official artist. His architectural masterpiece was the gigantic square facing St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. Bernini's use of freestanding colonnades and a huge open space was meant to impress the individual observer with

the power of the popes and the Catholic religion. He also sculpted tombs for the popes and a large statue of Constantine, the first Christian emperor of Rome—perfect examples of the marriage of power and religion.

Although France was a Catholic country, French painters, sculptors, and architects, like their patron Louis XIV, preferred the standards of **classicism** to those of the baroque. French artists developed classicism to be a French national style, distinct from the baroque style that was closely associated with France's enemies, the Austrian and Spanish Habsburgs. As its name suggests, classicism reflected the ideals of the art of antiquity: geometric shapes, order, and harmony of lines took precedence over the sensuous, exuberant, and emotional forms of the baroque. Rather than being overshadowed by the sheer power of emotional display, in classicism the individual could be found at the intersection of converging, symmetrical, straight lines (see illustration above). These influences were apparent in the work of the leading French painters of the period, Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665) and Claude Lorrain (1600–1682), both of whom worked in Rome and tried to recreate classical Roman values in their mythological scenes and Roman landscapes.

Art could also serve the interests of science. One of the most skilled illustrators of insects and

classicism: A style of painting and architecture that reflected the ideals of the art of antiquity; in classicism, geometric shapes, order, and harmony of lines take precedence over the sensuous, exuberant, and emotional forms of the baroque.

DOCUMENT

John Milton, Defense of Freedom of the Press (1644)

In Areopagitica (1644), the English poet John Milton rebuked Parliament for passing a bill to restrict freedom of the press by requiring licensing of every publication. The title came from Areopagus, the name of a court in ancient Athens. Milton argued that freedom of thought was essential to human dignity.

I deny not but that it is of greatest concernment in the church and commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men; and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors. For books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve as in a vial the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them. I know they are as lively and as vigorously productive as those fabulous dragon's teeth; and being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men. And yet, on the other hand, unless wariness be used, as good almost kill a man as kill a good book:

who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God's image; but he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself, kills the image of God, as it were, in the eye. Many a man lives a burden to the earth; but a good book is the precious lifeblood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life. 'Tis true, no age can restore a life, whereof perhaps there is no great loss; and revolutions of ages do not oft recover the loss of a rejected truth, for the want of which whole nations fare the worse. We should be wary, therefore, what persecution we raise against the living labors of public men, how we spill that seasoned life of man preserved and stored up in books; since we see a kind of homicide may be thus committed, sometimes a martyrdom; and if it extend to the whole impression, a kind of massacre, whereof the execution ends not in the slaying of an elemental life, but strikes at that ethereal and fifth essence, the breath of reason itself, slays an immortality rather than a life. But lest I should be condemned of introducing license, while I oppose licensing, I refuse not the pains to be so much histor-

ical as will serve to show what hath been done by ancient and famous commonwealths against this disorder, till the very time that this project of licensing crept out of the Inquisition, was caught up by our prelates, and hath caught some of our presbyters. [. . .] As therefore the state of man now is, what wisdom can there be to choose, what continence to forbear without the knowledge of evil? He that can apprehend and consider vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true warfaring Christian. I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat. Assuredly we bring not innocence into the world, we bring impurity much rather: that which purifies us is trial, and trial is by what is contrary.

Source: John Milton, *Milton's Prose Writing* (London: J. M. Dant, 1961), 149–50, 158.

flowers was Maria Sibylla Merian (1646–1717), a German-born painter-scholar whose engravings were widely celebrated for their brilliant realism and microscopic clarity. Merian eventually separated from her husband and joined a sect called the Labadists (after its French founder, Jean de Labadie), whose members did not believe in formal marriage ties. After moving with her daughters to the Labadists' community in the northern Dutch province of Friesland, Merian went with missionaries from the sect to the Dutch colony of Surinam, in South America, and painted watercolors (see illustration, page 512) of the exotic flowers, birds, and insects she found in the jungle around the cocoa and sugarcane plantations. Many women became known for their still lifes, and especially their paintings of flowers, during this time.

Public Interest in Science. Despite the initial religious controversies associated with the scientific

revolution, absolutist rulers quickly saw the potential of the new science for enhancing their prestige and glory. Frederick William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg-Prussia, for example, set up agricultural experiments in front of his Berlin palace, and various German princes supported the work of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), who claimed that he, and not Isaac Newton, had invented the calculus. A lawyer, diplomat, mathematician, and scholar who wrote about metaphysics, cosmology, and history, Leibniz also helped establish scientific societies in the German states.

Government involvement in science was greatest in France, where science became an arm of mercantilist policy; in 1666, Colbert founded the Royal Academy of Sciences, which supplied fifteen scientists with government stipends. It met in the King's Library in Paris, where for the first years the members devoted themselves to alchemical experiments and the study of mechanical devices.



European Fascination with Products of the New World

In this painting of a banana plant, Maria Sibylla Merian offers a scientific study of one of the many exotic plants and animals found by Europeans who traveled to the colonies overseas. Merian was fifty-one when she traveled to the Dutch South American colony of Surinam with her daughter. (Courtesy of Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation, Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, PA.)

Constitutional states supported science informally but provided an environment that encouraged its spread. The Royal Society of London, the counterpart to the one in Paris, grew out of informal meetings of scientists at London and Oxford rather than direct government involvement. It received a royal charter in 1662 but maintained complete independence. The society's secretary described its business to be "in the first place, to scrutinize the whole of Nature and to investigate its activity and powers by means of observations and experiments; and then in course of time to hammer out a more solid philosophy and more ample amenities of civilization." Whether the state paid for the work or not, thinkers of the day now tied science explicitly to social progress.

Because of their exclusion from most universities, women only rarely participated in the new scientific discoveries. In 1667, nonetheless, the Royal Society of London invited Margaret Cavendish, a writer of poems, essays, letters, and philosophical treatises, to attend a meeting to

watch the exhibition of experiments. Labeled "mad" by her critics, she attacked the use of telescopes and microscopes because she detected in the new experimentalism a mechanistic view of the world that exalted masculine prowess and challenged the Christian belief in freedom of the will. Yet she urged the formal education of women, complaining that "we are kept like birds in cages to hop up and down in our houses." "Many of our Sex may have as much wit, and be capable of Learning as well as men," she insisted, "but since they want Instructions [lack education], it is not possible they should attain to it."

Women and Manners

Although excluded from the universities and the professions, women played important roles not only in the home but also in more formal spheres of social interaction, such as the courts of rulers. Women often took the lead in teaching manners or social etiquette. Poetry and painting might imaginatively explore the place of the individual within a larger whole, but real-life individuals had to learn to navigate their own social worlds. Women's importance in refining social relationships quickly became a subject of controversy.

The Cultivation of Manners. The court had long been a central arena for the development of manners. Under the tutelage of their mothers and wives, nobles learned to hide all that was crass and to maintain a fine sense of social distinction. In some ways, aristocratic men were expected to act more like women; just as women had long been expected to please men, now aristocratic men had to please their monarch or patron by displaying proper manners and conversing with elegance and wit. The art of pleasing included foreign languages (especially French), dance, a taste for fine music, and attention to dress.

As part of the evolution of new aristocratic ideals, nobles learned to disdain all that was lowly. The upper classes began to reject popular festivals and fairs in favor of private theaters, where seats were relatively expensive and behavior was formal. Clowns and buffoons now seemed vulgar; the last king of England to keep a court fool was Charles I. Chivalric romances that had entranced the nobility since the time of Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (1605) now passed into popular literature.

The greatest French playwright of the seventeenth century, Molière (the pen name of Jean-Baptiste Poquelin, 1622–1673), wrote sparkling comedies of manners that revealed much about

the new aristocratic behavior. His play *The Middle-Class Gentleman*, first performed for Louis XIV in 1670, revolves around the yearning of a rich, middle-class Frenchman, Monsieur Jourdain, to learn to act like a *gentilhomme* (meaning both “gentleman” and “nobleman”). Monsieur Jourdain buys fancy clothes; hires private instructors in dancing, music, fencing, and philosophy; and lends money to a debt-ridden noble in hopes that the noble will marry his daughter. Only his sensible wife and his daughter’s love for a worthier commoner stand in his way. The message for the king’s courtiers seemed to be a reassuring one: only true nobles by blood can hope to act like nobles. But the play also showed how the middle classes were learning to emulate the nobility; if one could learn to act nobly through self-discipline, could not anyone with some education and money pass himself off as noble?

As Molière’s play demonstrated, new attention to manners trickled down from the court to the middle class. A French treatise on manners written in 1672 explained proper behavior:

If everyone is eating from the same dish, you should take care not to put your hand into it before those of higher rank have done so. . . . Formerly one was permitted . . . to dip one’s bread into the sauce, provided only that one had not already bitten it. Nowadays that would be a kind of rusticity. Formerly one was allowed to take from one’s mouth what one could not eat and drop it on the floor, provided it was done skillfully. Now that would be very disgusting.

The key words *rusticity* and *disgusting* reveal the association of unacceptable social behavior with the peasantry, dirt, and repulsion. Similar rules governed spitting and blowing one’s nose in public. Once the elite had successfully distinguished itself from the lower classes through manners, scholars became more interested in studying popular expressions. They avidly collected proverbs, folktales, and songs—all of these now curiosities.

Debates about Women’s Roles. Courtly manners often permeated the upper reaches of society by means of the **salon**, an informal gathering held regularly in private homes and presided over by a socially eminent woman. In 1661, one French author claimed to have identified 251 Parisian women as hostesses of salons. The French government occasionally worried that these gatherings might challenge its authority, but the three main

topics of conversation were love, literature, and philosophy. Hostesses often worked hard to encourage the careers of budding authors. Before publishing a manuscript, many authors, including court favorites like Corneille and Racine, would read their compositions to a salon gathering.

Some women went beyond encouraging male authors and began to write on their own, but they faced many obstacles. Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne, known as Madame de Lafayette, wrote several short novels that were published anonymously because it was considered inappropriate for aristocratic women to appear in print. Following the publication of *The Princess of Clèves* in 1678, she denied having written it. Hannah Woolley, the English author of many books on domestic conduct, published under the name of her first husband. Women were known for writing wonderful letters, but the correspondence circulated only in handwritten form. In the 1650s, despite these limitations, French women began to turn out best sellers of a new type of literary form, the novel. Their success prompted the philosopher Pierre Bayle to remark in 1697 that “our best French novels for a long time have been written by women.”

The new importance of women in the world of manners and letters did not sit well with everyone. Although the French writer François Poulain de la Barre, in a series of works published in the 1670s, used the new science to assert the equality of women’s minds, most men resisted the idea. Clergy, lawyers, scholars, and playwrights attacked women’s growing public influence. Women, they complained, were corrupting forces and needed restraint. Only marriage, “this salutary yoke,” could control their passions and weaknesses. Women were accused of raising “the banner of prostitution in the salons, in the promenades, and in the streets.” Molière wrote plays denouncing women’s pretension to judge literary merit. English playwrights derided learned women by creating characters with names such as Lady Knowall, Lady Meanwell, and Mrs. Lovewit.

A real-life target of the English playwrights was Aphra Behn (1640–1689), one of the first professional woman authors, who supported herself by journalism, wrote plays and poetry, and translated scientific works. Her short novel *Oroonoko* (1688) told the story of an African prince mistakenly sold into slavery. The story was so successful that it was adapted by playwrights and performed repeatedly in England and France for the next hundred years.

Women also played important roles in the new colonies. In order to establish more permanent

salon: An informal gathering held regularly in private homes and presided over by a socially eminent woman; salons spread from France in the seventeenth century to other countries in the eighteenth century.

and settled colonies, governments promoted the emigration of women so that male colonists would set up orderly Christian white households rather than pursuing sexual relations with native or slave women.

Reforming Popular Culture

Controversies over female influence had little effect on the unschooled peasants who made up most of Europe's population. Their culture had three main elements: their religion, which shaped every aspect of life and death; the knowledge needed to work at farming or in a trade; and popular forms of entertainment such as village fairs and dances. What changed most noticeably in the seventeenth century was the social elites' attitude toward lower-class culture. The division between elite and popular culture widened as elites insisted on their difference from the lower orders and tried to instill new forms of discipline in their social inferiors. These efforts did not always succeed, however, as villagers tenaciously clung to their own traditions.

Popular Religion. In the seventeenth century, Protestant and Catholic churches alike pushed hard to change popular religious practices. Their campaigns against popular "paganism" began during the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation and Catholic Counter-Reformation but reached much of rural Europe only in the seventeenth century. Puritans in England tried to root out maypole dances, Sunday village fairs, gambling, taverns, and bawdy ballads because they interfered with sober observance of the Sabbath. In Lutheran Norway, pastors denounced a widespread belief in the miracle-working powers of St. Olaf. The word *superstition* previously meant "false religion" (Protestantism was a superstition for Catholics, Catholicism for Protestants); in the seventeenth century, it took on its modern meaning of irrational fears, beliefs, and practices, which anyone educated or refined would avoid.

The Catholic campaign against superstitious practices found a ready ally in Louis XIV. While the Sun King reformed the nobles at court through etiquette and manners, Catholic bishops in the French provinces trained parish priests to reform their flocks by using catechisms in local dialects and insisting that parishioners attend Mass. The church faced a formidable challenge. One bishop in France complained in 1671, "Can you believe that there are in this diocese entire villages where no one has even heard of Jesus Christ?" In some places, believers sacrificed animals to the Virgin, prayed to

the new moon, and worshipped at the sources of streams as in pre-Christian times.

Like its Protestant counterpart, the Catholic campaign against ignorance and superstition helped extend state power. Clergy, officials, and local police worked together to limit carnival celebrations, to regulate pilgrimages to shrines, and to replace "indecent" images of saints with more restrained and decorous ones. In Catholicism, the cult of the Virgin Mary and devotions closely connected with Jesus, such as the Holy Sacrament and the Sacred Heart, took precedence over the celebration of popular saints who seemed to have pagan origins or were credited with unverified miracles. Reformers everywhere tried to limit the number of feast days on the grounds that they encouraged lewd behavior.

New Attitudes toward Poverty. The campaign for more disciplined religious practices helped generate a new attitude toward the poor. Poverty previously had been closely linked with charity and virtue in Christianity; it was a Christian duty to give alms to the poor, and Jesus and many of the saints had purposely chosen lives of poverty. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the upper classes, the church, and the state increasingly regarded the poor as dangerous, deceitful, and lacking in character. "Criminal laziness is the source of all their vices," wrote a Jesuit expert on the poor. The courts had previously expelled beggars from cities; now local leaders, both Catholic and Protestant, tried to reform their character. Municipal magistrates collected taxes for poor relief, and local notables organized charities; together they transformed hospitals into houses of confinement for beggars. In Catholic France, upper-class women's religious associations, known as confraternities, set up asylums that confined prostitutes (by arrest if necessary) and rehabilitated them. Confraternities also founded hospices where orphans learned proper behavior and respect for their betters. Such groups advocated harsh discipline as the cure for poverty.

As hard times increased the numbers of the poor and the rates of violent crime as well, attitudes toward the poor hardened. The elites tried to separate the very poor from society either to change them or to keep them from contaminating others. Hospitals became holding pens for society's unwanted members; in them, the poor joined the disabled, the incurably diseased, and the insane. The founding of hospitals demonstrates the connection between elites' attitudes and state building. In 1676, Louis XIV ordered every French city

to establish a hospital, and his government took charge of the finances. Other rulers soon followed the same path.

Popular Resistance to Reform. Even as elites set themselves apart and reformers from church and state tried to regulate popular activities, villagers and townspeople pushed back with reassertions of their own values. For hundreds of years, peasants had maintained their own forms of village justice—called variously “rough music,” “ride on a donkey,” “skimmington,” “charivari,” or in North America, “shivaree.” If a young man married a much older woman for her money, for example, villagers would serenade the couple by ringing bells, playing crude flutes, banging pots and pans, and shooting muskets. If a man was rumored to have been physically assaulted by his wife, a reversal of the usual sex roles, he (or effigies of him and his wife) might be ridden on a donkey facing backward (to signify the role reversal) and pelted with dung before being ducked in a nearby pond or river. Anyone who transgressed the local customs governing family life—adulterers, for example—might suffer a similar fate. Processions sometimes included the display of horned animal heads (a symbol of adultery) or obscene drawings, and people made up mocking rhymes and songs for various occasions. Some villagers singled out rebellious women, wife beaters, and fathers deemed excessively cruel to their children. Others directed their mockery at tax officials, gamekeepers on big estates who tried to keep villagers from hunting, or unpopular preachers.

No matter how much care went into controlling religious festivals, such events almost invariably opened the door to popular reinterpretation and sometimes drunken celebration. When the Spanish introduced Corpus Christi processions to their colony in Peru in the seventeenth century, elite Incas dressed in royal costumes to carry the banners of their parishes. Their clothing and ornaments combined Christian symbols with their own indigenous ones. They thus signaled their conversion to Catholicism but also reasserted their own prior identities. The Corpus Christi festival, held in late May or early June, conveniently took place about the same time as Inca festivals from the pre-Spanish era. Carnival, the days preceding Lent on the Christian calendar (Mardi Gras, or Fat Tuesday, is the last of them), offered the occasion for public revelry of all sorts. Although Catholic clergy worked hard to clamp down on the more riotous aspects of Carnival, many towns and villages still held parades, like those of modern New



Corpus Christi Procession in Peru

This painting shows a Catholic procession by Incas that took place in the late 1670s in Cuzco, Peru. The Inca in front is wearing his native dress and he is followed by a float and religious figures carrying traditional Catholic imagery. (*Museo del Arzobispo, Cuzco, Peru.*)

Orleans or Rio de Janeiro, that included companies of local men dressed in special costumes and gigantic stuffed figures, sometimes with animal skins or heads, or elaborate masks.

REVIEW: How did elite and popular culture become more separate in the seventeenth century?

Conclusion

The search for order took place on various levels, from the reform of the disorderly poor to the establishment of bureaucratic routines in government. The absolutist government of Louis XIV served as a model for all those who aimed to increase the power of the central state. Even Louis's rivals—such as the Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I and Frederick William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg-Prussia—followed his lead in centralizing authority and building up their armies. Whether absolutist or constitutionalist in form, seventeenth-century states aimed to penetrate more deeply into the lives of their subjects. They wanted more men for their armed forces; higher taxes to support their projects; and more control over foreign trade, religious dissent, and society's unwanted.

Some tears had begun to appear, however, in the seamless fabric of state power. The civil war

MAPPING THE WEST

**Europe at the End of the Seventeenth Century**

Size was not necessarily an advantage in the late 1600s. Poland-Lithuania, a large country on the map, had been fatally weakened by internal conflicts. In the next century it would disappear entirely. While the Ottoman Empire still controlled an extensive territory, outside of Anatolia its rule depended on intermediaries. The Austrian Habsburgs had pushed the Turks out of Hungary and back into the Balkans. The tiny Dutch Republic, meanwhile, had become very rich through international commerce and was the envy of far larger nations.

between Charles I and Parliament in England in the 1640s opened the way to new demands for political participation. When Parliament overthrew James II in 1688, it also insisted that the new king and queen, William and Mary, agree to a Bill of Rights. Left on their own during the turmoil in England, the English North American colonies developed distinctive forms of representative government. In the eighteenth century, new levels of economic growth and the appearance of new social groups would exert pressures on the European state system. The success of seventeenth-century rulers created the political and economic conditions in which their critics would flourish.

FOR FURTHER EXPLORATION

- For suggested references, including Web sites, for topics in this chapter, see page SR-1 at the end of the book.
- For additional primary-source material from this period, see Chapter 16 in *Sources of THE MAKING OF THE WEST*, Third Edition.
- For Web sites and documents related to topics in this chapter, see *Make History* at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

CHAPTER REVIEW

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

constitutionalism (484)	Stenka Razin (496)
absolutism (484)	Levellers (499)
Louis XIV (484)	William, prince of Orange (504)
revocation of the Edict of Nantes (489)	Glorious Revolution (504)
bureaucracy (489)	social contract (504)
mercantilism (490)	classicism (510)
Frederick William of Hohenzollern (493)	salon (513)

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How “absolute” was the power of Louis XIV?
2. Why did absolutism flourish everywhere in eastern Europe except Poland-Lithuania?
3. What differences over religion and politics caused the conflict between king and Parliament in England?
4. Why did constitutionalism thrive in the Dutch Republic and the British North American colonies, even as their participation in the slave trade grew?
5. How did elite and popular culture become more separate in the seventeenth century?

MAKING CONNECTIONS

1. What accounts for the success of absolutism in some parts of Europe and its failure in others?
2. How did religious differences in the late seventeenth century still cause political conflict?
3. Why was the search for order a major theme in science, politics, and the arts during this period?

For practice quizzes, a customized study plan, and other study tools, see the Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

IMPORTANT EVENTS

1642–1646	Civil war between King Charles I and Parliament in England	1667	Louis XIV begins first of many wars that continue throughout his reign
1648	Peace of Westphalia ends Thirty Years' War; the Fronde revolt challenges royal authority in France; Ukrainian Cossack warriors rebel against the king of Poland-Lithuania; Spain formally recognizes independence of the Dutch Republic	1678	Madame de Lafayette anonymously publishes her novel <i>The Princess of Clèves</i>
1649	Execution of Charles I of England; new Russian legal code assigns all to hereditary class	1683	Austrian Habsburgs break the Turkish siege of Vienna
1651	Thomas Hobbes publishes <i>Leviathan</i>	1685	Louis XIV revokes toleration for French Protestants granted by the Edict of Nantes
1660	Monarchy restored in England	1688	Parliament deposes James II and invites his daughter, Mary, and her husband, William of Orange, to take the throne
1661	Slave code set up in Barbados	1690	John Locke publishes <i>Two Treatises of Government</i> and <i>Essay Concerning Human Understanding</i>



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The Atlantic System and Its Consequences

1690–1740

Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750), composer of mighty organ fugues and church cantatas, was not above amusing his Leipzig audiences, many of them university students. In 1732, he produced a cantata about a young woman in love — with coffee. Her old-fashioned father rages that he won't find her a husband unless she gives up the fad. She agrees, secretly vowing to admit no suitor who will not promise in the marriage contract to let her brew coffee whenever she wants. Bach offers this conclusion:

The cat won't give up its mouse,
Girls stay faithful coffee-sisters
Mother loves her coffee habit,
Grandma sips it gladly too —
Why then shout at the daughters?

Bach's era might well be called the age of coffee. European travelers at the end of the sixteenth century had noticed Middle Eastern people drinking a “black drink,” *kavah*, and the Turks took coffee beans with them on their military campaigns in eastern Europe. Few Europeans sampled the drink at first, and the Arab monopoly on its production kept prices high. This changed around 1700 when the Dutch East India Company introduced coffee plants to Java and other Indonesian islands. Coffee production then spread to the French Caribbean, where African slaves provided the plantation labor. In Europe, imported coffee spurred the development of a new kind of meeting place: the first coffeehouse opened in London in 1652, and the idea spread quickly to other European cities. Men gathered in coffeehouses to drink, read newspapers, and talk politics. As a London newspaper commented in 1737, “There's scarce an Alley in City and Suburbs but has a Coffee-house in it, which may be called the School of Public Spirit, where every Man over Daily and Weekly Journals, a Mug, or a Dram . . . devotes himself to that glorious one, his Country.”

London Coffeehouse

This gouache (a variant on watercolor painting) from about 1725 depicts a scene from a London coffeehouse located in the courtyard of the Royal Exchange (merchants' bank). Middle-class men (wearing wigs) read newspapers, drink coffee, smoke pipes, and discuss the news of the day. The coffeehouse draws them out of their homes into a new public space. (© British Museum, London/The Bridgeman Art Library.)

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- Raising the Woman Question

European consumption of coffee, tea, chocolate, and other novelties increased dramatically as European nations forged worldwide economic links. At the center of this new global economy was the **Atlantic system**, the web of trade routes that bound together western Europe, Africa, and the Americas. Europeans bought slaves in western Africa, transported them to be sold in the colonies in North and South America and the Caribbean, bought raw commodities such as coffee and sugar that were produced by the new colonial plantations, and then sold those commodities in European ports for refining and reshipment. This Atlantic system, which first took clear shape in the early eighteenth century, became the hub of European expansion throughout the world.

Coffee drinking is just one example of the many new social and cultural patterns that took root between 1690 and 1740. Improvements in agricultural production at home reinforced the effects of trade overseas; Europeans now had more disposable income for extras, and they spent their money not only in the new coffeehouses and cafés that sprang up all over Europe but also on newspapers, musical concerts, paintings, and novels. A new middle-class public began to make its presence felt in every domain of culture and social life.

Although the rise of the Atlantic system gave Europe new prominence in the global context, European rulers still focused most of their political, diplomatic, and military energies on their rivalries within Europe. A coalition of countries succeeded in containing French aggression, and a more balanced diplomatic system emerged. In eastern Europe, Prussia and Austria had to contend with the

rising power of Russia under Peter the Great. In western Europe, both Spain and the Dutch Republic declined in influence but continued to vie with Britain and France for colonial spoils in the Atlantic. The more evenly matched competition among the great powers encouraged the development of diplomatic skills and drew attention to public health as a way of encouraging population growth.

In the aftermath of Louis XIV’s revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, a new intellectual movement known as the Enlightenment began to germinate. An initial impetus came from French Protestant refugees who published works critical of absolutism in politics and religion. Increased prosperity, the growth of a middle-class public, and the decline in warfare after Louis XIV’s death in 1715 helped fuel this new critical spirit. Fed by the popularization of science and the growing interest in travel literature, the Enlightenment encouraged greater skepticism about religious and state authority. Eventually, the movement would question almost every aspect of social and political life in Europe. The Enlightenment began in western Europe in those countries—Britain, France, and the Dutch Republic—most affected by the new Atlantic system. It too was a product of the age of coffee.

FOCUS QUESTION: What were the most important consequences of the growth of the Atlantic system?

The Atlantic System and the World Economy

Although their ships had been circling the globe since the early 1500s, Europeans did not draw most of the world into their economic orbit until the 1700s. Western European trading nations sent

Atlantic system: The network of trade established in the 1700s that bound together western Europe, Africa, and the Americas. Europeans sold slaves from western Africa and bought commodities that were produced by the new colonial plantations in North and South America and the Caribbean.

1690	■ 1690s Development of Caribbean plantations	1700	■ 1703 Building of St. Petersburg begins; first Russian newspaper	1710	■ 1713–1714 Peace of Utrecht
	■ 1694 Bank of England established; Astell, <i>A Serious Proposal to the Ladies</i>				■ 1714–1727 King George I of England
	■ 1697 Bayle, <i>Historical and Critical Dictionary</i>				■ 1715 Death of Louis XIV
	■ 1699 Turks forced to recognize Austrian rule over Hungary, Transylvania				

ships loaded with goods to buy slaves from local rulers on the western coast of Africa; the slaves were then transported to the colonies in North and South America and the Caribbean and sold to the owners of plantations producing coffee, sugar, cotton, and tobacco. Money from the slave trade was used to buy the raw commodities produced in the colonies and ship them back to Europe, where they were refined or processed and then sold within Europe and around the world. The Atlantic system and the growth of international trade thus helped create a new consumer society.

Slavery and the Atlantic System

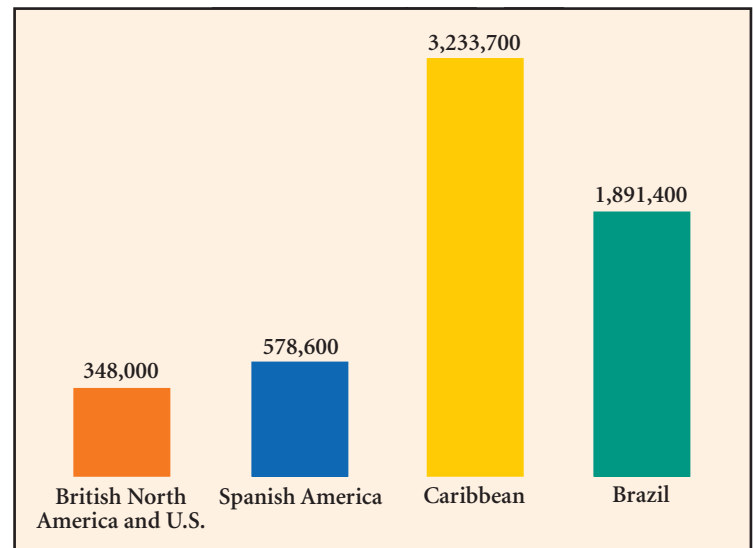
Spain and Portugal dominated Atlantic trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but in the eighteenth century European trade in the Atlantic rapidly expanded and became more systematically interconnected (Map 17.1). By 1630, Portugal had already sent sixty thousand African slaves to Brazil to work on the new **plantations** (large tracts of lands that produced staple crops, were farmed by slave labor, and were owned by colonial settlers from western Europe), which were producing some fifteen thousand tons of sugar a year. Realizing that plantations producing staples for Europeans could bring fabulous wealth, the European powers grew less interested in the dwindling trade in precious metals and more eager to colonize. In the 1690s, large-scale planters of sugar, tobacco, and coffee began displacing small farmers who relied on one or two servants. Planters and their plantations won out because cheap slave labor allowed them to produce mass quantities of commodities at low prices.

plantation: A large tract of land that produced staple crops such as sugar, coffee, and tobacco; was farmed by slave labor; and was owned by a colonial settler.

State-chartered private companies from Portugal, France, Britain, the Dutch Republic, Prussia, and even Denmark exploited the 3,500-mile coastline of West Africa for slaves. Before 1675, most blacks taken from Africa had been sent to Brazil, but by 1700 half of the African slaves were landing in the Caribbean (Figure 17.1). Thereafter, the plantation economy began to expand on the North American mainland. The numbers stagger the imagination. Before 1650, slave traders transported about seven thousand Africans each year

FIGURE 17.1 African Slaves Imported into American Territories, 1701–1810

During the eighteenth century, planters in the newly established Caribbean colonies imported millions of African slaves to work the new plantations that produced sugar, coffee, indigo, and cotton for the European market. The vast majority of African slaves transported to the Americas ended up in either the Caribbean or Brazil. Why were so many slaves transported to the Caribbean islands, which are relatively small compared to Spanish or British North America? (Adapted from Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* [Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969].)



■ 1720 Last plague outbreak in western Europe

■ 1721 Treaty of Nystad;
Montesquieu, *Persian Letters*

1720

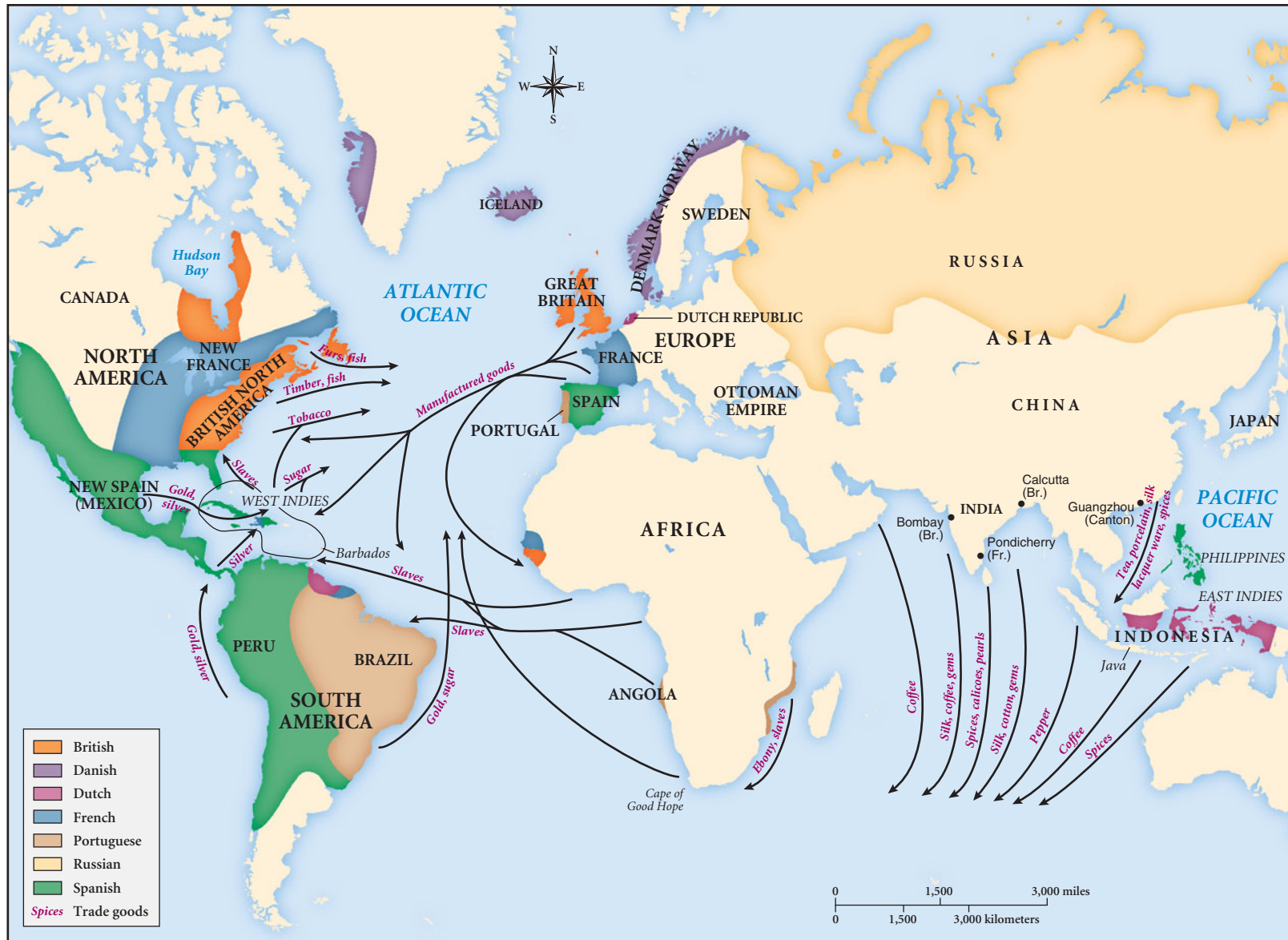
■ 1719 Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*

■ 1733 War of the Polish Succession;
Voltaire, *Letters Concerning the English Nation*

1730

1740

■ 1741 Handel, *Messiah*



MAP 17.1 European Trade Patterns, c. 1740

By 1740, the European powers had colonized much of North and South America and incorporated their colonies there into a worldwide system of commerce centered on the slave trade and plantation production of staple crops. Europeans still sought spices and luxury goods in China and the East Indies, but outside of Java, few Europeans had settled permanently in these areas.

■ How did control over colonies determine dominance in international trade in this period?

across the Atlantic; this rate doubled between 1650 and 1675, nearly doubled again in the next twenty-five years, and kept increasing until the 1780s (Figure 17.2, below). In all, more than eleven million Africans, not counting those who were captured but died before or during the sea voyage, were transported to the Americas before the slave trade began to wind down after 1850. Many individual traders gained spectacular wealth, but companies did not always make profits. The English Royal African Company, for example, delivered 100,000 slaves to the Caribbean and imported thirty thousand tons of sugar to Britain yet lost money after the few profitable years following its founding in 1672.

The Life of the Slaves. The balance of white and black populations in the New World colonies was determined by the staples produced. Because they did not own plantations, New England merchants and farmers bought few slaves. Blacks—both slave and free—made up only 3 percent of the population in eighteenth-century New England, compared with 60 percent in South Carolina. On the whole, the British North American colonies contained a higher proportion of African Americans

from 1730 to 1765 than at any other time in American history. The imbalance of whites and blacks was even more extreme in the Caribbean, where most indigenous people had already died fighting Europeans or the diseases brought by them. By 1713, the French Caribbean colony of St. Domingue (on the western part of Hispaniola, present-day Haiti) had four times as many black slaves as whites; by 1754, slaves there outnumbered whites more than ten to one.

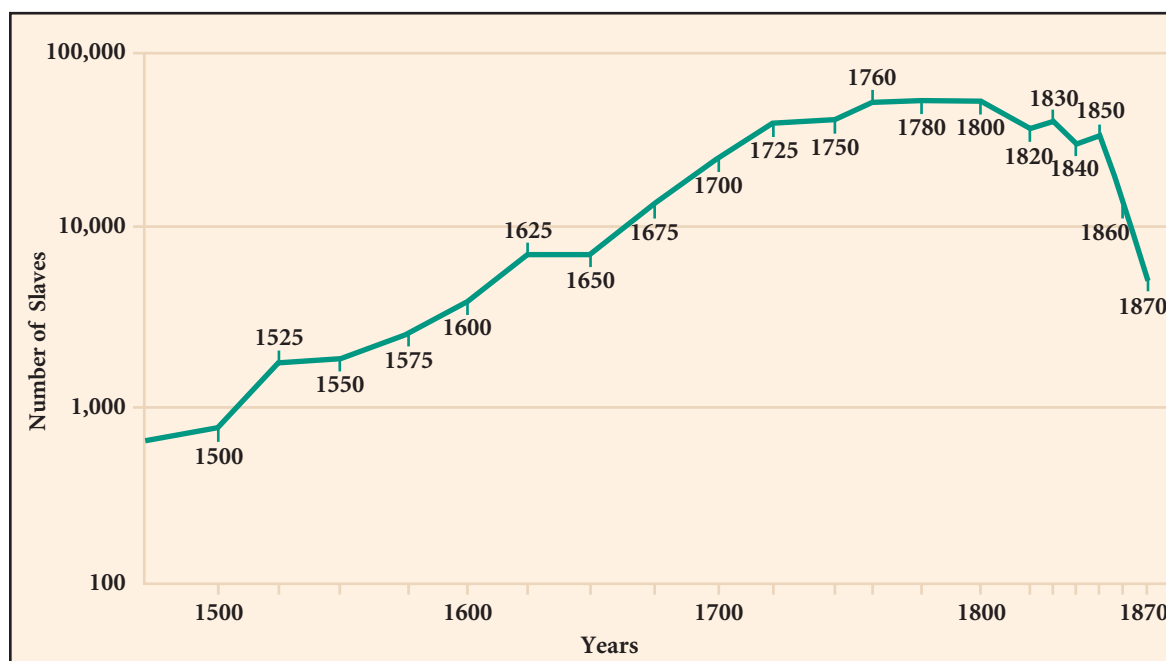
Enslaved women and men suffered terribly. Most had been sold to European traders by Africans from the west coast who acquired them through warfare or kidnapping. The vast majority were between fourteen and thirty-five years old. Before they were crammed onto the ships for the three-month trip, their heads were shaved, they were stripped naked, and some were branded with red-hot irons. Men and women were separated. Men were shackled with leg irons. Sailors and officers raped the women whenever they wished and beat those who refused their advances. In the cramped and appalling conditions of the voyage, as many as one-fourth of the slaves died.

Those who survived the transit were forced into degrading and oppressive conditions. Upon

FIGURE 17.2 Annual Imports in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1450–1870

The importation of slaves to the American territories reached its height in the second half of the eighteenth century and began to decline around 1800. Yet despite the abolition of the slave trade by the British in 1807, commerce in slaves did not seriously diminish until after the revolutions of 1848.

(Adapted from Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969). Reprinted by permission of the University of Wisconsin Press.)



NEW SOURCES, NEW PERSPECTIVES

Oral History and the Life of Slaves

Historians have found it difficult to reconstruct slave life from the point of view of the slaves themselves, in part because slaves newly imported from Africa to the New World did not speak the language of their captors. Scholars have attempted to fill in this blank by using a variety of overlapping sources. The most interesting and controversial of these sources are oral histories taken from descendants of slaves. In some former slave societies, these descendants still tell stories about their ancestors' first days under slavery. The controversy comes from using present-day memories to shed light on eighteenth-century lives.

One of the regions most intensively studied in this fashion is Suriname (formerly Dutch Guiana), on the northeast coast of South America between present-day Guyana and French Guiana. This region is a good source of oral histories because 10 percent of the African slaves transported there between the 1680s and the 1750s escaped from the plantations and fled into the nearby rain forests. There they set up their own societies and developed their own language, in which they carried on the oral traditions of the first

runaway slaves. The descendants of the runaway slaves recounted the following details:

In slavery, there was hardly anything to eat. It was at the place called Providence Plantation. They whipped you there till your ass was burning. Then they would give you a bit of plain rice in a calabash [a bowl made from a hard-shelled tropical American fruit]. . . . And the gods told them that this is no way for human beings to live. They would help them. Let each person go where he could. So they ran.

From other sources, historians have learned that there was a major slave rebellion at Providence Plantation in Suriname in 1693.

By comparing such oral histories to written accounts of plantation owners, missionaries, and Dutch colonial officials, historians have been able to paint a richly detailed picture not only of slavery but also of runaway slave societies, which were especially numerous in South America. At the end of the eighteenth century, a Portuguese-speaking Jew named David de Ishak Cohen Nassy wrote his own history of plantation life based on records from the local Jewish community that are now

lost. Because the Dutch, unlike most other Europeans, allowed Jews to own slaves, Portuguese-speaking Jews from Brazil owned about one-third of the plantations and slaves in Suriname. Nassy gave the following account of Suriname's first slave revolt:

There was in the year 1690 a revolt on a plantation situated on the Cassewinica Creek, behind Jews Savannah, belonging to a Jew named Imanuël Machado, where, having killed their master, [the slaves] fled, carrying away with them everything that was there. . . . The Jews . . . in an expedition which they undertook against the rebels, killed many of them and brought back several who were punished by death on the very spot.

The oral histories told about the revolt from the runaway slaves' perspective:

There had been a great council meeting [of runaway slaves] in the forest. . . . They decided to burn a different one of [Machado's] plantations from the place where he had whipped Lanu [one of the runaway slaves] because they would find more tools there. This was the Cassewinica Plantation, which had many slaves. They knew all about this plantation from slavery times. So, they at-

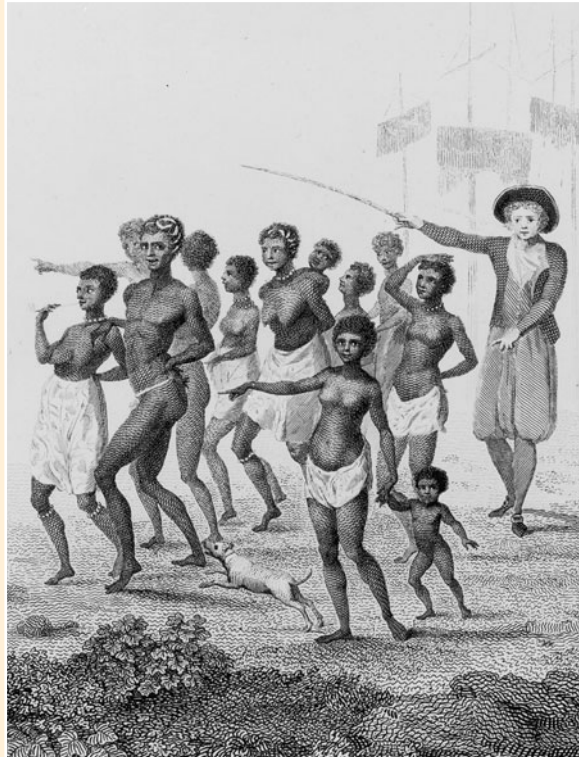
purchase, masters gave slaves new names, often only first names, and in some colonies branded them as personal property. Slaves had no social identities of their own; they were expected to learn their master's language and to do any job assigned. Slaves worked fifteen- to seventeen-hour days and were fed only enough to keep them on their feet. Brazilian slaves consumed more calories than the poorest Brazilians do today, but that hardly made them well fed. The death rate among slaves was high, especially on the sugar plantations, where slaves had to cut and haul sugarcane to the grinders and boilers before it spoiled. During the harvest, grinding and boiling went on around the clock. Because so many slaves died in the sugar-growing regions, more and more slaves, especially strong males, had to be imported. In North America, in

contrast, where sugar was a minor crop, the slave population increased tenfold by 1863 through natural growth.

Not surprisingly, despite the threat of torture or death on recapture, slaves sometimes ran away. (See "New Sources, New Perspectives," above.) In Brazil, runaways found *quilombos* (hideouts) in the forests or backcountry. When it was discovered and destroyed in 1695, the quilombo of Palmares had thirty thousand fugitives who had formed their own social organization, complete with elected kings and councils of elders. Outright revolt was uncommon, especially before the nineteenth century, but other forms of resistance included stealing food, breaking tools, and feigning illness or stupidity. Slaveholders' fears about conspiracy and revolt lurked beneath the surface

Slaves of Suriname in the 1770s

John Gabriel Stedman published an account of his participation in a five-year expedition against the runaway slaves of Suriname that took place in the 1770s. He provided drawings such as the one reproduced here, which shows Africans who have just come off a slave ship. (*The New York Public Library/Art Resource, NY.*)



tacked. It was at night. They killed the head of the plantation, a white man. They took all the things, everything they needed.

The runaway slaves saw the attack as part of their ongoing effort to build a life in the rain forest, away from the whites.

Over the next decades, the runaway slaves fought a constant series of battles with plantation owners and Dutch officials. Finally, in 1762, the Dutch granted the runaway slaves their freedom in a peace agreement and allowed them to trade in

the main town of the colony in exchange for agreeing to return all future runaways. The runaways had not destroyed the slave system, but they had gained their own independence alongside it. From their oral histories it is possible to retrace their efforts to build new lives in a strange place, in which they combined African practices with New World experiences.

Source: Richard Price, *Alabi's World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 17, 9.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. What did the runaway slaves mentioned in these accounts aim to accomplish when they attacked plantations?
2. Why would runaway slaves make an agreement with the Dutch colonial officials to return future runaways?
3. Can oral histories recorded in the twentieth century be considered accurate versions of events that took place in the eighteenth century? How can they be tested?

FURTHER READING

Price, Richard. *Alabi's World*. 1990.
Stedman, John Gabriel. *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition Against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam*. Edited, and with an introduction and notes, by Richard Price and Sally Price. 1988.

of every slave-based society. In 1710, the royal governor of Virginia reminded the colonial legislature of the need for unceasing vigilance: "We are not to Depend on Either Their Stupidity, or that Babel of Languages among 'em; freedom Wears a Cap which Can Without a Tongue, Call Together all Those who Long to Shake off the fetters of Slavery." Masters defended whipping and other forms of physical punishment as essential to maintaining discipline. Laws called for the castration of a slave who struck a white person.

Effects of the Slave Trade on Europe. Plantation owners often left their colonial possessions in the care of agents and merely collected the revenue so that they could live as wealthy landowners back home, where they built opulent mansions and

gained influence in local and national politics. William Beckford, for example, had been sent from Jamaica to school in England as a young boy. When he inherited sugar plantations and shipping companies from his father and older brother, he moved the headquarters of the family business to London in the 1730s to be close to the government and financial markets. His holdings formed the single most powerful economic interest in Jamaica, but he preferred to live in England, where he could buy works of art for his many luxurious homes, hold political office (he was lord mayor of London and a member of Parliament), and even lend money to the government.

The slave trade permanently altered consumption patterns for ordinary people. Sugar had been prescribed as a medicine before the end of the

Caribbean Sugar Mill

This seventeenth-century engraving of a sugar mill or grinder makes the work seem much less difficult than it was in practice. Slaves cut the sugarcane and then hauled it from the fields to the mill, where it was crushed. Many slaves lost fingers or hands in the process. The slaves then collected the juice (bottom center) and carried it to the boilers, shown at the bottom left and right. The sap was poured into molds and dried. The bricks of raw sugar were exported to Europe for refining.

(The Granger Collection, NY.)



sixteenth century, but the development of plantations in Brazil and the Caribbean made it a standard food item. By 1700, the British were sending home fifty million pounds of sugar a year, a figure that doubled by 1730. During the French Revolution of the 1790s, sugar shortages would become a cause for rioting in Paris. Equally pervasive was the spread of tobacco; by the 1720s, Britain was importing two hundred shiploads of tobacco from Virginia and Maryland annually, and men of every country and class smoked pipes or took snuff.

The Origins of Modern Racism. The traffic in slaves disturbed many Europeans. As a government memorandum to the Spanish king explained in 1610: “Modern theologians in published books commonly report on, and condemn as unjust, the acts of enslavement which take place in provinces of this Royal Empire.” Between 1667 and 1671, the French Dominican monk Father Du Tertre published three volumes in which he denounced the mistreatment of slaves in the French colonies.

In the 1700s, however, slaveholders began to justify their actions by demeaning the mental and spiritual qualities of the enslaved Africans. White Europeans and colonists sometimes described black slaves as animal-like, akin to apes. A leading New England Puritan asserted about the slaves: “Indeed their *Stupidity* is a *Discouragement*. It may seem, unto as little purpose, to *Teach*, as to *wash an Aethiopian* [Ethiopian].” One of the great para-

doxes of this time was that talk of liberty and self-evident rights, especially prevalent in Britain and its North American colonies, coexisted with the belief that some people were meant to be slaves. Although Christians believed in principle in a kind of spiritual equality between blacks and whites, the churches often defended or at least did not oppose the inequities of slavery.

World Trade and Settlement

The Atlantic system helped extend European trade relations across the globe. The textiles that Atlantic shippers exchanged for slaves on the west coast of Africa, for example, were manufactured in India and exported by the British and French East India Companies. As much as one-quarter of the British exports to Africa in the eighteenth century were actually re-exports from India. To expand its trade in the rest of the world, Europeans seized territories and tried to establish permanent settlements. The eighteenth-century extension of European power prepared the way for western global domination in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The Americas. In contrast to the sparsely inhabited trading outposts in Asia and Africa, the colonies in the Americas bulged with settlers. The British North American colonies, for example, contained about 1.5 million nonnative (that is, white settler and black slave) residents by 1750.

While the Spanish competed with the Portuguese for control of South America, the French competed with the British for control of North America. Spanish and British settlers came to blows over the boundary between the British colonies and Florida, which was held by Spain.

Local economies shaped colonial social relations; men in French trapper communities in Canada, for example, had little in common with the men and women of the plantation societies in Barbados or Brazil. Racial attitudes also differed from place to place. The Spanish and Portuguese tolerated intermarriage with the native populations in both America and Asia. Sexual contact, both inside and outside marriage, fostered greater racial variety in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies than in the French or the English territories (though mixed-race people could be found everywhere). By 1800, **mestizos**, children of Spanish men and Indian women, accounted for more than a quarter of the population in the Spanish colonies, and many of them aspired to join the local elite. However, greater racial diversity seems not to have improved the treatment of slaves.

Where intermarriage between colonizers and natives was common, conversion to Christianity proved most successful. Even while maintaining their native religious beliefs, many Indians in the Spanish colonies had come to consider themselves devout Catholics by 1700. Indian carpenters and artisans in the villages produced innumerable altars, retables (painted panels), and sculpted images to adorn their local churches, and individual families put up domestic shrines. Yet the clergy remained overwhelmingly Spanish: the church hierarchy concluded that the Indians' humility and innocence made them unsuitable for the priesthood.

In the early years of American colonization, many more men than women emigrated from Europe. Although the sex imbalance began to decline at the end of the seventeenth century, it remained substantial; two and a half times more men than women were among the immigrants leaving Liverpool, England, between 1697 and 1707, for example. Women who emigrated as indentured servants ran great risks: if they did not die of disease during the voyage, they were likely to give birth to illegitimate children (the fate of at least one in five servant women) or be virtually sold into marriage. Upper-class women were often kept in seclusion, especially in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies.

The uncertainties of life in the American colonies provided new opportunities for European women and men willing to live outside the law, however. In the 1500s and 1600s, the English and Dutch governments had routinely authorized pirates to prey on the ships of their rivals, the Spanish and Portuguese. Then, in the late 1600s, English, French, and Dutch bands made up of deserters and crews from wrecked vessels began to form their own associations of pirates, especially in the Caribbean. Called **buccaneers** from their custom of curing strips of beef, called *boucan* by the native Caribs of the islands, the pirates governed themselves and preyed on everyone's shipping without regard to national origin. After 1700, the colonial governments tried to stamp out piracy. As one British judge argued in 1705, "A pirate is in perpetual war with every individual and every state. . . . They are worse than ravenous beasts."

Africa and Asia. White settlements in Africa and Asia remained small and almost insignificant, except for their long-term potential. Europeans had little contact with East Africa and almost none with Africa's vast interior. A handful of Portuguese trading posts in Angola and a few Dutch farms on the Cape of Good Hope provided the only footholds for future expansion. In China, the emperors had welcomed Catholic missionaries at court in the seventeenth century, but the priests' credibility diminished as they squabbled among themselves and associated with European merchants, whom the Chinese considered pirates. "The barbarians [Europeans] are like wild beasts," one Chinese official concluded. In 1720, only one thousand Europeans resided in Guangzhou (Canton), the sole place where foreigners could legally trade for spices, tea, and silk (see Map 17.1, page 522).

Europeans exercised more influence in Java (in what was then called the East Indies) and in India. Dutch coffee production in Java and nearby islands increased phenomenally in the early 1700s, and many Dutch settled there to oversee production and trade. Dutch, English, French, Portuguese, and Danish companies competed in India for spices, cotton, and silk; by the 1740s, the English and French had become the leading rivals in India, just as they were in North America. Both countries extended their power as India's Muslim rulers lost control to local Hindu princes, rebellious Sikhs, invading Persians, and their own

mestizo: A person born to a Spanish father and a native American mother.

buccaneers: Pirates of the Caribbean who governed themselves and preyed on international shipping.

India Cottons and Trade with the East

This colored cotton cloth (now faded with age) was painted and embroidered in Madras in southern India sometime in the late 1600s. The male figure with a mustache may be a European, but the female figures are clearly Asian. Europeans—especially the British—discovered that they could make big profits on the export of Indian cotton cloth to Europe. They also traded Indian cottons in Africa for slaves and sold large quantities in the colonies.

(Victoria and Albert Museum, London.)



provincial governors. A few thousand Europeans lived in India, though many thousand more soldiers were stationed there to protect them. The staple of trade with India in the early 1700s was calico—lightweight, brightly colored cotton cloth that caught on as a fashion in Europe (see the image above).

Europeans who visited India were especially struck by what they viewed as exotic religious practices. In a book published in 1696 of his travels to western India, an Anglican minister described the fakirs (religious mendicants, or beggars of alms), “some of whom show their devotion by a shameless appearance, walking naked, without the least rag of clothes to cover them.” Such writings increased European interest in the outside world but also fed a European sense of superiority that helped excuse the more violent forms of colonial domination (see *The Exotic as Consumer Item*, page 529).

The Birth of Consumer Society

As worldwide colonization produced new supplies of goods, from coffee to calico, population growth in Europe fueled demand for them. Beginning first in Britain, then in France and the Italian states, and finally in eastern Europe, population surged, growing by about 20 percent between 1700 and 1750. The gap between a fast-growing northwest and a more stagnant south and central Europe now diminished as regions that had lost population during the seventeenth-century downturn recovered. Cities, in particular, grew. Between 1600 and 1750,

London’s population more than tripled and Paris’s more than doubled.

Although contemporaries could not have realized it then, this was the start of the modern population explosion. It appears that a decline in the death rate, rather than a rise in the birthrate, explains the turnaround. Three main factors contributed to increased longevity: better weather and hence more bountiful harvests, improved agricultural techniques, and the plague’s disappearance after 1720.

By the early eighteenth century, the effects of economic expansion and population growth brought about a **consumer revolution**. For example, the British East India Company began to import into Britain huge quantities of calico; British imports of tobacco doubled between 1672 and 1700; and at Nantes, the center of the French sugar trade, imports quadrupled between 1698 and 1733. Tea, chocolate, and coffee became virtual necessities. In the 1670s, only a trickle of tea reached London, but by 1720 the East India Company had sent nine million pounds to England—a figure that rose to thirty-seven million pounds by 1750. In 1700, England had two thousand coffeehouses; by 1740, every English country town had at least two. Paris got its first cafés at the end of the seventeenth century; Berlin opened its first coffeehouse in 1714; and Bach’s Leipzig boasted eight by 1725.

consumer revolution: The rapid increase in consumption of new staples produced in the Atlantic system as well as of other items of daily life that were previously unavailable or beyond the reach of ordinary people.



The Exotic as Consumer Item

This painting by the Venetian artist Rosalba Carriera (1675–1757) is titled *Africa*. The young black girl wearing a turban represents the African continent. Carriera was known for her use of pastels. In 1720, she journeyed to Paris, where she became an associate of Antoine Watteau and helped inaugurate the rococo style in painting. Why might the artist have chosen to paint an African girl? (*Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister.*)

■ **For more help analyzing this image**, see the visual activity for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

A new economic dynamic steadily took shape that would influence all of subsequent history. More and more people escaped the confines of a subsistence economy, in which peasants produced barely enough to support themselves from year to year. As ordinary people gained more disposable income, demand for nonessential consumer goods rose (see Document, “The Social Effects of Growing Consumption,” page 530). These included not only the new colonial products such as coffee and tea but also tables, chairs, sheets, chamber pots, lamps, mirrors, and for the better off still, coffee- and teapots, china, cutlery, chests of drawers, desks, clocks, and pictures for the walls. Rising demand created more jobs and more income and yet more purchasing power in a mutually reinforcing cycle. In the English economic literature of the 1690s, writers reacted to these developments by expressing a new view of humans as consuming animals with boundless appetites. Many authors

attacked the new doctrine of consumerism, but they could not hold back the fast-growing market for consumption. Change did not occur all at once, however. The consumer revolution spread from the cities to the countryside, from England to the continent, and from western Europe to eastern Europe only over the long run.

REVIEW: How was consumerism related to slavery in the early eighteenth century?

New Social and Cultural Patterns

The rise of consumption was fueled in part by a revolution in agricultural techniques that made it possible to produce larger quantities of food with a smaller agricultural workforce. As population increased, more people moved to the cities, where they found themselves caught up in innovative urban customs such as attending musical concerts and reading novels. Along with a general increase in literacy, these activities helped create a public that responded to new writers and artists. As always, people’s experiences varied depending on whether they lived in wealth or poverty, in urban or rural areas, or in eastern or western Europe.

Agricultural Revolution

Although Britain, France, and the Dutch Republic shared the enthusiasm for consumer goods, Britain’s domestic market grew most quickly. In Britain, as agricultural output increased 43 percent over the course of the 1700s, the population increased by 70 percent. The British imported grain to feed the growing population, but they also benefited from the development of techniques that together constituted an **agricultural revolution**. No new machinery propelled this revolution—just increasingly aggressive attitudes toward investment and management. The Dutch and the Flemish had pioneered many of these techniques in the 1600s, but the British took them further.

Four major changes occurred in British agriculture that eventually spread to other countries. First, farmers increased the amount of land under cultivation by draining wetlands and by growing crops on previously uncultivated common lands

agricultural revolution: Increasingly aggressive attitudes toward investment in and management of land that increased production of food in the 1700s.

DOCUMENT

The Social Effects of Growing Consumption

Daniel Defoe's adventures in real life are matched only by those of his famous fictional characters Robinson Crusoe and Moll Flanders. Though never shipwrecked like Crusoe, Defoe spent time in bankruptcy, in exile, and in prison (for writing a pamphlet satirizing Anglican treatment of dissenters). He turned his hand to various forms of commerce, in hosiery, woolens, wine, and political secrets, but most of all to mad scribbling on almost any topic imaginable. He published hundreds of books and pamphlets. In the 395-page book from which this excerpt is taken, he describes the recent fabulous growth in the import and export trade of Great Britain and contrasts the wealth gained by the "industrious" classes to the contempt shown them by the aristocracy [Gentry or Gentlemen].

Our People in general being in good Circumstances, I mean the middling, trading, and industrious People, living tolerably well, their well-faring gives Occasion to the vast Consumption of the foreign, as well as home Produce, the like of which is not to be equalled by any Nation in the World; the Particulars we shall enquire into in their Order.

How far the Multitudes of our People are increased by these very Articles, and that to such a Degree as is scarce conceivable, is worth our Enquiry, were it not too tedious for this Place. What populous Towns are rais'd by our Manufactures, from with few Years! How are our Towns built into Cities, and small Villages (hardly known in ancient Times) grown up into populous Towns! . . .

Well might I say, as in the foregoing Chapter, That it is a Scandal upon the Understanding of the Gentry, to think contemptibly of the trading part of the Nation; seeing however the Gentlemen may value themselves upon their Birth and Blood, the Case begins to turn against them so evidently, as to Fortune and Estate, that tho' they say, the Tradesmen cannot be made Gentlemen; yet the Tradesmen are, at this Time, able to buy the Gentlemen almost in every part of the Kingdom. . . .

The ancient Families, who having wasted and exhausted their Estates, and being declin'd and decay'd in Fortune by Luxury and high Living, have restor'd and rais'd themselves again, by mixing Blood with the despis'd Tradesmen, marrying the Daughters of such Tradesmen. . . .

I might add here, that it would be worth the while for those Gentlemen, who talk so much of their antient Family Merit, and look so little at preserving the Stock, by encreasing their own: I say, it would be worth their while to look into the Roll of our Gentry, and enquire what is become of the Estates and those prodigious Numbers of lost and extinct Families, which now even the Heralds themselves can hardly find; let them tell us if those Estates are not now purchased by Tradesmen and Citizens, or the Posterity of such; and whether those Tradesmens Posterity do not now fill up the Vacancies, the Gaps, and Chasmes in the great Roll or Lift of Families, as well of the Gentry, as of the Nobility themselves; and whether there are many Families left, who have not been either restored *as in our first Head*, or supply'd, *as in the second*, by the Succession of Wealth, and new Branches from the growing Greatness of Trade.

Trade, in a word, raises antient Families when sunk and decay'd: And plants new Families, where the old ones are lost and extinct.

Source: Daniel Defoe, *A Plan of the English Commerce. Being a complete prospect of the trade of this nation, as well home as foreign. In three parts*, 2nd ed. (London, 1737), 79–83.

(acreage maintained by the community for grazing). Second, those farmers who could afford it consolidated small, scattered plots into larger, more efficient units. Third, livestock raising became more closely linked to crop growing, and the yields of each increased. (See "Taking Measure," page 531.) For centuries, most farmers had rotated their fields in and out of production to replenish the soil. Now farmers planted carefully chosen fodder crops such as clover and turnips that added nutrients to the soil, thereby eliminating the need to leave a field fallow (unplanted) every two or three years. With more fodder available, farmers could raise more livestock, which in turn produced more manure to fertilize grain fields. Fourth, selective breeding of animals combined with the in-

crease in fodder to improve the quality and size of herds. New crops had only a slight impact; potatoes, for example, were introduced to Europe from South America in the 1500s, but because people feared they might cause leprosy, tuberculosis, or fevers, they were not grown in quantity until the late 1700s. By the 1730s and 1740s, agricultural output had increased dramatically, and prices for food had fallen because of these interconnected innovations.

Changes in agricultural practices did not benefit all landowners equally. The biggest British landowners consolidated their holdings in the "enclosure movement." They put pressure on small farmers and villagers to sell their land or give up their common lands. The big landlords then

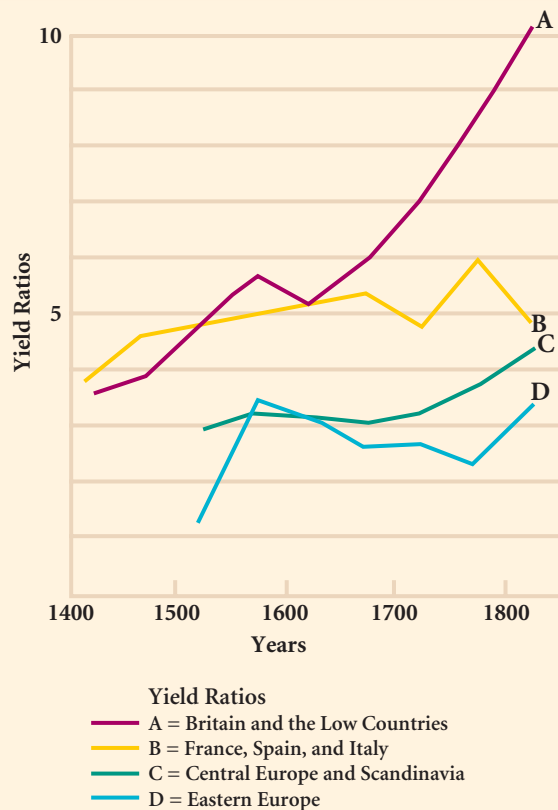
fenced off (enclosed) their property. Because enclosure eliminated community grazing rights, it frequently sparked a struggle between the big landlords and villagers, and in Britain it normally required an act of Parliament. Such acts became increasingly common in the second half of the eighteenth century, and by the century's end six million acres of common lands had been enclosed and developed. "Improvers" produced more food more efficiently than small farmers could and thus supported a growing population.

Contrary to the fears of contemporaries, small farmers and cottagers (those with little or no property) were not forced off the land all at once. But most villagers could not afford the litigation involved in resisting enclosure, and small landholders consequently had to sell out to landlords or farmers with larger plots. Landlords with large holdings leased their estates to tenant farmers at constantly increasing rents, and the tenant farmers in turn employed the cottagers as salaried agricultural workers. In this way the English peasantry largely disappeared, replaced by a more hierarchical society of big landlords, enterprising tenant farmers, and poor agricultural laborers.

The new agricultural techniques spread slowly from Britain and the Low Countries (the Dutch Republic and the Austrian Netherlands) to the rest of western Europe. Outside a few pockets in northern France and the western German states, however, subsistence agriculture (producing just enough to get by rather than surpluses for the market) continued to dominate farming in western Europe and Scandinavia. In southwestern Germany, for example, 80 percent of the peasants produced no surplus because their plots were too small. Unlike the populations of the highly urbanized Low Countries (where half the people lived in towns and cities), most Europeans, western and eastern, eked out their existence in the countryside and could barely participate in the new markets for consumer goods.

In eastern Europe, the condition of peasants worsened in the areas where landlords tried hardest to improve crop yields. To produce more for the Baltic grain market, aristocratic landholders in Prussia, Poland, and parts of Russia drained wetlands, cultivated moors, and built dikes. They also forced peasants off lands that the peasants had worked for themselves, increased compulsory labor services (the critical element in serfdom), and began to manage their estates directly. Some eastern landowners grew fabulously wealthy. The Potocki family in the Polish Ukraine, for example, owned three million acres of land and had 130,000

TAKING MEASURE



Relationship of Crop Harvested to Seed Used, 1400–1800

The impact and even the timing of the agricultural revolution can be determined by this figure, based on yield ratios (the number of grains produced for each seed planted). Britain, the Dutch Republic, and the Austrian Netherlands all experienced huge increases in crop yields after 1700. Other European regions lagged behind right into the 1800s. Why is crop yield such an important measure? (From Peter J. Hugill, *World Trade since 1431: Geography, Technology, and Capitalism* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 56.)

serfs. In parts of Poland and Russia, the serfs hardly differed from slaves in status, and their "masters" ran their huge estates much like American plantations (see the image on page 532).

Social Life in the Cities

Because of emigration from the countryside, cities grew in population and consequently exercised more influence on culture and social life. Between



Treatment of Serfs in Russia

Visitors from western Europe often remarked on the cruel treatment of serfs in Russia. This drawing by one such visitor shows the punishment that could be inflicted by landowners. Serfs could be whipped for almost any reason, even for making a soup too salty or neglecting to bow when the lord's family passed by. Their condition worsened in the 1700s, as landowners began to sell serfs much like slaves. Although life for Russian serfs was more brutal than for peasants elsewhere, upper classes in every country regarded the serfs as dirty, deceitful, and brutish. (New York Public Library/Art Resource, NY.)

1650 and 1750, cities with at least ten thousand inhabitants increased in population by 44 percent. From the eighteenth century onward, urban growth would be continuous. Along with the general growth of cities, an important south-to-north shift occurred in the pattern of urbanization. Around 1500, half of the people in cities of at least ten thousand residents could be found in the Italian states, Spain, or Portugal; by 1700, the urbanization of northwestern and southern Europe was roughly equal. Eastern Europe, despite the huge cities of Istanbul and Moscow, was still less urban than western Europe. London was by far the most populous European city, with 675,000 inhabitants in 1750; Berlin had 90,000 people, Warsaw only 23,000.

Urban Social Classes. Many landowners kept a residence in town, so the separation between rural and city life was not as extreme as might be imagined, at least not for the very rich. At the top

of the ladder in the big cities were the landed nobles. Some of them filled their lives only with conspicuous consumption of fine food, extravagant clothing, coaches, books, and opera; others held key political, administrative, or judicial offices. However they spent their time, these rich families employed thousands of artisans, shopkeepers, and domestic servants. Many English peers (highest-ranking nobles) had thirty or forty servants at each of their homes.

The middle classes of officials, merchants, professionals, and landowners occupied the next rung down on the social ladder. London's population, for example, included about twenty thousand middle-class families (constituting, at most, one-sixth of the city's population). In this period the middle classes began to develop distinctive ways of life that set them apart from both the rich noble landowners and the lower classes. Unlike the rich nobles, the middle classes lived primarily in the cities and towns, even if they owned small country estates. They ate more moderately than nobles but much better than peasants or laborers. For breakfast the British middle classes ate toast and rolls and, after 1700, drank tea. Dinner, served midday, consisted of roasted or boiled beef or mutton, poultry or pork, and vegetables. Supper was a light meal of bread and cheese with cake or pie. Beer was the main drink in London, and many families brewed their own. Even children drank beer because of the lack of fresh water.

Below the middle classes came the artisans and shopkeepers (most of whom were organized in professional guilds), then the journeymen, apprentices, servants, and laborers. At the bottom of the social scale were the unemployed poor, who survived by intermittent work and charity. Women married to artisans and shopkeepers often kept the accounts, supervised employees, and ran the household as well. Every middle-class and upper-class family employed servants; artisans and shopkeepers frequently hired them too. Women from poorer families usually worked as domestic servants until they married. Four out of five domestic servants in the city were female. In large cities such as London, the servant population grew faster than the population of the city as a whole.

Signs of Social Distinction. Social status in the cities was readily visible. Wide, spacious streets graced rich districts; the houses had gardens, and the air was relatively fresh. In poor districts, the streets were narrow, dirty, dark, humid, and smelly, and the houses were damp and crowded. The poorest people were homeless, sleeping under



Vauxhall Gardens, London

This hand-colored print from the mid-eighteenth century shows the newly refurbished gardens near the Thames River. Prosperous families show off their brightly-colored clothes and listen to a public concert by the orchestra seated just above them. These activities helped form a more self-conscious public.

(© Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, France/The Bridgeman Art Library.)

bridges or in abandoned buildings. A Neapolitan prince described his homeless neighbors as “lying like filthy animals, with no distinction of age or sex.” In some districts, rich and poor lived in the same buildings; the poor clambered up to shabby, cramped apartments on the top floors.

Like shelter, clothing was a reliable social indicator. The poorest workingwomen in Paris wore woolen skirts and blouses of dark colors over petticoats, a bodice, and a corset. They also donned caps of various sorts, cotton stockings, and shoes (probably their only pair). Workingmen dressed even more drably. Many occupations could be recognized by their dress: no one could confuse lawyers in their dark robes with masons or butchers in their special aprons, for example. People higher on the social ladder were more likely to sport a variety of fabrics, colors, and unusual designs in their clothing and to own many different outfits. Social status was not an abstract idea; it permeated every detail of daily life.

The Growth of a Literate Public. The ability to read and write also reflected social differences. People in the upper classes were more literate than those in the lower classes; city people were more literate than peasants. Protestant countries appear to have been more successful at promoting education and literacy than Catholic countries, perhaps because of the Protestant emphasis on Bible reading. Widespread literacy among the lower classes was first achieved in the Protestant areas of Switzerland and in Presbyterian Scotland, and rates were also very high in the New England colonies and the Scandinavian countries. In France, literacy doubled in the eighteenth century thanks to the spread of parish schools, but still only one in two men and one in four women could read and write. Most peasants remained illiterate. Although some Protestant German states encouraged primary education, schooling remained woefully inadequate almost everywhere in Europe: few schools existed, teachers received low wages,

and no country had yet established a national system of control or supervision.

Despite the deficiencies of primary education, a new literate public arose especially among the middle classes of the cities. More books and periodicals were published than ever before, another aspect of the consumer revolution. The trend began in the 1690s in Britain and the Dutch Republic and gradually accelerated. In 1695, the British government allowed the licensing system, through which it controlled publications, to lapse, and new newspapers and magazines appeared almost immediately. The first London daily newspaper came out in 1702, and in 1709 Joseph Addison and Richard Steele published the first literary magazine, *The Spectator*. They devoted their magazine to the cultural improvement of the increasingly influential middle class. By the 1720s, twenty-four

provincial newspapers were published in England. In the London coffeehouses, an edition of a single newspaper might reach ten thousand male readers. Women did their reading at home. Except in the Dutch Republic, newspapers on the continent lagged behind and often consisted mainly of advertising with little critical commentary. France, for example, had no daily paper until 1777.

New Tastes in the Arts

The new literate public did not just read newspapers; its members now pursued an interest in painting, attended concerts, and besieged booksellers in search of popular novels. Because increased trade and prosperity put money into the hands of the growing middle classes, a new urban audience began to compete with the churches, rulers, and courtiers as chief patrons for new work. As the public for the arts expanded, printed commentary on them emerged, setting the stage for the appearance of political and social criticism. New artistic tastes thus had effects far beyond the realm of the arts.

Rococo Painting. Developments in painting reflected the tastes of the new public, as the **rococo** style challenged the hold of the baroque and classical schools, especially in France. Like the baroque, the rococo emphasized irregularity and asymmetry, movement and curvature, but it did so on a much smaller, subtler scale. Many rococo paintings depicted scenes of intimate sensuality rather than the monumental, emotional grandeur favored by classical and baroque painters. Personal portraits and pastoral paintings took the place of heroic landscapes and grand, ceremonial canvases. Rococo paintings adorned homes as well as palaces and served as a form of interior decoration rather than as a statement of piety. Its decorative quality made rococo art an ideal complement to newly discovered materials such as stucco and porcelain, especially the porcelain vases now imported from China.

Rococo, like *baroque*, was an invented word (from the French word *rocaille*, meaning “shell-work”) and originally a derogatory label, meaning “frivolous decoration.” But the great French rococo painters, such as Antoine Watteau (1684–1721) and François Boucher (1703–1770), were much more than mere decorators. Although both em-



Rococo Painting

The rococo emphasis on interiors, on decoration, and on intimacy rather than monumental grandeur are evident in François Boucher's painting *The Luncheon* (1739). The painting also draws attention to new consumer items, from the mirror and the clock to chocolate, children's toys, a small Buddha statue, and the intricately designed furniture. (*The Art Archive/Galleria Degli Uffizi/Dagli Orti (A).*)

rococo: A style of painting that emphasized irregularity and asymmetry, movement and curvature, but on a smaller, more intimate scale than the baroque.

phasized the erotic in their depictions, Watteau captured the melancholy side of a passing aristocratic style of life, and Boucher painted middle-class people at home during their daily activities. Both painters thereby contributed to the emergence of new sensibilities in art that increasingly attracted a middle-class public.

Music for the Public. The first public music concerts were performed in England in the 1670s, becoming much more regular and frequent in the 1690s. City concert halls typically seated about two hundred, but the relatively high price of tickets limited attendance to the better-off. Music clubs provided entertainment in smaller towns and villages. On the continent, Frankfurt organized the first regular public concerts in 1712; Hamburg and Paris began holding them within a few years. Opera continued to spread in the eighteenth century; Venice had sixteen public opera houses by 1700, and the Covent Garden opera house opened in London in 1732.

The growth of a public that appreciated and supported music had much the same effect as the extension of the reading public: like authors, composers could now begin to liberate themselves from court patronage and work for a paying audience. This development took time to solidify, however, and court or church patrons still commissioned much eighteenth-century music. Bach, a German Lutheran, wrote his *St. Matthew Passion* for Good Friday services in 1729 while he was organist and choirmaster for the leading church in Leipzig. He composed secular works (like the “Coffee Cantata”) for the public and a variety of private patrons.

The composer George Frideric Handel (1685–1759) was among the first to grasp the new directions in music. A German by birth, he wrote operas in Italy and then moved in 1710 to Britain, where he wrote music for the court and began composing oratorios. The oratorio, a form Handel introduced in Britain, combined the drama of opera with the majesty of religious and ceremonial music and featured the chorus over the soloists. The “Hallelujah Chorus” from Handel’s oratorio *Messiah* (1741) is perhaps the single best-known piece of Western classical music. It reflected the composer’s personal, deeply felt piety but also his willingness to combine musical materials into a dramatic form that captured the enthusiasm of the new public. In 1740, a poem about Handel published in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* exulted: “His art so modulates the sounds in all, / Our passions, as he pleases, rise and fall.” Music had be-

come an integral part of the new middle-class public’s culture.

Novels. Nothing captured the imagination of the new public more than the novel, the literary genre whose very name underscored the eighteenth-century taste for novelty. More than three hundred French novels appeared between 1700 and 1730. During this unprecedented explosion, the novel took on its modern form and became more concerned with individual psychology and social description than with the adventure tales popular earlier (such as Miguel de Cervantes’s *Don Quixote*). The novel’s popularity was closely tied to the expansion of the reading public, and novels were available in serial form in periodicals or from the many booksellers who served the new market.

Women figured prominently in novels as characters, and women writers abounded. The English novel *Love in Excess* (1719) quickly reached a sixth printing, and its author, Eliza Haywood (1693?–1756), earned her living turning out a stream of novels with titles such as *Persecuted Virtue*, *Constancy Rewarded*, and *The History of Betsy Thoughtless*—all showing a concern for the proper place of women as models of virtue in a changing world. When her husband deserted her and her two children, Haywood first worked as an actress but soon turned to writing plays and novels. In the 1740s, she began publishing a magazine, *The Female Spectator*, which argued in favor of higher education for women.

Haywood’s male counterpart was Daniel Defoe (1660–1731), a merchant’s son who had a diverse and colorful career as a manufacturer, political spy, novelist, and social commentator (see Document, “The Social Effects of Growing Consumption,” page 530). Defoe wrote about schemes for national improvement, the state of English trade, the economic condition of the countryside, the effects of the plague, and the history of pirates; he is most well known, however, for his novels *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and *Moll Flanders* (1722). The story of the adventures of a shipwrecked sailor, *Robinson Crusoe* portrayed the new values of the time: to survive, Crusoe had to employ fearless entrepreneurial ingenuity. He had to be ready for the unexpected and be able to improvise in every situation. He was, in short, the model for the new man in an expanding economy. Crusoe’s patronizing attitude toward the black man Friday now draws much critical attention, but his discovery of Friday shows how the fate of blacks and whites had become intertwined in the new colonial environment.

Religious Revivals

Despite the novel's growing popularity, religious books and pamphlets still sold in huge numbers, and most Europeans remained devout, even as their religions were changing. In this period, a Protestant revivalist movement known as **Pietism** rocked the complacency of the established churches in the German Lutheran states, the Dutch Republic, and Scandinavia. Pietists believed in a mystical religion of the heart; they wanted a deeply emotional, even ecstatic religion. They urged intense Bible study, which in turn promoted popular education and contributed to the increase in literacy. Many Pietists attended catechism instruction every day and also went to morning and evening prayer meetings in addition to regular Sunday services. Although Pietism appealed to both Lutherans and Calvinists, it had the greatest impact in Lutheran Prussia, where it taught the virtues of hard work, obedience, and devotion to duty.

Catholicism also had its versions of religious revival, especially in France. A Frenchwoman, Jeanne Marie Guyon (1648–1717), attracted many noblewomen and a few leading clergymen to her own Catholic brand of Pietism, known as Quietism. Claiming miraculous visions and astounding prophecies, she urged a mystical union with God through prayer and simple devotion. Despite papal condemnation and intense controversy within Catholic circles in France, Guyon had followers all over Europe.

Even more influential were the Jansenists, who gained many new adherents to their austere form of Catholicism despite Louis XIV's harassment and repeated condemnation by the papacy. Under the pressure of religious and political persecution, Jansenism took a revivalist turn in the 1720s. At the funeral of a Jansenist priest in Paris in 1727, the crowd who flocked to the grave claimed to witness a series of miraculous healings. Within a few years, a cult formed around the priest's tomb and clandestine Jansenist presses were reporting new miracles to the reading public. When the French government tried to suppress the cult, one enraged wit placed a sign at the tomb that read, "By order of the king, God is forbidden to work miracles here." Some believers fell into frenzied convulsions, claiming to be inspired by the Holy Spirit through the intercession of the dead priest. After

Pietism: A Protestant revivalist movement of the early eighteenth century that emphasized deeply emotional individual religious experience.

midcentury, Jansenism became even more politically active as its adherents joined in opposition to the crown's policies on religion.

REVIEW: How were new social trends reflected in cultural life in the late 1600s and early 1700s?

Consolidation of the European State System

The spread of Pietism and Jansenism reflected the emergence of a middle-class public that now participated in every new development, including religion. The middle classes could pursue these interests because the European state system gradually stabilized despite the increasing competition for wealth in the Atlantic system. Warfare settled three main issues between 1690 and 1740: a coalition of powers held Louis XIV's France in check on the continent, Great Britain emerged from the wars against Louis as the preeminent maritime power, and Russia defeated Sweden in the contest for supremacy in the Baltic. After Louis XIV's death in 1715, Europe enjoyed the fruits of a more balanced diplomatic system, in which warfare became less frequent and less widespread. States could then spend their resources establishing and expanding control over their own populations, both at home and in their colonies.

French Ambitions Thwarted

Lying on his deathbed in 1715, the seventy-six-year-old Louis XIV watched helplessly as his accomplishments began to unravel. Not only had his plans for territorial expansion been frustrated, but his incessant wars had exhausted the treasury, despite new taxes. In 1689, Louis's rival, William III, prince of Orange and king of England and Scotland (r. 1689–1702), had set out to forge a European alliance that eventually included Britain, the Dutch Republic, Sweden, Austria, and Spain. The allies fought Louis to a stalemate in the War of the League of Augsburg, sometimes called the Nine Years' War (1689–1697), and when hostilities resumed four years later, they finally put an end to Louis's expansionist ambitions.

The War of the Spanish Succession, 1701–1713.

When the mentally and physically feeble Charles II (r. 1665–1700) of Spain died without a direct heir, all of Europe poised for a fight over the spoils.



MAP 17.2 Europe, c. 1715

Although Louis XIV succeeded in putting his grandson Philip on the Spanish throne, France emerged considerably weakened from the War of Spanish Succession. France ceded large territories in Canada to Britain, which also gained key Mediterranean outposts from Spain as well as a monopoly on providing slaves to the Spanish colonies. Spanish losses were catastrophic. Philip had to renounce any future claim to the French crown and give up considerable territories in the Netherlands and Italy to the Austrians.

■ How did the competing English and French claims in North America around 1715 create potential conflicts for the future?

The Spanish succession could not help but be a burning issue. Even though Spanish power had declined since Spain's golden age in the sixteenth century, Spain still had extensive territories in Italy and the Netherlands as well as colonies overseas. Before Charles died, he named Louis XIV's second grandson, Philip, duke of Anjou, as his heir, but the Austrian emperor Leopold I refused to accept Charles's deathbed will.

In the ensuing war, the French lost several major battles and had to accept disadvantageous terms in the **Peace of Utrecht** of 1713–1714 (Map 17.2). Although Philip was recognized as king of Spain, he had to renounce any future claim to the French crown, thus barring unification of the two kingdoms. Spain surrendered its territories in Italy and the Netherlands to the Austrians and Gibraltar to the British; France ceded possessions in North America (Newfoundland, the Hudson Bay area, and most of Nova Scotia) to Britain. France no longer threatened to dominate European power politics.

The Death of Louis XIV and the Regency. At home, Louis's policy of absolutism had fomented bitter hostility. Nobles fiercely resented his promotions of commoners to high office. The duke of Saint-Simon complained that "falseness, servility, admiring glances, combined with a dependent and cringing attitude, above all, an appearance of being nothing without him, were the only ways of pleasing him." Archbishop Fénelon, who tutored the king's grandson, called for reform. An admirer of Guyon's Quietism, Fénelon severely criticized the "steady stream of extravagant adulation, which reaches the point of idolatry"; the constant, bloody wars; and the misery of the people.

On his deathbed, Louis XIV offered sound advice to his five-year-old great-grandson and successor, Louis XV (r. 1715–1774): "Do not imitate my love of building nor my liking for war." After being named regent, the duke of Orléans (1674–1723), nephew of the dead king, revived some of the parlements' powers and tried to give leading nobles a greater say in political affairs. To raise much-needed funds, in 1719 the regent encouraged the Scottish financier John Law to set up an official trading company for North America and a state bank that issued paper money and stock (without them, trade depended on the available supply of gold and silver). The bank was supposed to offer lower interest rates to the state, thus cut-

ting the cost of financing the government's debts. The value of the stock rose rapidly in a frenzy of speculation, only to crash a few months later. With it vanished any hope of establishing a state bank or issuing paper money for nearly a century.

France finally achieved a measure of financial stability under the leadership of Cardinal Hercule de Fleury (1653–1743), the most powerful member of the government after the death of the regent. Fleury aimed to avoid adventure abroad and keep social peace at home; he balanced the budget and carried out a large project for road and canal construction. Colonial trade boomed. Peace and the acceptance of limits on territorial expansion inaugurated a century of French prosperity.

British Rise and Dutch Decline

The British and the Dutch had formed a coalition against Louis XIV under their joint ruler William III, who was simultaneously stadholder (elected head) of the Dutch Republic and, with his English wife, Mary (d. 1694), ruler of England, Wales, and Scotland. After William's death in 1702, the British and Dutch went their separate ways. Over the next decades, England incorporated Scotland and subjugated Ireland, becoming "Great Britain." At the same time, Dutch imperial power declined; by 1700, Great Britain dominated the seas and the Dutch, with their small population of less than two million, came to depend on alliances with bigger powers.

From England to Great Britain. English relations with Scotland and Ireland were complicated by the problem of succession: William and Mary had no children. To ensure a Protestant succession, Parliament ruled that Mary's sister, Anne, would succeed William and Mary and that the Protestant House of Hanover in Germany would succeed Anne if she had no surviving heirs. Catholics were excluded. When Queen Anne (r. 1702–1714) died leaving no children, the elector of Hanover, a Protestant great-grandson of James I, consequently became King George I (r. 1714–1727). The House of Hanover—renamed the House of Windsor during World War I—still occupies the British throne.

Support from the Scots and Irish for this solution did not come easily, because many in Scotland and Ireland supported the claims to the throne of the deposed Catholic king, James II, and, after his death in 1701, his son James Edward. Out of fear of this Jacobitism (from the Latin *Jacobus* for "James"), Scottish Protestant leaders agreed to the Act of Union of 1707, which abolished the

Peace of Utrecht: Treaties drawn up in 1713–1714 that ended the War of the Spanish Succession.

Scottish Parliament and affirmed the Scots' recognition of the Protestant Hanoverian succession. The Scots agreed to obey the Parliament of Great Britain, which would include Scottish members in the House of Commons and the House of Lords. A Jacobite rebellion in Scotland in 1715, aiming to restore the Stuart line, was suppressed. The threat of Jacobitism nonetheless continued into the 1740s (see Map 17.2, page 537).

The Irish—90 percent of whom were Catholic—proved even more difficult to subdue. When James II had gone to Ireland in 1689 to raise a Catholic rebellion against the new monarchs of England, William III responded by taking command of the joint English and Dutch forces and defeating James's Irish supporters. James fled to France, and the Catholics in Ireland faced yet more confiscation and legal restrictions. By 1700, Irish Catholics, who in 1640 had owned 60 percent of the land in Ireland, owned just 14 percent. The Protestant-controlled Irish Parliament passed a series of laws limiting the rights of the Catholic majority: Catholics could not bear arms, send their children abroad for education, establish Catholic schools at home, or marry Protestants. Catholics could not sit in Parliament, nor could they vote for its members unless they took an oath renouncing

Catholic doctrine. These and a host of other laws reduced Catholic Ireland to the status of a colony; one English official commented in 1745, "The poor people of Ireland are used worse than negroes." Most of the Irish were peasants who lived in primitive housing and subsisted on a meager diet that included no meat.

The Parliament of Great Britain was soon dominated by the Whigs. In Britain's constitutional system, the monarch ruled with Parliament. The crown chose the ministers, directed policy, and supervised administration, while Parliament raised revenue, passed laws, and represented the interests of the people to the crown. The powers of Parliament were reaffirmed by the Triennial Act in 1694, which provided that Parliaments meet at least once every three years (this was extended to seven years in 1716, after the Whigs had established their ascendancy). Only 200,000 propertied men could vote, out of a population of more than five million, and, not surprisingly, most members of Parliament came from the landed gentry. In fact, a few hundred families controlled all the important political offices.

George I and George II (r. 1727–1760) relied on one man, Sir **Robert Walpole** (1676–1745), to help them manage their relations with Parliament.



Sir Robert Walpole at a Cabinet Meeting

Sir Robert Walpole and George II developed the institution of a cabinet, which brought together the important heads of departments. Their cabinet was the ancestor of modern cabinets in both Great Britain and the United States. Because of its modest size, its similarities to modern forms should not be overstated, however. How would discussions in the new coffeehouses (shown in the opening illustration to this chapter) influence the kinds of decisions made by Walpole and his cabinet? (© The Fotomas Index, U.K./The Bridgeman Art Library.)

Robert Walpole: The first, or "prime," minister of the House of Commons of Great Britain's Parliament. Although appointed initially by the king, through his long period of leadership (1721–1742) he effectively established the modern pattern of parliamentary government.

From his position as First Lord of the Treasury, Walpole made himself into the first, or “prime,” minister, leading the House of Commons from 1721 to 1742 (see illustration, page 539). Although appointed initially by the king, Walpole established an enduring pattern of parliamentary government in which a prime minister from the leading party guided legislation through the House of Commons. Walpole also built a vast patronage machine that dispensed government jobs to win support for the crown’s policies. Walpole’s successors relied more and more on the patronage system and eventually alienated not only the Tories but also the middle classes in London and even the North American colonies.

The partisan division between the Whigs, who supported the Hanoverian succession and the rights of dissenting Protestants, and the Tories, who had backed the Stuart line and the Anglican church, did not hamper Great Britain’s pursuit of economic, military, and colonial power. In this period, Great Britain became a great power on the world stage by virtue of its navy and its ability to finance major military involvement in the wars against Louis XIV. The founding in 1694 of the Bank of England—which, unlike the French bank, endured—enabled the government to raise money at low interest for foreign wars. By the 1740s, the government could borrow more than four times what it could in the 1690s.

The Dutch Eclipse. When William of Orange (William III of England) died in 1702, he left no heirs, and for forty-five years the Dutch lived without a stadholder. The merchant ruling class of some two thousand families dominated the Dutch Republic more than ever, but they presided over a country that counted for less in international power politics. In some areas, Dutch decline was only relative: the Dutch population was not growing as fast as others, for example, and the Dutch share of the Baltic trade decreased from 50 percent in 1720 to less than 30 percent by the 1770s. After 1720, the Baltic countries—Prussia, Russia, Denmark, and Sweden—began to ban imports of manufactured goods to protect their own industries, and Dutch trade in particular suffered. The output of Leiden textiles dropped to one-third of its 1700 level by 1740. Shipbuilding, paper manufacturing, tobacco processing, salt refining, and pottery production all dwindled as well. The Dutch East India Company saw its political and military grip loosened in India, Ceylon, and Java.

The biggest exception to the downward trend was trade with the New World, which increased

with escalating demands for sugar and tobacco. The Dutch shifted their interest away from great power rivalries toward those areas of international trade and finance where they could establish an enduring presence.

Russia’s Emergence as a European Power

The commerce and shipbuilding of the Dutch and British so impressed Russian tsar Peter I (r. 1689–1725) that he traveled incognito to their shipyards in 1697 to learn their methods firsthand. Known to history as **Peter the Great**, he dragged Russia kicking and screaming all the way to great-power status. Although he came to the throne while still a minor (on the eve of his tenth birthday), grew up under the threat of a palace coup, and enjoyed little formal education, his accomplishments soon matched his seven-foot-tall stature. Peter transformed public life in Russia and established an absolutist state on the Western model. His attempts to create a society patterned after western Europe, known as **Westernization**, ignited an enduring controversy: Did Peter set Russia on a course of inevitable Westernization required to compete with the West? Or did he forever and fatally disrupt Russia’s natural evolution into a distinctive Slavic society?

Westernization. To pursue his goal of Westernizing Russian culture, Peter set up the first greenhouses, laboratories, and technical schools and founded the Russian Academy of Sciences. He ordered translations of Western classics and hired a German theater company to perform the French plays of Molière. He replaced the traditional Russian calendar with the Western one,¹ introduced Arabic numerals, and brought out the first public newspaper. He ordered his officials and the nobles to shave their beards (see the illustration on page 541) and dress in Western fashion, and he even

¹ Peter introduced the Julian calendar, then still used in Protestant but not Catholic countries. Later in the eighteenth century, Protestant Europe abandoned the Julian for the Gregorian calendar. Not until 1918 was the Gregorian calendar adopted in Russia, at which point Russia’s calendar had fallen thirteen days behind Europe’s.

Peter the Great: Russian tsar Peter I (r. 1689–1725), who undertook the Westernization of Russia and built a new capital city named after himself, St. Petersburg.

Westernization: The effort, especially in Peter the Great’s Russia, to make society and social customs resemble counterparts in western Europe, especially France, Britain, and the Dutch Republic.

Peter the Great Modernizes Russia

In this popular print, a barber forces a protesting noble to conform to western fashions. Peter the Great ordered all nobles, merchants, and middle-class professionals to cut off their beards or pay a huge tax to keep them. An early biographer of Peter claimed that those who lost their beards saved them to put in their coffins, in fear that they would not enter heaven without them. Most western Europeans applauded these attempts to modernize Russia, but many Russians deeply resented the attack on traditional ways. Why was everyday appearance such a contested issue in Russia? (*The Visual Connection.*)



issued precise regulations about the suitable style of jacket, boots, and cap (generally French or German).

Peter encouraged foreigners to move to Russia to offer their advice and skills, especially for building the capital city. Named St. Petersburg after the tsar, the new capital symbolized Russia's opening to the West. Construction began in 1703 in a Baltic province that had been recently conquered from Sweden. By the end of 1709, forty thousand recruits a year found themselves assigned to the work. Peter ordered skilled workers to move to the new city and commanded all landowners possessing more than forty serf households to build houses there. In the 1720s, a German minister described St. Petersburg "as a wonder of the world, considering its magnificent palaces, . . . and the short time that was employed in the building of it." By 1710, the permanent population of the capital reached eight thousand. At Peter's death in 1725, it had forty thousand residents.

As a new city far from the Russian heartland around Moscow, St. Petersburg represented a decisive break with Russia's past. Peter widened that gap by every means possible. At his new capital he tried to improve the traditionally denigrated, secluded status of women by ordering them to dress in European styles and appear publicly at his dinners for diplomatic representatives. Imitating French manners, he decreed that women attend his

new social salons of officials, officers, and merchants for conversation and dancing. A foreigner headed every one of Peter's new technical and vocational schools, and for its first eight years the new Academy of Sciences included no Russians. Every ministry was assigned a foreign adviser. Upper-class Russians learned French or German, which they spoke even at home. Such changes affected only the very top of Russian society, however; the mass of the population had no contact with the new ideas and ended up paying for the innovations either in ruinous new taxation or by building St. Petersburg, a project that cost the lives of thousands of workers. Serfs remained tied to the land, completely dominated by their noble lords.

Peter the Great's Brand of Absolutism. Peter also reorganized government and finance on Western models and, like other absolute rulers, strengthened his army. With ruthless recruiting methods, which included branding a cross on every recruit's left hand to prevent desertion, he forged an army of 200,000 men and equipped it with modern weapons. He created schools for artillery, engineering, and military medicine and built the first navy in Russian history. Not surprisingly, taxes tripled.

The tsar allowed nothing to stand in his way. He did not hesitate to use torture, and he executed thousands. He allowed a special guard regiment



Peter the Great

In this painting by Gottfried Danhauer (1680–1733/7), the Russian tsar appears against the background of his most famous battle, Poltava. The angel holds a laurel wreath, symbol of victory, over his head. (© Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow, Russia/The Bridgeman Art Library.)

unprecedented power to expedite cases against those suspected of rebellion, espionage, pretensions to the throne, or just “unseemly utterances” against him. Opposition to his policies reached into his own family: because his only son, Alexei, had allied himself with Peter’s critics, the tsar threw him into prison, where the young man mysteriously died.

To control the often restive nobility, Peter insisted that all noblemen engage in state service. A Table of Ranks (1722) classified them into military, administrative, and court categories, a codification of social and legal relationships in Russia that would last for nearly two centuries. All social and material advantages now depended on serving the crown. Because the nobles lacked a secure independent status, Peter could command them to a degree that was unimaginable in western Europe. State service was not only compulsory but also permanent. Moreover, the male children of those in service had to be registered by the age of ten and begin serving at fifteen. To increase his authority over the Russian Orthodox church, Peter allowed the office of patriarch (supreme head) to remain vacant, and in 1721 he replaced it with the

Holy Synod, a bureaucracy of laymen under his supervision. To many Russians, Peter was the devil incarnate.

Changes in the Balance of Power in the East.

Peter the Great’s success in building up state power changed the balance of power in eastern Europe. Overcoming initial military setbacks, Russia eventually defeated Sweden and took its place as the leading power in the Baltic region. Russia could then compete with Prussia, Austria, and France in the rivalries between great powers.

Sweden had dominated the Baltic region since the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648), and though the monarchy lost some of its power under Queen Christina (r. 1632–1654), the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, the Swedish kings quickly recovered their position. When Peter the Great joined an anti-Swedish coalition in 1700 with Denmark, Saxony, and Poland, Sweden’s Charles XII (r. 1697–1718) stood up to the test. Still in his teens at the beginning of the Great Northern War, Charles first defeated Denmark, then destroyed the new Russian army, and quickly marched into Poland and Saxony. After defeating the Poles and

occupying Saxony, Charles invaded Russia. Here Peter's rebuilt army finally defeated the Swedish king at the battle of Poltava (1709).

The Russian victory resounded everywhere. The Russian ambassador to Vienna reported, "It is commonly said that the tsar will be formidable to all Europe, that he will be a kind of northern Turk." Prussia and other German states joined the anti-Swedish alliance, and when Charles XII died in battle in 1718, negotiations finally ended the Great Northern War. By the terms of the Treaty of Nystad (1721), Sweden ceded its eastern Baltic provinces—Livonia, Estonia, Ingria, and southern Karelia—to Russia. Sweden also lost territories on the north German coast to Prussia and the other allied German states (Map 17.3). An aristocratic reaction against Charles XII's incessant demands for war supplies swept away Sweden's absolutist regime, essentially removing Sweden from great power competition.

Prussia had to make the most of every military opportunity, as it did in the Great Northern War, because it was much smaller in size and population than Russia, Austria, or France. King Frederick William I (r. 1713–1740) doubled the size of the Prussian army; though still smaller than those of his rivals, it was the best-trained and most up-to-date force in Europe. By 1740, Prussia had Europe's highest proportion of men at arms (1 of every 28 people, versus 1 in 157 in France and 1 in 64 in Russia) and the highest proportion of

nobles in the military (1 in 7 noblemen, as compared with 1 in 33 in France and 1 in 50 in Russia).

The army so dominated life in Prussia that the country earned the label "a large army with a small state attached." Frederick William, known as the "Sergeant King," was one of the first rulers to wear a military uniform as his everyday dress. He subordinated the entire domestic administration to the army's needs. He also installed a system for recruiting soldiers by local district quotas. He financed the army's growth by subjecting all the provinces to an excise tax on food, drink, and manufactured goods and by increasing rents on crown lands. Prussia was now poised to become one of the major players on the continent, but it could not enter into military engagements foolishly given the size of its forces and chose to sit on the sidelines during the next conflict.

War broke out in 1733 when the king of Poland-Lithuania died. France, Spain, and Sardinia joined in the War of Polish Succession (1733–1735) against Austria and Russia, each side supporting rival claimants to the Polish throne. Although Peter the Great had been followed by a series of weak rulers, Russian forces were still strong enough to drive the French candidate out of Poland-Lithuania, prompting France to accept the Austrian candidate. In exchange, Austria gave the province of Lorraine to the French candidate, the father-in-law of Louis XV, with the promise that the province would pass to France on his death.



MAP 17.3 Russia and Sweden after the Great Northern War, 1721

After the Great Northern War, Russia supplanted Sweden as the major power in the north. Although Russia had a much larger population from which to draw its armies, Sweden made the most of its advantages and gave way only after a great military struggle.

France and Britain went back to pursuing their colonial rivalries. Prussia and Russia concentrated on shoring up their influence within Poland-Lithuania.

Austria did not want to become mired in a long struggle in Poland-Lithuania because its armies still faced the Turks on its southeastern border.

Even though the Austrians had forced the Turks to recognize their rule over all of Hungary and Transylvania in 1699 and occupied Belgrade in 1717, the Turks did not stop fighting. In the 1730s, the Turks retook Belgrade, and Russia now claimed a role in the struggle against the Turks. Moreover, Hungary, though “liberated” from Turkish rule, proved less than enthusiastic about submitting to Austria. In 1703, the wealthiest Hungarian noble landlord, Ferenc Rákóczi (1676–1735), raised an army of seventy thousand men who fought for “God, Fatherland, and Liberty” until 1711. They

By 1685, France had embassies in all the important capitals. Nobles of ancient families served as ambassadors to Rome, Madrid, Vienna, and London, whereas royal officials were chosen for Switzerland, the Dutch Republic, and Venice. The ambassador selected and paid for his own staff. This practice could make the journey to a new post cumbersome, because the staff might be as large as eighty people, and they brought along all their own furniture, pictures, silverware, and tapestries. It took one French ambassador ten weeks to get from Paris to Stockholm.

Despite a new emphasis on honest and informed negotiation, rulers still employed secret agents and often sent covert instructions that negated the official ones sent by their own foreign offices. This behind-the-scenes diplomacy had some advantages because it allowed rulers to break with past alliances, but it also led to confusion and sometimes scandal, for the rulers often engaged unreliable adventurers as their confidential agents. Still, the diplomatic system in the early eighteenth century proved successful enough to ensure a continuation of the principles of the Peace of Westphalia (1648); in the midst of every crisis and war, the great powers would convene and hammer out a written agreement detailing the requirements for peace.



Austrian Conquest of Hungary, 1657–1730

forced the Austrians to recognize local Hungarian institutions, grant amnesty, and restore confiscated estates in exchange for confirming hereditary Austrian rule.

The Power of Diplomacy and the Importance of Population

No single power emerged from the wars of the first half of the eighteenth century clearly superior to the others, and the Peace of Utrecht explicitly declared that maintaining a balance of power was crucial to maintaining peace in Europe. In 1720 a British pamphleteer wrote, “There is not, I believe, any doctrine in the law of nations, of more certain truth . . . than this of the balance of power.” Diplomacy helped maintain the balance, but in the end this system of equilibrium often rested on military force, such as the leagues formed against Louis XIV or the coalition against Sweden. In the search for ever larger armies, states could not afford to ignore the general health of their populations.

Diplomatic Services. To meet the new demands placed on it, the diplomatic service, like the military and financial bureaucracies before it, had to develop regular procedures. The French set a pattern that the other European states soon imitated.

Public Health. Adroit diplomacy could smooth the road toward peace, but success in war still depended on sheer numbers—of men and of muskets. Because each state’s strength depended largely on the size of its army, the growth and health of the population increasingly entered into government calculations. The publication in 1690 of the Englishman William Petty’s *Political Arithmetick* quickened the interest of government officials everywhere. Petty offered statistical estimates of human capital—that is, of population and wages—to determine Britain’s national wealth. A large, growing population could be as vital to a state’s future as access to silver mines or overseas trade, so government officials devoted increased effort to the statistical estimation of total population and rates of births, deaths, and marriages. In 1727, Frederick William I of Prussia founded two university chairs to encourage population studies, and textbooks and handbooks advocated state intervention to improve the population’s health and welfare.

Physicians used the new population statistics to explain the environmental causes of disease, another new preoccupation in this period. Petty devised a quantitative scale that distinguished

healthy from unhealthy places largely on the basis of air quality, an early precursor of modern environmental studies. Cities were the unhealthiest places because excrement (animal and human) and garbage accumulated where people lived densely packed together. Medical geographers gathered and analyzed data on climate, disease, and population, searching for correlations to help direct policy. As a result of these efforts, local governments undertook such measures as draining low-lying areas, burying refuse, and cleaning wells, all of which eventually helped lower the death rates from epidemic diseases.

Not all changes came from direct government intervention. Hospitals, founded originally as charities concerned foremost with the moral worthiness of the poor, gradually evolved into medical institutions that defined patients by their diseases. The process of diagnosis changed as physicians began to use specialized Latin terms for illnesses. The gap between medical experts and their patients increased, as physicians now also relied on post-mortem dissections in the hospital to gain better knowledge, a practice most patients' families resented. Press reports of body snatching and grave robbing by surgeons and their apprentices outraged the public well into the 1800s.

Despite the change in hospitals, individual health care remained something of a free-for-all in which physicians competed with bloodletters, itinerant venereal-disease doctors, bonesetters, druggists, midwives, and "cunning women," who specialized in home remedies. The medical profession, with nationwide organizations and licensing, had not yet emerged, and no clear line separated trained physicians from quacks. In any case, trained physicians were few in number and almost nonexistent outside cities. Patients were as likely to catch a deadly disease in the hospital as to be cured there. Antiseptics were virtually unknown. Because doctors believed most insanity was caused by disorders in the system of bodily "humors," their prescribed treatments included blood transfusions; ingestion of bitter substances such as coffee, quinine, and even soap; immersion in water; various forms of exercise; and burning or cauterizing the body to allow black vapors to escape.

Hardly any infectious diseases could be cured, though inoculation against smallpox spread from the Middle East to Europe in the early eighteenth century, thanks largely to the efforts of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762). In 1716, Montagu accompanied her husband to Constantinople, where he took up a post as British ambassador to the Ottoman Empire. She returned in 1718, after

witnessing firsthand the Turkish use of inoculation. When a new smallpox epidemic threatened England in 1721, she called on her physician to inoculate her daughter. Two patients died after inoculation in the following months, prompting clergymen and physicians to attack the practice, which remained in dispute for decades. Inoculation against smallpox began to spread more widely after 1796, when the English physician Edward Jenner developed a serum based on cowpox, a milder disease. Many other diseases spread quickly in the unsanitary conditions of urban life. Ordinary people washed or changed clothes rarely, lived in overcrowded housing with poor ventilation, and got their water from contaminated sources such as refuse-filled rivers.

Public bathhouses had disappeared from cities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries because they seemed a source of disorderly behavior and epidemic illness. In the eighteenth century, even private bathing came into disfavor because people feared the effects of contact with water. Fewer than one in ten newly built private mansions in Paris had baths. Bathing was hazardous, physicians insisted, because it opened the body to disease. One manners manual of 1736 admonished, "It is correct to clean the face every morning by using a white cloth to cleanse it. It is less good to wash with water, because it renders the face susceptible to cold in winter and sun in summer." The upper classes associated cleanliness not with baths but with frequently changed linens, powdered hair, and perfume, which was thought to strengthen the body and refresh the brain by counteracting corrupt and foul air.

REVIEW: What events and developments led to greater stability and less warfare in the European state system?

The Birth of the Enlightenment

Economic expansion, the emergence of a new consumer society, and the stabilization of the European state system all generated optimism about the future. The intellectual corollary was the **Enlightenment**, a term used later in the eighteenth century to describe the loosely knit group of writers

Enlightenment: The eighteenth-century intellectual movement whose proponents believed that human beings could apply a critical, reasoning spirit to every problem.

and scholars who believed that human beings could apply a critical, reasoning spirit to every problem they encountered in this world. The new secular, scientific, and critical attitude first emerged in the 1690s, scrutinizing everything from the absolutism of Louis XIV to the traditional role of women in society. After 1740, criticism took a more systematic turn as writers provided new theories for the organization of society and politics; but as early as the 1720s, established authorities realized they faced a new set of challenges. Even while slavery expanded in the Atlantic system, Enlightenment writers began to insist on the need for new freedoms in Europe.

Popularization of Science and Challenges to Religion

The writers of the Enlightenment glorified the geniuses of the new science and championed the scientific method as the solution for all social problems. (See “Terms of History,” page 547.) One of the most influential popularizations was the French writer Bernard de Fontenelle’s *Conversations on the Plurality of Worlds* (1686). Presented as a dialogue between an aristocratic woman and a man of the world, the book made the Coperni-

can, heliocentric view of the universe available to the literate public. By 1700, mathematics and science had become fashionable pastimes in high society, and the public flocked to lectures explaining scientific discoveries. Journals complained that scientific learning had become the passport to female affection: “There were two young ladies in Paris whose heads had been so turned by this branch of learning that one of them declined to listen to a proposal of marriage unless the candidate for her hand undertook to learn how to make telescopes.” Such writings poked fun at women with intellectual interests, but they also demonstrated that women now participated in discussions of science.

The New Skepticism. Interest in science spread in literate circles because it offered a model for all forms of knowledge. As the prestige of science increased, some developed a skeptical attitude toward attempts to enforce religious conformity. A French Huguenot refugee from Louis XIV’s persecutions, Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), launched an internationally influential campaign against religious intolerance from his safe haven in the Dutch Republic. His *News from the Republic of Letters* (first published in 1684) bitterly criticized the poli-



A Budding Scientist

In this engraving, *Astrologia*, by the Dutch artist Jacob Gole (c. 1660–1723), an upper-class woman looks through a telescope to do her own astronomical investigations. Women with intellectual interests were often disparaged by men, and women were not allowed to attend university classes in any European country. Yet because many astronomical observatories were set up in private homes rather than public buildings or universities, wives and daughters of scientists could make observations and even publish their own findings. (*Bibliothèque nationale de France.*)

cies of Louis XIV and was quickly banned in Paris and condemned in Rome. After attacking Louis XIV's anti-Protestant policies, Bayle took a more general stand in favor of religious toleration. No state in Europe officially offered complete tolerance, though the Dutch Republic came closest with its tacit acceptance of Catholics, dissident Protestant groups, and open Jewish communities. In 1697, Bayle published the *Historical and Critical Dictionary*, which cited all the errors and delusions that he could find in past and present writers of all religions. Even religion must meet the test of reasonableness: "Any particular dogma, whatever it may be, whether it is advanced on the authority of the Scriptures, or whatever else may be its origins, is to be regarded as false if it clashes with the clear and definite conclusions of the natural understanding [reason]."

Although Bayle claimed to be a believer himself, his insistence on rational investigation seemed to challenge the authority of faith. As one critic complained, "It is notorious that the works of M. Bayle have unsettled a large number of readers, and cast doubt on some of the most widely accepted principles of morality and religion." Bayle asserted, for example, that atheists might possess moral codes as effective as those of the devout. Bayle's *Dictionary* became a model of critical thought in the West.

Other scholars challenged the authority of the Bible by subjecting it to historical criticism. Discoveries in geology in the early eighteenth century showed that marine fossils dated immensely further back than the biblical flood. Investigations of miracles, comets, and oracles, like the growing literature against belief in witchcraft, urged the use of reason to combat superstition and prejudice. Comets, for example, should not be considered evil omens just because earlier generations had passed down such a belief. Defenders of church and state published books warning of the new skepticism's dangers. The spokesman for Louis XIV's absolutism, Bishop Bossuet, warned that "reason is the guide of their choice, but reason only brings them face to face with vague conjectures and baffling perplexities." Human beings, the traditionalists held, were simply incapable of subjecting everything to reason, especially in the realm of religion.

State authorities found religious skepticism particularly unsettling because it threatened to undermine state power too. The extensive literature of criticism was not limited to France, but much of it was published in French, and the French government took the lead in suppressing the more outspoken works. Forbidden books were then

TERMS OF HISTORY

Progress

Believing as they did in the possibilities of improvement, many Enlightenment writers preached a new doctrine about the meaning of human history. They challenged the traditional Christian belief that the original sin of Adam and Eve condemned human beings to unhappiness in this world and offered instead an optimistic vision: human nature, they claimed, was inherently good, and progress would be continuous if education developed human capacities to the utmost. Science and reason could bring happiness in this world. The idea of novelty or newness itself now seemed positive rather than threatening. Europeans began to imagine that they could surpass all those who preceded them in history, and they began to think of themselves as more "advanced" than the "backward" cultures they encountered in other parts of the world.

More than an intellectual concept, the idea of progress included a new conception of historical time and of Europeans' place within world history. Europeans stopped looking back, whether to a lost Garden of Eden or to the writings of Greek and Roman antiquity. Growing prosperity, European dominance overseas, and the scientific revolution oriented them toward the future. Europeans began to apply the word *modern* to their epoch, to distinguish it from the Middle Ages (a new term), and they considered their modern period superior in achievement. Consequently, Europeans took it as their mission to bring their modern, enlightened ways of progress to the areas they colonized.

The economic and ecological catastrophes, destructive wars, and genocides of the twentieth century cast much doubt on this rosy vision of continuing progress. As the philosopher George Santayana (1863–1952) complained, "The cry was for vacant freedom and indeterminate progress: *Vorwärts! Avanti! Onward! Full Speed Ahead!*, without asking whether directly before you was a bottomless pit." Historians are now chastened in their claims about progress. They would no longer side with the German philosopher Georg W. F. Hegel, who proclaimed in 1832, "The history of the world is none other than the progress of the consciousness of freedom." They worry about the nationalistic claims inherent, for example, in the English historian Thomas Babington Macaulay's insistence that "the history of England is emphatically the history of progress" (1843). As with many other historical questions, the final word is not yet in: Is there a direction in human history that can correctly be called progress? Or is history, as many in ancient times thought, a set of repeating cycles?

DOCUMENT

Voltaire, *Letters Concerning the English Nation* (1733)

In the 1720s, Voltaire (1694–1778) visited both the Dutch Republic and England. He learned English and came to admire English political institutions and customs, using comparison with them to criticize religious intolerance and Catholic censorship in France. In this selection from a letter on Locke, Voltaire develops the argument that religion should be considered a matter of faith and conscience and be separated from arguments concerning philosophy. He also shows his disdain for the common people.

We must not be apprehensive that any philosophical opinion will ever prejudice the religion of a country. Though our demonstrations clash directly with our mysteries, that's nothing to the purpose, for the latter are not less revered upon that

account by our Christian philosophers, who know very well that objects of reason and those of faith are of a very different nature. Philosophers will never form a religious sect, the reason of which is, their writings are not calculated for the vulgar, and they themselves are free from enthusiasm. If we divide mankind into twenty parts, it will be found that nineteen of these consist of persons employed in manual labour, who will never know that such a man as Mr. Locke existed. In the remaining twentieth part how few are readers? And among such as are so, twenty amuse themselves with romances to one who studies philosophy. The thinking part of mankind are confined to a very small number, and these will never disturb the peace and tranquillity of the world.

Neither Montaigne, Locke, Bayle, Spinoza, Hobbes, Lord Shaftesbury, Collins nor Toland lightened up the firebrand of discord in their countries; this has generally been the work of divines, who, being at first puffed up with the ambition of becoming chiefs of a sect, soon grew very desirous of being at the head of a party. But what do I say? All the works of the modern philosophers put together will never make so much noise as even the dispute which arose among the Franciscans [a Catholic religious order] merely about the fashion of their sleeves and of their cowls.

Source: Peter Gay, ed., *The Enlightenment: A Comprehensive Anthology* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1973), 166.

often published in the Dutch Republic, Britain, or Switzerland and smuggled back across the border to a public whose appetite was only whetted by censorship.

The Young Voltaire. The most influential writer of the early Enlightenment was a Frenchman born into the upper middle class, François-Marie Arouet, known by his pen name, **Voltaire** (1694–1778). Voltaire took inspiration from Bayle, noting: “He gives facts with such odious fidelity, he exposes the arguments for and against with such dastardly impartiality, he is so intolerably intelligible, that he leads people of only ordinary common sense to judge and even to doubt.” In his early years, Voltaire suffered arrest, imprisonment, and exile, but he eventually achieved wealth and acclaim. His tangles with church and state began in the early 1730s, when he published his *Letters Concerning the English Nation* (the English version appeared in 1733), in which he devoted several

chapters to Newton and Locke and used the virtues of the British as a way to attack Catholic bigotry and government rigidity in France (see Document, “Letters Concerning the English Nation,” on this page). Impressed by British toleration of religious dissent (at least among Protestants), Voltaire spent two years in exile in Britain when the French state responded to his book with yet another order for his arrest.

Voltaire also popularized Newton's scientific discoveries in his *Elements of the Philosophy of Newton* (1738). The French state and many European theologians considered Newtonianism threatening because it glorified the human mind and seemed to reduce God to an abstract, external, rationalistic force. So sensational was the success of Voltaire's book on Newton that a hostile Jesuit reported, “The great Newton, was, it is said, buried in the abyss, in the shop of the first publisher who dared to print him. . . . M. de Voltaire finally appeared, and at once Newton is understood or is in the process of being understood; all Paris resounds with Newton, all Paris stammers Newton, all Paris studies and learns Newton.” The

Voltaire: The pen name of François-Marie Arouet (1694–1778), who was the most influential writer of the early Enlightenment.

success was international, too. Before long, Voltaire was elected a fellow of the Royal Society in London and in Edinburgh, as well as to twenty other scientific academies. Voltaire's fame continued to grow, reaching truly astounding proportions in the 1750s and 1760s (see Chapter 18).

Travel Literature and the Challenge to Custom and Tradition

Just as scientific method could be used to question religious and even state authority, a more general skepticism also emerged from the expanding knowledge about the world outside of Europe. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the number of travel accounts dramatically increased as travel writers used the contrast between their home societies and other cultures to criticize the customs of European society.

Visitors to the new colonies sought something resembling “the state of nature,” that is, ways of life that preceded sophisticated social and political organization — although they often misinterpreted different forms of society and politics as having no organization at all. Travelers to the Americas found “noble savages” (native peoples) who appeared to live in conditions of great freedom and equality; they were “naturally good” and “happy” without taxes, lawsuits, or much organized government. In China, in contrast, travelers found a people who enjoyed prosperity and an ancient civilization. Christian missionaries made little headway in China, and visitors had to admit that China's religious systems had flourished for four or five thousand years with no input from Europe or from Christianity. The basic lesson of travel literature in the 1700s, then, was that customs varied: justice, freedom, property, good government, religion, and morality all were relative to the place. One critic complained that travel encouraged free thinking and the destruction of religion: “Some complete their demoralization by extensive travel, and lose whatever shreds of religion remained to them. Every day they see a new religion, new customs, new rites.”

Travel literature turned explicitly political in Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* (1721). Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron of Montesquieu (1689–1755), the son of an eminent judicial family, was a high-ranking judge in a French court. He published *Persian Letters* anonymously in the Dutch Republic, and the book went into ten printings in just one year — a best seller for the times. Montesquieu tells the story of two Persians, Rica and Usbek, who leave their country “for love of

knowledge” and travel to Europe. They visit France in the last years of Louis XIV's reign, writing of the king: “He has a minister who is only eighteen years old, and a mistress of eighty. . . . Although he avoids the bustle of towns, and is rarely seen in company, his one concern, from morning till night, is to get himself talked about.” Other passages ridicule the pope. Beneath the satire, however, was a serious investigation into the foundation of good government and morality. Montesquieu chose Persians for his travelers because they came from what was widely considered the most despotic of all governments, in which rulers had life-and-death powers over their subjects. In the book, the Persians constantly compare France to Persia, suggesting that the French monarchy might verge on despotism.

The paradox of a judge publishing an anonymous work attacking the regime that employed him demonstrates the complications of the intellectual scene in this period. Montesquieu's anonymity did not last long, and soon Parisian society lionized him. In the late 1720s, he sold his judgeship and traveled extensively in Europe, staying eighteen months in Britain. In 1748, he published a widely influential work on comparative government, *The Spirit of Laws*. The Vatican soon listed both *Persian Letters* and *The Spirit of Laws* on its Index of forbidden books.

Raising the Woman Question

Many of the letters exchanged in *Persian Letters* focused on women, marriage, and the family because Montesquieu considered the position of women a sure indicator of the nature of government and morality. Although Montesquieu was not a feminist, his depiction of Roxana, the favorite wife in Usbek's harem, struck a chord with many women. Roxana revolts against the authority of Usbek's eunuchs and writes a final letter to her husband announcing her impending suicide: “I may have lived in servitude, but I have always been free, I have amended your laws according to the laws of nature, and my mind has always remained independent.” Women writers used the same language of tyranny and freedom to argue for concrete changes in their status. Feminist ideas were not entirely new, but they were presented systematically for the first time during the Enlightenment and represented a fundamental challenge to the ways of traditional societies.

The most systematic of these women writers was the English author Mary Astell (1666–1731), the daughter of a businessman and herself a

supporter of the Tory party and the Anglican religious establishment. In 1694, she published *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies*, in which she advocated founding a private women's college to remedy women's lack of education. Addressing women, she asked, "How can you be content to be in the World like Tulips in a Garden, to make a fine *shew* [show] and be good for nothing?" Astell argued for intellectual training based on Descartes's principles, in which reason, debate, and careful consideration of the issues took priority over custom or tradition. Her book was an immediate success: five printings appeared by 1701. In later works such as *Reflections upon Marriage* (1706), Astell criticized the relationship between the sexes within marriage: "If absolute sovereignty be not necessary in a state, how comes it to be so in a family? . . . *If all men are born free*, how is it that all women are born slaves?" Her critics accused her of promoting subversive ideas and of contradicting the Bible.

Astell's work inspired other women to write in a similar vein. The anonymous *Essay in Defence of the Female Sex* (1696) attacked "the Usurpation of Men; and the Tyranny of Custom," which prevented women from getting an education. In the introduction to the work of one of the best-known female poets, Elizabeth Singer Rowe, a friend of the author complained of the "notorious Violations on the Liberties of Freeborn English Women" that came from "a plain and an open design to render us meer [mere] Slaves, perfect Turkish Wives."

Most male writers unequivocally stuck to the traditional view of women, which held that women were less capable of reasoning than men and therefore did not need systematic education. Such opinions often rested on biological suppositions. The long-dominant Aristotelian view of reproduction held that only the male seed carried spirit and individuality. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, scientists began to undermine this belief. Physicians and surgeons began to champion the doctrine of *ovism* — that the female egg was essential in making new humans. During the decades that followed, male Enlightenment writers would continue to debate women's nature and appropriate social roles.

REVIEW: What were the major issues in the early decades of the Enlightenment?

Conclusion

Europeans crossed a major threshold in the first half of the eighteenth century. They moved silently but nonetheless momentarily from an economy governed by scarcity and the threat of famine to one of ever-increasing growth and the prospect of continuing improvement. Expansion of colonies overseas and economic development at home created greater wealth, longer life spans, and higher expectations for the future. In these better times for many, a spirit of optimism prevailed. People could now spend money on newspapers, novels, and travel literature as well as on coffee, tea, and cotton cloth. The growing literate public avidly followed the latest trends in religious debates, art, and music. Not everyone shared equally in the benefits, however: slaves toiled in misery for their masters in the Americas, eastern European serfs found themselves ever more closely bound to their noble lords, and rural folk almost everywhere tasted few fruits of consumer society.

Politics changed too as population and production increased and cities grew. Experts urged government intervention to improve public health, and states found it in their interest to settle many international disputes by diplomacy, which itself became more regular and routine. The consolidation of the European state system allowed a tide of criticism and new thinking about society to swell in Great Britain and France and begin to spill throughout Europe. Ultimately, the combination of the Atlantic system and the Enlightenment would give rise to a series of Atlantic revolutions.

FOR FURTHER EXPLORATION

- For suggested references, including Web sites, for topics in this chapter, see page SR-1 at the end of the book.
- For additional primary-source material from this period, see Chapter 17 in *Sources of THE MAKING OF THE WEST*, Third Edition.
- For Web sites and documents related to topics in this chapter, see *Make History* at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

MAPPING THE WEST

**Europe in 1740**

By 1740, Europe had achieved a kind of diplomatic equilibrium in which no one power predominated. But the relative balance should not deflect attention from important underlying changes: Spain, the Dutch Republic, Poland-Lithuania, and Sweden had all declined in power and influence while Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria had solidified their positions, each in a different way. France's ambitions had been thwarted, but its combination of a big army and rich overseas possessions made it a major player for a long time to come.

CHAPTER REVIEW

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Atlantic system (520)	Pietism (536)
plantation (521)	Peace of Utrecht (538)
mestizo (527)	Robert Walpole (539)
buccaneers (527)	Peter the Great (540)
consumer revolution (528)	Westernization (540)
agricultural revolution (529)	Enlightenment (545)
rococo (534)	Voltaire (548)

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How was consumerism related to slavery in the early eighteenth century?
2. How were new social trends reflected in cultural life in the late 1600s and early 1700s?
3. What events and developments led to greater stability and less warfare in the European state system?
4. What were the major issues in the early decades of the Enlightenment?

MAKING CONNECTIONS

1. How did the rise of slavery and the plantation system change European politics and society?
2. Why was the Enlightenment born just at the moment that the Atlantic system took shape?
3. What were the major differences between the wars of the first half of the eighteenth century and those of the seven-teenth century? (Refer to Chapters 15 and 16.)

For practice quizzes, a customized study plan, and other study tools, see the Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

IMPORTANT EVENTS

1690s	Beginning of rapid development of plantations in Caribbean	1713–1714	Peace of Utrecht
1694	Bank of England established; Mary Astell’s <i>A Serious Proposal to the Ladies</i> argues for the founding of a private women’s college	1714	Electors of Hanover becomes King George I of England
1697	Pierre Bayle publishes <i>Historical and Critical Dictionary</i> , detailing errors of religious writers	1715	Death of Louis XIV
1699	Turks forced to recognize Habsburg rule over Hungary and Transylvania	1719	Daniel Defoe publishes <i>Robinson Crusoe</i>
1703	Peter the Great begins construction of St. Petersburg, founds first Russian newspaper	1720	Last outbreak of bubonic plague in western Europe
		1721	Treaty of Nystad; Montesquieu publishes <i>Persian Letters</i> anonymously in the Dutch Republic
		1733	War of the Polish Succession; Voltaire’s <i>Letters Concerning the English Nation</i> attacks French intolerance and narrow-mindedness
		1741	George Frideric Handel composes <i>Messiah</i>

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The Promise of Enlightenment

1740—1789

In the summer of 1766, Empress Catherine II (“the Great”) of Russia wrote to Voltaire, one of the leaders of the Enlightenment:

It is a way of immortalizing oneself to be the advocate of humanity, the defender of oppressed innocence. . . . You have entered into combat against the enemies of mankind: superstition, fanaticism, ignorance, quibbling, evil judges, and the powers that rest in their hands. Great virtues and qualities are needed to surmount these obstacles. You have shown that you have them: you have triumphed.

Over a fifteen-year period, Catherine corresponded regularly with Voltaire, a writer who, at home in France, found himself in constant conflict with authorities of church and state. Her admiring letter shows how influential Enlightenment ideals had become by the middle of the eighteenth century. Even an absolutist ruler such as Catherine endorsed many aspects of the Enlightenment call for reform; she too wanted to be an “advocate of humanity.”

Catherine’s letter aptly summed up Enlightenment ideals: progress for humanity could be achieved only by rooting out the wrongs left by superstition, religious fanaticism, ignorance, and outmoded forms of justice. Enlightenment writers used every means at their disposal—from encyclopedias to novels to personal interaction with rulers—to argue for reform. Everything had to be examined in the cold light of reason, and anything that did not promote the improvement of humanity was to be jettisoned. As a result, Enlightenment writers attacked the legal use of torture to extract confessions, supported religious toleration, favored the spread of education to eliminate ignorance, and criticized censorship by state or church. The book trade and new places for urban

Catherine the Great

In this portrait by the Danish painter Vigilius Eriksen, the Russian empress Catherine the Great is shown on horseback (c. 1752), much like any male ruler of the time. Born Sophia Augusta Frederika of Anhalt-Zerbst in 1729, Catherine was the daughter of a minor German prince. When she married the future tsar Peter III in 1745, she promptly learned Russian and adopted Russian Orthodoxy. Peter, physically and mentally frail, proved no match for her; in 1762 she staged a coup against him and took his place when he was killed. (*Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.*)

The Enlightenment at Its Height 556

- Men and Women of the Republic of Letters
- Conflicts with Church and State
- The Individual and Society
- Spreading the Enlightenment
- The Limits of Reason: Roots of Romanticism and Religious Revival

Society and Culture in an Age of Enlightenment 567

- The Nobility’s Reassertion of Privilege
- The Middle Class and the Making of a New Elite
- Life on the Margins

State Power in an Era of Reform 573

- War and Diplomacy
- State-Sponsored Reform
- Limits of Reform

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- Food Riots and Peasant Uprisings
- Public Opinion and Political Opposition
- Revolution in North America

socializing, such as coffeehouses and learned societies, spread these ideas within a new elite of middle- and upper-class men and women.

The lower classes had little contact with Enlightenment ideas. Their lives were shaped more profoundly by an increasing population, rising food prices, and ongoing wars among the great powers. States had to balance conflicting social pressures: rulers pursued Enlightenment reforms that they believed might enhance state power, but they feared changes that might unleash popular discontent. For example, Catherine aimed to bring Western ideas, culture, and reforms to Russia, but when faced with a massive uprising of the serfs, she not only suppressed the revolt but also increased the powers of the nobles over their serfs. All reform-minded rulers faced similar potential challenges to their authority.

Even if the movement for reform had its limits, governments now needed to respond to a new force: “public opinion.” Rulers wanted to portray themselves as modern, open to change, and responsive to the segment of the public that was reading newspapers and closely following political developments. Enlightenment writers appealed to public opinion, but they still looked to rulers to effect reform. Writers such as Voltaire expressed little interest in the future of peasants or the lower classes; they favored neither revolution nor political upheaval. Yet their ideas paved the way for something much more radical and unexpected. The American Declaration of Independence in 1776 showed how Enlightenment ideals could be translated into democratic political practice. After 1789, democracy would come to Europe as well.

FOCUS QUESTION: How did the Enlightenment influence Western politics, culture, and society?

The Enlightenment at Its Height

The Enlightenment emerged as an intellectual movement before 1740 but reached its peak in the second half of the eighteenth century. (See “Terms of History,” page 565.) The writers of the Enlightenment called themselves **philosophes** (French for “philosophers”), but that term is somewhat misleading. Whereas philosophers concern themselves with abstract theories, the philosophes were public intellectuals dedicated to solving the real problems of the world. They wrote on subjects ranging from current affairs to art criticism, and they wrote in every conceivable format. The Swiss philosophe Jean-Jacques Rousseau, for example, wrote a political tract, a treatise on education, a constitution for Poland, an analysis of the effects of the theater on public morals, a best-selling novel, an opera, and a notorious autobiography. The philosophes wrote for a broad educated public of readers who snatched up every Enlightenment book they could find at their local booksellers, even when rulers or churches tried to forbid such works. Between 1740 and 1789, the Enlightenment acquired its name and, despite heated conflicts between the philosophes and state and religious authorities, gained support in the highest reaches of government.

Men and Women of the Republic of Letters

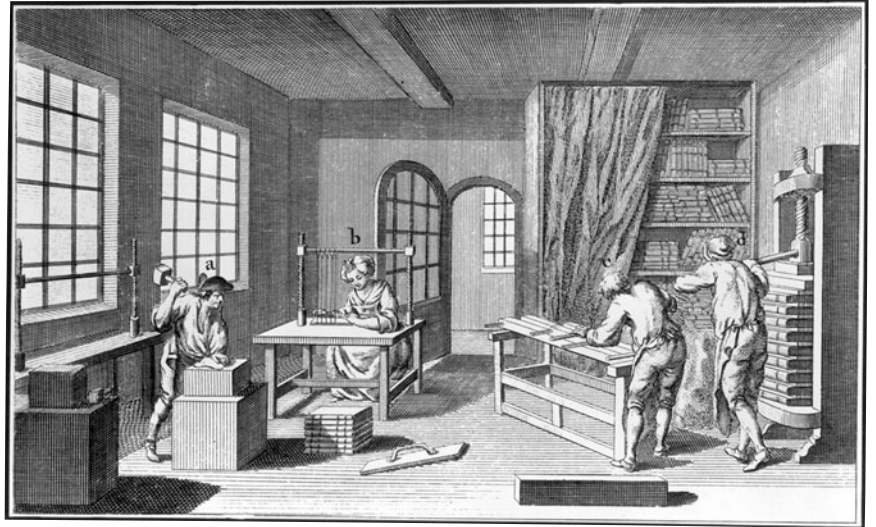
Although *philosophe* is a French word, the Enlightenment was distinctly cosmopolitan; philosophes could be found from Philadelphia to St. Petersburg.

philosophes (fee luh SAWF): Public intellectuals of the Enlightenment who wrote on subjects ranging from current affairs to art criticism with the goal of furthering reform in society. (The word in French means “philosophers.”)

■ 1740–1748 War of the Austrian Succession		■ 1756–1763 Seven Years' War	
1740	1750	1760	
	■ 1751–1772 Enlightenment writers publish <i>Encyclopedia</i>	■ 1762 Rousseau, <i>The Social Contract</i> , <i>Émile</i>	

The philosophes considered themselves part of a grand “republic of letters” that transcended national political boundaries. They were not republicans in the usual sense, that is, people who supported representative government and opposed monarchy. What united them were the ideals of reason, reform, and freedom. In 1784, the German philosopher Immanuel Kant summed up the program of the Enlightenment in two Latin words: *sapere aude*, “dare to know”—have the courage to think for yourself.

The philosophes used reason to attack superstition, bigotry, and religious fanaticism, which they considered the chief obstacles to free thought and social reform. Voltaire took religious fanaticism as his chief target: “Once fanaticism has corrupted a mind, the malady is almost incurable. . . . The only remedy for this epidemic malady is the philosophical spirit.” Enlightenment writers did not necessarily oppose organized religion, but they strenuously objected to religious intolerance. They believed that the systematic application of reason could do what religious belief could not: improve the human condition by pointing to needed reforms. Reason meant critical, informed, scientific thinking about social issues and problems. Many Enlightenment writers collaborated on a new multivolume *Encyclopedia* (published 1751–1772) that aimed to gather together knowledge about science, religion, industry, and society (see illustration at right). The chief editor of the *Encyclopedia*, Denis Diderot (1713–1784), explained the goal: “All things must be examined, debated, investigated without exception and without regard for anyone’s feelings.” (See Document, “Denis Diderot, ‘Encyclopedia,’” page 559.)



Bookbinding

In this plate from the *Encyclopedia*, the various stages in bookbinding are laid out from left to right. Binding was not included in the sale of books; owners had to order leather bindings from a special shop. The man at (a) is pounding the pages to be bound on a marble block. The woman at (b) is stitching the pages with a special frame. The worker at (c) cuts the pages, and the one at (d) presses the volumes to prevent warping. In what ways is this illustration representative of the aims of the *Encyclopedia*?

The philosophes believed that the spread of knowledge would encourage reform in every aspect of life, from the grain trade to the penal system. Chief among their desired reforms was intellectual freedom—the freedom to use one’s own reason and to publish the results. The philosophes wanted freedom of the press and freedom of religion, which they considered “natural rights” guaranteed by “natural law.” In their view, progress depended on these freedoms.

Most philosophes, like Voltaire, came from the upper classes, yet Rousseau’s father was a modest watchmaker in Geneva, and Diderot was the son of a cutlery maker. Although it was a rare

	<p>■ 1776 American Declaration of Independence; Smith, <i>Wealth of Nations</i></p> <p>■ 1771 Louis XV attempts major court reform</p>	<p>■ 1787 U.S. Constitution</p> <p>■ 1785 Charter of the Nobility</p>	
1770	1770	1780	1790
<p>■ 1764 Voltaire, <i>Philosophical Dictionary</i></p>	<p>■ 1772 First Partition of Poland</p> <p>■ 1773 Pugachev rebellion</p>	<p>■ 1780 Joseph II’s reforms</p> <p>■ 1781 Kant, <i>The Critique of Pure Reason</i></p>	



Madame Geoffrin's Salon in 1755

This 1812 painting by Anicet Charles Lemonnier claims to depict the best-known Parisian salon of the 1750s. Lemonnier was only twelve years old in 1755 and so could not have based his rendition on firsthand knowledge. Madame Geoffrin is the figure in blue on the right facing the viewer. The bust is of Voltaire. Rousseau is the fifth person to the left of the bust (facing right) and behind him (facing left) is Raynal. (*Bridgeman–Giraudon/Art Resource, NY*)

phenomenon, some women were philosophes, such as the French noblewoman Émilie du Châtelet (1706–1749), who wrote extensively about the mathematics and physics of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz and Isaac Newton. (Her lover Voltaire learned much of his science from her.) Few of the leading writers held university positions, except those who were German or Scottish. Universities in France were dominated by the Catholic clergy and unresponsive to Enlightenment ideals.

Enlightenment ideas developed instead through printed books and pamphlets; through letters that were hand-copied, circulated, and sometimes published; and through informal readings of manuscripts. Salons—informal gatherings, usually sponsored by middle-class or aristocratic women—gave intellectual life an anchor outside the royal court and the church-controlled universities. Seventeenth-century salons had been tame affairs. In the Parisian salons of the eighteenth century, in contrast, the philosophes could discuss ideas they might hesitate to put into print, testing public opinion and even pushing it in new directions. Best known was the Parisian salon of Madame Marie-Thérèse Geoffrin (1699–1777), a wealthy middle-class widow who had been raised by her grandmother and married off at fourteen to a much older man (see *Madame Geoffrin's Salon*, above). She brought together the most exciting thinkers and artists of the time and provided a forum for new ideas and an opportunity to establish new intellectual contacts. Madame Geoffrin corresponded extensively with influential people across

Europe, including Catherine the Great. One Italian visitor commented, “There is no way to make Naples resemble Paris unless we find a woman to guide us, organize us, *Geoffrinize* us.”

Women's salons provoked criticism from men who resented their power. (See “Contrasting Views,” page 562.) Nevertheless, the gatherings helped galvanize intellectual life and reform movements all over Europe. Wealthy Jewish women created nine of the fourteen salons in Berlin at the end of the eighteenth century, and Princess Zofia Czartoryska gathered around her in Warsaw the reform leaders of Poland-Lithuania. Some of the aristocratic women in Madrid who held salons had lived in France, and they combined an interest in French culture and ideas with their efforts to promote the new ideas in Spain. Middle-class women in London used their salons to raise money to publish women's writings. Salons could be tied closely to the circles of power: in France, for example, Louis XV's mistress, Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson, first made her reputation as hostess of a salon frequented by Voltaire and Montesquieu. When she became Louis XV's mistress in 1745, she gained the title Marquise de Pompadour and turned her attention to influencing artistic styles by patronizing architects and painters.

Conflicts with Church and State

Madame Geoffrin did not approve of discussions that attacked the Catholic church, but elsewhere voices against organized religion could be heard.

DOCUMENT

Denis Diderot, “Encyclopedia” (1755)

Denis Diderot (1713–1784) led the multinational team that produced the Encyclopedia, a work much more radical in its aims than its bland name suggests. Seventeen volumes of text and eleven volumes of illustrative plates were published between 1751 and 1772, despite the efforts of French authorities to censor it. The volumes covered every branch of human knowledge from the tools of artisans to the finest points of theology. Diderot and his collaborators used the occasion to lay out the principles of the Enlightenment as an intellectual movement and to challenge the authority, in particular, of the Catholic church. The article “Encyclopedia” summarized the goals of the project.

ENCYCLOPEDIA (Philosophy). This word means the *interrelation of all knowledge*; it is made up of the Greek prefix *en*, in, and the nouns *kyklos*, circle, and *paideia*,

instruction, science, knowledge. In truth, the aim of an *encyclopedia* is to collect all the knowledge scattered over the face of the earth, to present its general outlines and structure to the men with whom we live, and transmit this to those who will come after us, so that the work of the past centuries may be useful to the following centuries, that our children, by becoming more educated, may at the same time become more virtuous and happier, and that we may not die without having deserved well of the human race. . . .

We have seen that our *Encyclopedia* could only have been the endeavor of a philosophical century; that this age has dawned, and that fame, while raising to immortality the names of those who will perfect man's knowledge in the future, will perhaps not disdain to remember our own names. . . .

I have said that it could only belong to a philosophical age to attempt an *encyclopedia*; and I have said this because such a work constantly demands more intellectual daring than is commonly found in ages of pusillanimous [timid] taste. All things must be examined, debated, investigated without exception and without regard for anyone's feelings. . . . We must ride roughshod over all these ancient puerilities, overturn the barriers that reason never erected, give back to the arts and sciences the liberty that is so precious to them. . . . We have for quite some time needed a reasoning age when men would no longer seek the rules in classical authors but in nature.

Source: Margaret C. Jacob, *The Enlightenment: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2001), 157–158.

Criticisms of religion required daring because the church, whatever its denomination, wielded enormous power in society, and most influential people considered religion an essential foundation of good society and government. Defying such opinion, the Scottish philosopher David Hume (1711–1776) boldly argued in *The Natural History of Religion* (1755) that belief in God rested on superstition and fear rather than on reason. Hume soon met kindred spirits while visiting Paris; he attended a dinner party consisting of “fifteen atheists, and three who had not quite made up their minds.”

In the eighteenth century, most Europeans believed in God. After Newton, however, and despite Newton's own deep religiosity, people could conceive of the universe as an eternally existing, self-perpetuating machine, in which God's intervention was unnecessary. In short, such people could become either *atheists*, people who do not believe in God, or *deists*, people who believe in God but give him no active role in earthly affairs. For the first time, writers claimed the label *atheist* and disputed the common view that atheism led inevitably to immorality.

Deists continued to believe in a benevolent, all-knowing God who had designed the universe and set it in motion. But they usually rejected the idea that God directly intercedes in the functioning of the universe, and they often criticized the churches for their dogmatic intolerance of dissenters. Voltaire was a deist, and in his influential *Philosophical Dictionary* (1764) he attacked most of the claims of organized Christianity, both Catholic and Protestant. Christianity, he argued, had been the prime source of fanaticism and brutality among humans. Throughout his life, Voltaire's motto was *Écrasez l'infâme* — “Crush the infamous thing” (the “thing” being bigotry and intolerance). French authorities publicly burned his *Philosophical Dictionary*.

Criticism of religious intolerance involved more than simply attacking the churches. Critics also had to confront the states to which churches were closely tied. In 1762, a judicial case in

deists: Those who believe in God but give him no active role in human affairs. Deists of the Enlightenment believed that God had designed the universe and set it in motion but no longer intervened in its functioning.

Toulouse provoked an outcry throughout France that Voltaire soon joined. When the son of a local Calvinist was found hanged (he had probably committed suicide), magistrates accused the father, Jean Calas, of murdering him to prevent his conversion to Catholicism. (Since Louis XIV's revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, it had been illegal to practice Calvinism publicly in France.) The all-Catholic parlement of Toulouse tried to extract the names of accomplices through torture—using a rope to pull up Calas's arm while weighing down his feet and then pouring water down his throat—and then executed him by breaking every bone in his body with an iron rod. Calas refused to confess. Voltaire launched a successful crusade to rehabilitate Calas's good name and to restore the family's properties, which had been confiscated after his death. Voltaire's efforts eventually helped bring about the extension of civil rights to French Protestants and encouraged campaigns to abolish the judicial use of torture.

Critics also assailed state and church support for European colonization and slavery. One of the most popular books of the time was the *Philosophical and Political History of European Colonies and Commerce in the Two Indies*, published in 1770 by Abbé Guillaume Raynal (1713–1796), a French Catholic clergyman. Raynal and his collaborators described in excruciating detail the destruction of native populations by Europeans and denounced the slave trade. Despite the criticism, the slave trade continued. So did European exploration. British explorer James Cook (1728–1779) charted the coasts of New Zealand and Australia, discovered New Caledonia, and visited the ice fields of Antarctica.

Cook's adventures captivated European readers. When he arrived on the Kona coast of Hawaii in 1779, Cook thought that the natives considered him godlike, but in a confrontation he fired and killed a man, provoking an attack that led to his death and those of some of his men. Like Cook, many Enlightenment writers held conflicting views of natives: to some, they were innocent because primitive, but to others they seemed untrustworthy because savage. Views of Africans could be especially negative. David Hume, for example, judged blacks to be “naturally inferior to the whites,” concluding, “There never was a civilized nation of any other complexion than white.”

Nevertheless, the Enlightenment belief in natural rights helped fuel the antislavery movement, which began to organize political campaigns against slavery in Britain, France, and the new United States in the 1780s. Advocates of the abo-

lition of slavery encouraged freed slaves to write the story of their enslavement. One such freed slave, Olaudah Equiano, wrote of his kidnapping and enslavement in Africa and his long effort to free himself. *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*, published in 1788, became an international best seller; it had appeared in English, Dutch, Russian, and French by the time Equiano died in 1797. Armed with such firsthand accounts of slavery, **abolitionists** began to petition their governments for the abolition of the slave trade and then of slavery itself.

Enlightenment critics of church and state usually advocated reform, not revolution. For example, though he resided near the French-Swiss border in case he had to flee, Voltaire made a fortune in financial speculations and ended up being celebrated in his last years as a national hero even by many former foes. Other philosophes also believed that published criticism, rather than violent action, would bring about necessary reforms. As Diderot said, “We will speak against senseless laws until they are reformed; and, while we wait, we will abide by them.” The philosophes generally regarded the lower classes—“the people”—as ignorant, violent, and prone to superstition; as a result, they pinned their hopes on educated elites and enlightened rulers.

Despite the philosophes' preference for reform, in the long run their books often had a revolutionary impact. For example, Montesquieu's widely reprinted *Spirit of the Laws* (1748) warned against the dangers of despotism, opposed the divine right of kings, and favored constitutional government. His analysis of British constitutionalism inspired French critics of absolutism and would greatly influence the American revolutionaries.

The Individual and Society

The controversy created by the conflicts between the philosophes and the various churches and states of Europe drew attention away from a subtle but profound transformation in worldviews. In previous centuries, questions of theological doctrine and church organization had been the main focus of intellectual and even political interest. The Enlightenment writers shifted attention away from religious questions and toward the secular study of society and the individual's role in it. Religion did not drop out of sight, but the philosophes tended to make religion a private affair of individ-

abolitionists: Advocates of the abolition of the slave trade and of slavery.

ual conscience, even while rulers and churches still considered religion very much a public concern.

The Enlightenment interest in secular society produced two major results: it advanced the secularization of European political life that had begun after the Wars of Religion of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it laid the foundations for the social sciences of the modern era. Not surprisingly, then, many historians and philosophers consider the Enlightenment to be the origin of modernity, which they define as the belief that human reason, rather than theological doctrine, should set the patterns of social and political life. This belief in reason as the sole foundation for secular authority has often been contested, but it has also proved to be a powerful force for change.

Although most of the philosophes believed that human reason could understand and even remake society and politics, they disagreed about what reason revealed. Among the many different approaches were two that proved enduringly influential, those of the Scottish philosopher Adam Smith and the Swiss writer Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Smith provided a theory of modern capitalist society and devoted much of his energy to defending free markets as the best way to make the most of individual efforts. The modern discipline of economics took shape around the questions raised by Smith. Rousseau, by contrast, emphasized the needs of the community over those of the individual. His work, which led both toward democracy and toward communism, continues to inspire heated debate in political science and sociology.

Adam Smith. Adam Smith (1723–1790) optimistically believed that individual interests naturally harmonized with those of the whole society. To explain how this natural harmonization worked, he published *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* in 1776. Smith insisted that individual self-interest, even greed, was quite compatible with society's best interest: the laws of supply and demand served as an "invisible hand" ensuring that individual interests would be synchronized with those of the whole society. Market forces—"the propensity to truck, barter, and exchange one thing for another"—naturally brought individual and social interests in line.

Smith rejected the prevailing mercantilist views that the general welfare would be served by accumulating national wealth through agriculture or the hoarding of gold and silver. Instead, he argued that the division of labor in manufacturing increased productivity and generated more wealth

for society and well-being for the individual. In his much-cited example of the manufacture of pins, Smith showed that when the manufacturing process was broken down into separate operations—one man to draw out the wire, another to straighten it, a third to cut it, a fourth to point it, and so on—workers who could make only one pin a day on their own could make thousands by pooling their labor.

To maximize the effects of market forces and the division of labor, Smith endorsed a concept called **laissez-faire** (that is, "to leave alone") to free the economy from government intervention and control. He insisted that governments eliminate all restrictions on the sale of land, remove restraints on the grain trade, and abandon duties on imports. Free international trade, he argued, would stimulate production everywhere and thus ensure the growth of national wealth: "The natural effort of every individual to better his own condition, when suffered to exert itself with freedom and security, is so powerful a principle that it is alone, and without any assistance, not only capable of carrying the society to wealth and prosperity, but of surmounting a hundred impertinent obstructions with which the folly of human laws too often encumbers its operations." Governments should restrict themselves to providing "security," that is, national defense, internal order, and public works. Smith recognized that government had an important role in providing a secure framework for market activity, but he placed most emphasis on freeing individual endeavor from what he saw as excessive government interference.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Much more pessimistic about the relation between individual self-interest and the good of society was **Jean-Jacques Rousseau** (1712–1778). In Rousseau's view, society itself threatened natural rights or freedoms: "Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains." Rousseau first gained fame by writing a prize-winning essay in 1749 in which he argued that the revival of science and the arts had corrupted social morals, not improved them. This startling conclusion seemed to oppose some of the Enlightenment's most cherished beliefs. Rather than

laissez-faire (LEH say FEHR): An economic doctrine developed by Adam Smith that advocated freeing the economy from government intervention and control. (The term is French for "to leave alone.")

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (zhahn zhahk roo SOH): One of the most important philosophes (1712–1778); he argued that only a government based on a social contract among the citizens could make people truly moral and free.

CONTRASTING VIEWS

Women and the Enlightenment

During the Enlightenment, women's roles in society became the subject of heated debates. Some men resented what they saw as the growing power of women, especially in the salons. Rousseau railed against their corrupting influence: "Every woman at Paris gathers in her apartment a harem of men more womanish than she." Rousseau's *Émile* (Document 1) offered his own influential answer to the question of how women should be educated. The *Encyclopédie* ignored the contributions of salon women and praised women who stayed at home; in the words of one typical contributor, women "constitute the principal ornament of the world. . . . May they, through submissive discretion and through simple, adroit, artless cleverness, spur us [men] on to virtue." Many women objected to these characterizations. The editor of a prominent newspaper for women, Madame de Beaumer, wrote editorials blasting the masculine sense of superiority (Document 2). Many prominent women writers specifically targeted Rousseau's book because it proved to be the most influential educational treatise of the time (Document 3). Their ideas formed the core of nineteenth-century feminism.

1. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Émile* (1762)

Rousseau used the character of *Émile's* wife-to-be, Sophie, to discuss his ideas about women's education. Sophie is educated for a domestic role as wife and mother, and she is taught to be obedient, always helpful to her husband and family, and removed from any participation in the public world. Despite his insistence on the differences between men's and women's roles, many women enthusiastically embraced Rousseau's ideas, for he placed great emphasis on maternal affections, breast-feeding, and child rearing. Rousseau's own children, however, suffered the contradictions that characterized his life. By his own admission, he abandoned to a foundling hospital all the children he had by his lower-class common-law wife

because he did not think he could support them properly; if their fate was like that of most abandoned children of the day, they met an early death.

There is no parity between man and woman as to the importance of sex. The male is only a male at certain moments; the female all her life, or at least throughout her youth, is incessantly reminded of her sex and in order to carry out its functions she needs a corresponding constitution. She needs to be careful during pregnancy; she needs rest after childbirth; she needs a quiet and sedentary life while she nurses her children; she needs patience and gentleness in order to raise them; a zeal and affection that nothing can discourage. . . .

On the good constitution of mothers depends primarily that of the children; on the care of women depends the early education of men; and on women, again, depend their morals, their passions, their tastes, their pleasures, and even their happiness. Thus the whole education of women ought to be relative to men. To please them, to be useful to them, to make themselves loved and honored by them, to educate them when young, to care for them when grown, to counsel them, to console them, and to make life agreeable and sweet to them — these are the duties of women at all times, and should be taught them from their infancy.

Source: Susan Groag Bell and Karen M. Offen, *Women, the Family, and Freedom: The Debate in Documents*, vol. 1, 1750–1880 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983), 46–49.

2. Madame de Beaumer, Editorial in *Le Journal des Dames* (1762)

Madame de Beaumer (d. 1766) was the first of three women editors of *Le Journal des Dames* (*The Ladies' Journal*). She ran it for

improving society, he claimed, science and art raised artificial barriers between people and their natural state. Rousseau's works extolled the simplicity of rural life over urban society. Although he participated in the salons, Rousseau always felt ill at ease in high society, and he periodically withdrew to live in solitude far from Paris. Paradoxically, his solitude was often paid for by wealthy upper-class patrons who lodged him on their estates, even as his writings decried the upper-class privilege that made his efforts possible.

Rousseau explored the tension between the individual and society in a best-selling novel (*The New Heloise*, 1761); in an influential work on education (*Émile*, 1762); and in a treatise on

political theory (*The Social Contract*, 1762). He wrote *Émile* in the form of a novel in order to make his educational theories easily comprehensible. Free from the supervision of the clergy, who controlled most schools, the boy *Émile* works alone with his tutor to develop practical skills and independent ways of thinking. After developing his individuality, *Émile* joins society through marriage to Sophie, who received the education Rousseau thought appropriate for women. (See "Contrasting Views," above.)

Whereas earlier Rousseau had argued that society corrupted the individual by taking him out of nature, in *The Social Contract* he aimed to show that the right kind of political order could make

two years and published many editorials defending women against their male critics.

The success of the *Journal des Dames* allows us to triumph over those frivolous persons who have regarded this periodical as a petty work containing only a few bagatelles suited to help them kill time. In truth, Gentlemen, you do us much honor to think that we could not provide things that unite the useful to the agreeable. To rid you of your error, we have made our Journal historical, with a view to putting before the eyes of youth striking images that will guide them toward virtue. . . . An historical *Journal des Dames*! these Gentlemen reasoners reply. How ridiculous! How out of character with the nature of this work, which calls only for little pieces to amuse [ladies] during their toilette. . . . Please, Gentlemen *beaux esprits* [wits], mind your own business and let us write in a manner worthy of our sex; I love this sex, I am jealous to uphold its honor and its rights. If we have not been raised up in the sciences as you have, it is you who are the guilty ones.

Source: Bell and Offen, 27–28.

3. Catharine Macaulay, *Letters on Education* (1787)

Catharine Sawbridge Macaulay-Graham (1731–1791) was one of the best-known English writers of the 1700s. She wrote immensely popular histories of England and also joined in the debate provoked by Rousseau's *Émile*.

There is another prejudice . . . which affects yet more deeply female happiness, and female importance; a prejudice, which ought ever to have been confined to the regions of the east, because [of the] state of slavery to which female nature in that part of the world has been ever subjected, and can only suit with the notion of a positive inferiority in the intellectual powers of the

female mind. You will soon perceive, that the prejudice which I mean, is that degrading difference in the culture of the understanding, which has prevailed for several centuries in all European societies. . . .

Among the most strenuous asserters of a sexual difference in character, Rousseau is the most conspicuous, both on account of that warmth of sentiment which distinguishes all his writing, and the eloquence of his compositions: but never did enthusiasm and the love of paradox, those enemies of philosophical disquisition, appear in more strong opposition to plain sense than in Rousseau's definition of this difference. He sets out with a supposition, that Nature intended the subjection of the one sex to the other; that consequently there must be an inferiority of intellect in the subjected party; but as man is a very imperfect being, and apt to play the capricious tyrant, Nature, to bring things nearer to an equality, bestowed on the woman such attractive graces, and such an insinuating address, as to turn the balance on the other scale. . . .

The situation and education of women . . . is precisely that which must necessarily tend to corrupt and debilitate both the powers of mind and body. From a false notion of beauty and delicacy, their system of nerves is depraved before they come out of the nursery; and this kind of depravity has more influence over the mind, and consequently over morals, than is commonly apprehended.

Source: Bell and Offen, 54–55.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. Why would women in the eighteenth century read Rousseau with such interest and even enthusiasm?
2. Why does Madame de Beaumer address herself to male readers if the *Journal des Dames* is intended for women?
3. Why would Macaulay focus so much of her analysis on Rousseau? Why does she not just ignore him?
4. Was the Enlightenment intended only for men?

people truly moral and free. Individual moral freedom could be achieved only by learning to subject one's individual interests to "the general will," that is, the good of the community. Individuals did this by entering into a social contract not with their rulers, but with one another. If everyone followed the general will, then all would be equally free and equally moral because they lived under a law to which they had all consented.

These arguments threatened the legitimacy of eighteenth-century governments. Rousseau derived his social contract from human nature, not from history, tradition, or the Bible. He implied that people would be most free and moral under a republican form of government with direct

democracy, and his abstract model included no reference to differences in social status. He roundly condemned slavery: "To decide that the son of a slave is born a slave is to decide that he is not born a man." Not surprisingly, authorities in both Geneva and Paris banned *The Social Contract* for undermining political authority. Rousseau's works would become a kind of political bible for the French revolutionaries of 1789, and his attacks on private property inspired the communists of the nineteenth century such as Karl Marx. Rousseau's rather mystical concept of the general will remains controversial. The "greatest good of all," according to Rousseau, was liberty combined with equality, but he also insisted that the individual could be

Jean-Jacques Rousseau

This eighteenth-century engraving of Rousseau shows him in his favorite place, outside in nature, where he walks, reads, and in this case collects plants. Rousseau claimed that he came to his most important insights while taking long walks, and in *Émile* he underlines the importance of physical activity for children. (© Private Collection/The Bridgeman Art Library.)



“forced to be free” by the terms of the social contract. He provided no legal protections for individual rights. In other words, Rousseau’s version of democracy did not preserve the individual freedoms so important to Adam Smith.

Spreading the Enlightenment

The Enlightenment flourished in places where an educated middle class provided an eager audience for ideas of constitutionalism and reform. It therefore found its epicenter in the triangle formed by London, Amsterdam, and Paris and diffused outward to eastern and southern Europe and North America. Where constitutionalism and the guarantee of individual freedoms were most advanced, as in Great Britain and the Dutch Republic, the movement had less of an edge because there was, in a sense, less need for it. John Locke had already written extensively about constitutionalism in the 1690s. As a result, Scottish and English writers concentrated on economics, philosophy, and history rather than on politics or social relations. The English historian Edward Gibbon, for example, published an immensely influential *History of*

the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (1776–1788), in which he portrayed Christianity in a negative light, but when he served as a Member of Parliament he never even gave a speech. At the other extreme, in places with small middle classes, such as Spain and Russia, Enlightenment ideas did not get much traction because governments successfully suppressed writings they did not like. France was the Enlightenment hot spot because the French monarchy alternated between encouraging ideas for reform and harshly censoring criticisms it found too threatening.

The French Enlightenment.

French writers published the most daring critiques of church and state and often suffered harassment and persecution as a result. Voltaire, Diderot, and Rousseau all faced arrest, exile, or even

imprisonment. The Catholic church and royal authorities routinely forbade the publication of their books, and the police arrested booksellers who ignored the warnings. Yet the French monarchy was far from the most autocratic in Europe, and Voltaire, Diderot, and Rousseau all ended their lives as cultural heroes. France seems to have been curiously caught in the middle during the Enlightenment: with fewer constitutional guarantees of individual freedom than Great Britain, it still enjoyed much higher levels of prosperity and cultural development than most other European countries. In short, French elites had reason to complain, the means to make their complaints known, and a government torn between the desires to censor dissident ideas and to appear open to modernity and progress. The French government controlled publishing—all books had to get official permissions—but not as tightly as in Spain, where the Catholic Inquisition made up its own list of banned books, or in Russia, where Catherine the Great allowed no opposition.

By the 1760s, the French government regularly ignored the publication of many works once thought offensive or subversive. In addition, a

growing flood of works printed abroad poured into France and circulated underground. Private companies in Dutch and Swiss cities made fortunes smuggling illegal books into France over mountain passes and back roads. Foreign printers provided secret catalogs of their offerings and sold their products through booksellers who were willing to market forbidden books for a high price—among them not only philosophical treatises of the Enlightenment but also pornographic books and pamphlets (some by Diderot) lampooning the Catholic clergy and leading members of the royal court. In the 1770s and 1780s, lurid descriptions of sexual promiscuity at the French court helped undermine the popularity of the throne.

The German Enlightenment. Whereas the French philosophes often took a violently anticlerical and combative tone, their German counterparts avoided direct political confrontations with authorities. Gotthold Lessing (1729–1781) complained in 1769 that Prussia was still “the most slavish society in Europe” in its lack of freedom to criticize government policies. As a playwright, literary critic, and philosopher, Lessing promoted religious toleration for the Jews and spiritual emancipation of Germans from foreign, especially French, models of culture, which still dominated. Lessing also introduced the German Jewish writer Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786) into Berlin salon society. Mendelssohn labored to build bridges between German and Jewish culture by arguing that Judaism was a rational and undogmatic religion. He believed that persecution and discrimination against the Jews would end as reason triumphed.

Reason was also the chief focus of the most influential German thinker of the Enlightenment, Immanuel Kant (1724–1804). A university professor who lectured on everything from economics to astronomy, Kant wrote one of the most important works in the history of Western philosophy, *The Critique of Pure Reason* (1781). Kant admired Adam Smith and especially Rousseau, whose portrait he displayed proudly in his lodgings. Just as Smith founded modern economics and Rousseau modern political theory, Kant in *The Critique of Pure Reason* set the foundations for modern philosophy. In this complex book, Kant established the doctrine of idealism, the belief that true understanding can come only from examining the ways in which ideas are formed in the mind. Ideas are shaped, Kant argued, not just by sensory information (a position central to empiricism, a philosophy based on John Locke’s writings) but also by the operation on that information of mental

TERMS OF HISTORY

Enlightenment

In 1784, in an essay titled “What Is Enlightenment?” the German philosopher Immanuel Kant gave widespread currency to a term that had been in the making for several decades. The term *enlightened century* had become common in the 1760s. The Enlightenment thus gave itself its own name, and the name clearly had propaganda value. The philosophes associated Enlightenment with philosophy, reason, and humanity; religious tolerance; natural rights; and criticism of outmoded customs and prejudices. They tied Enlightenment to “progress” and to the “modern,” and it came into question, just as these other terms did, when events cast doubt on the benefits of progress and the virtues of modernity. Although some opposed the Enlightenment from the very beginning as antireligious, undermining of authority, and even atheistic and immoral, the French Revolution of 1789 galvanized the critics of Enlightenment who blamed every excess of revolution on Enlightenment principles.

For most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, condemnation of the Enlightenment came from right-wing sources. Some of the more extreme of these critics denounced a supposed “Jewish-Masonic conspiracy,” believing that Jews and Freemasons benefited most from the spread of Enlightenment principles and worked in secret to jointly undermine Christianity and established monarchical authorities. Adolf Hitler and his followers shared these suspicions, and during World War II the Germans confiscated the records of Masonic lodges in every country they occupied. They sent the documents back to Berlin so that a special office could trace the links of this supposed conspiracy. They found nothing.

After the catastrophes of World War II, the Enlightenment came under attack from left-wing critics. They denounced the Enlightenment as “self-destructive” and even “totalitarian” because its belief in reason led not to freedom but to greater bureaucratic control. They asked why mankind was sinking into “a new kind of barbarism,” and they answered, “Because we have trusted too much in the Enlightenment and its belief in reason and science.” Reason provided the technology to transport millions of Jews to their deaths in scientifically sound gas chambers. Reason invented the atomic bomb and gave us the factories that pollute the atmosphere. These criticisms of the Enlightenment show how central the Enlightenment remains to the very definition of modern history.

categories such as space and time. In Kant’s philosophy, these “categories of understanding” were neither sensory nor supernatural; they were entirely ideal and abstract and located in the human mind. For Kant, the supreme philosophical questions—Does God exist? Is personal immortality possible? Do humans have free will?—were unanswerable by reason alone. But like

MAJOR WORKS OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT

1748	Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron of Montesquieu, <i>Spirit of Laws</i>
1751	Beginning of publication of the French <i>Encyclopedia</i>
1755	David Hume, <i>The Natural History of Religion</i>
1762	Jean-Jacques Rousseau, <i>The Social Contract</i> and <i>Émile</i>
1764	Voltaire, <i>Philosophical Dictionary</i>
1770	Abbé Guillaume Raynal, <i>Philosophical and Political History of European Colonies and Commerce in the Two Indies</i>
1776	Adam Smith, <i>An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations</i>
1781	Immanuel Kant, <i>The Critique of Pure Reason</i>

Rousseau, Kant insisted that true moral freedom could be achieved only by living in society and obeying its laws.

The Limits of Reason: Roots of Romanticism and Religious Revival

As Kant showed, reason had its limits: it could not answer all of life's pressing questions. In reaction to what some saw as the Enlightenment's excessive reliance on the authority of human reason, a new artistic movement called **romanticism** took root. Although it would not fully flower until the early nineteenth century, romanticism traced its emphasis on individual genius, deep emotion, and the joys of nature to thinkers like Rousseau who had scolded the philosophes for ignoring those aspects of life that escaped and even conflicted with the power of reason. Rousseau's autobiographical *Confessions*, published posthumously in 1782, caused an immediate sensation because it revealed so much about his inner emotional life, including his sexual longings and his almost paranoid distrust of other Enlightenment figures.

A novel by the young German writer Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) captured the early romantic spirit with its glorification of emotion. *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (1774) told of a young man who loves nature and rural life and is unhappy in love. When the woman he loves marries someone else, he falls into deep melancholy and eventually kills himself. Reason cannot save him. The book spurred a veritable Werther craze: in addition to Werther costumes, engravings, em-

broidery, and medallions, there was even a perfume called Eau de Werther. The young Napoleon Bonaparte, who was to build an empire for France, claimed to have read Goethe's novel seven times.

Religious revivals underlined the limits of reason in a different way. Much of the Protestant world experienced an "awakening" in the 1740s. In the German states, Pietist groups founded new communities; and in the British North American colonies, revivalist Protestant preachers drew thousands of fervent believers in a movement called the Great Awakening. In North America, bitter conflicts between revivalists and their opponents in the established churches prompted the leaders on both sides to set up new colleges to support their beliefs. These included Princeton, Columbia, Brown, and Dartmouth, all founded between 1746 and 1769.

Revivalism also stirred eastern European Jews at about the same time. Israel ben Eliezer (1698–1760) laid the foundation for Hasidism in the 1740s and 1750s. He traveled the Polish countryside offering miraculous cures and became known as the Ba'al Shem Tov (meaning "Master of the Good Name") because he used divine names to effect healing and bring believers into closer personal contact with God. He emphasized mystical contemplation of the divine, rather than study of Jewish law, and his followers, the Hasidim (Hebrew for "most pious" Jews), often expressed their devotion through music, dance, and fervent prayer. Their practices soon spread all over Poland-Lithuania.

Most of the waves of Protestant revivalism ebbed after the 1750s, but in Great Britain one movement continued to grow through the end of the century. John Wesley (1703–1791), the Oxford-educated son of an Anglican cleric, founded **Methodism**, a term evoked by Wesley's insistence on strict self-discipline and a methodical approach to religious study and observance. In 1738, Wesley began preaching a new brand of Protestantism that emphasized an intense personal experience of salvation and a life of thrift, abstinence, and hard work. Traveling all over the British Isles, Wesley would mount a table or a box to speak to the ordinary people of the village or town. He slept in his followers' homes, ate their food, and treated their illnesses with various remedies, including small electric shocks for nervous diseases (Wesley eagerly followed Benjamin

romanticism: An artistic movement of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that glorified nature, emotion, genius, and imagination.

Methodism: A religious movement founded by John Wesley (1703–1791) that broke with the Anglican church in Great Britain and insisted on strict self-discipline and a "methodical" approach to religious study and observance.

George Whitefield

One of the most prominent preachers of the Great Awakening in the British North American colonies was the English Methodist George Whitefield, painted here by John Wollaston in 1742. Whitefield visited the North American colonies seven times, sometimes for long periods, and drew tens of thousands of people to his dramatic and emotional open-air sermons, which moved many listeners to tears of repentance. Whitefield was a celebrity in his time and is considered by many to be the founder of the Evangelical movement. (*National Portrait Gallery, London.*)



Franklin's experiments with electricity). In fifty years, Wesley preached forty thousand sermons, an average of fifteen a week. Not surprisingly, his preaching disturbed the Anglican authorities, who refused to let him preach in the churches. In response, Wesley began to ordain his own clergy. While radical in religious views, the Methodist leadership remained politically conservative during Wesley's lifetime; Wesley himself wrote many pamphlets urging order, loyalty, and submission to higher authorities.

REVIEW: What were the major differences between the Enlightenment in France, Great Britain, and the German states?

Society and Culture in an Age of Enlightenment

Religious revivals and the first stirrings of romanticism show that not all intellectual currents of the eighteenth century were flowing in the same channel. Some social and cultural developments, too, manifested the influence of Enlightenment ideas, but others did not. The traditional leaders of European societies—the nobles—responded to Enlightenment ideals in contradictory fashion: many simply reasserted their privileges and resis-

ted the influence of the Enlightenment, but an important minority embraced change and actively participated in reform efforts. The expanding middle classes saw in the Enlightenment a chance to make their claim for joining society's governing elite. They bought Enlightenment books, joined Masonic lodges, and patronized new styles in art, music, and literature. The lower classes were more affected by economic growth than by ideas. Trade boomed and the population grew, but people did not benefit equally. The ranks of the poor swelled, too, and with greater mobility, births to unmarried mothers also increased.

The Nobility's Reassertion of Privilege

Nobles made up about 3 percent of the European population, but their numbers and ways of life varied greatly from country to country. At least 10 percent of the population in Poland and 7 to 8 percent in Spain was noble, in contrast to only 2 percent in Russia and between 1 and 2 percent in the rest of western Europe. Many Polish and Spanish nobles lived in poverty; titles did not guarantee wealth. Still, the wealthiest European nobles luxuriated in almost unimaginable opulence. Many of the English peers, for example, owned more than ten thousand acres of land; invested widely in government bonds and trading companies; kept several country residences with scores of servants as well as houses in London; and occasionally even

had their own private orchestras to complement libraries of expensive books, greenhouses for exotic plants, kennels of pedigreed dogs, and collections of antiques, firearms, and scientific instruments.

To support an increasingly expensive lifestyle in a period of inflation, European aristocrats sought to cash in on their remaining legal rights (called seigneurial dues, from the French *seigneur*, for “lord”). Peasants felt the squeeze as a result. French landlords required their peasants to pay dues to grind grain at the lord’s mill, bake bread in his oven, press grapes at his winepress, or even pass on their own land as inheritance. In addition, peasants had to work without compensation for a specified number of days every year on the public roads. They also paid taxes to the government on salt, an essential preservative, and on the value of their land; customs duties if they sold produce or wine in town; and the tithe on their grain (one-tenth of the crop) to the church.

In Britain, the landed gentry could not claim these same onerous dues from their tenants, but they tenaciously defended their exclusive right to hunt game. The game laws kept the poor from eating meat and helped protect the social status of the rich. The gentry enforced the game laws themselves by hiring gamekeepers who hunted down poachers and even set traps for them in the forests. According to the law, anyone who poached deer or rabbits while armed or disguised could be sentenced to death. After 1760, the number of arrests for breaking the game laws increased dramatically. In most other countries, too, hunting was the special right of the nobility, a cause of deep popular resentment.

Even though Enlightenment writers sharply criticized nobles’ insistence on special privileges, most aristocrats maintained their marks of distinction. The male court nobility continued to sport swords, plumed hats, makeup, and elaborate wigs, while middle-class men wore simpler and more somber clothing. Aristocrats had their own seats in church and their own quarters in the universities. Frederick II (“the Great”) of Prussia (r. 1740–1786) made sure that nobles dominated both the army officer corps and the civil bureaucracy. Catherine II of Russia (r. 1762–1796) granted the nobility vast tracts of land, the exclusive right to own serfs, and exemption from personal taxes and corporal punishment. Her Charter of the Nobility of 1785 codified these privileges in exchange for the nobles’ political subservience to the state. In Austria, Spain, the Italian states, Poland-Lithuania, and Russia, most nobles consequently cared little about Enlightenment ideas;

they did not read the books of the philosophes and feared reforms that might challenge their dominance of rural society.

In France, Britain, and the western German states, however, the nobility proved more open to the new ideas. Among those who personally corresponded with Rousseau, for example, half were nobles, as were 20 percent of the 160 contributors to the *Encyclopedia*. It had not escaped their notice that Rousseau had denounced inequality. In his view, it was “manifestly contrary to the law of nature . . . that a handful of people should gorge themselves with superfluities while the hungry multitude goes in want of necessities.” The nobles of western Europe sometimes married into middle-class families and formed with them a new mixed elite, united by common interests in reform and new cultural tastes.

The Middle Class and the Making of a New Elite

The Enlightenment offered middle-class people an intellectual and cultural route to social improvement. The term *middle class* referred to the middle position on the social ladder; middle-class families did not have legal titles like the nobility above them, but neither did they work with their hands like the peasants, artisans, or workers below them. Most middle-class people lived in towns or cities and earned their living in the professions—as doctors, lawyers, or lower-level officials—or through investment in land, trade, or manufacturing. In the eighteenth century, the ranks of the middle class—also known as the bourgeoisie after *bourgeois*, the French word for “city dweller”—grew steadily in western Europe as a result of economic expansion. In France, for example, the overall population grew by about one-third in the 1700s, but the bourgeoisie nearly tripled in size. Although middle-class people had many reasons to resent the nobles, they also aspired to be like them.

Lodges and Learned Societies. Nobles and middle-class professionals mingled in Enlightenment salons and joined the new Masonic lodges and local learned societies. The Masonic lodges began as social clubs organized around elaborate secret rituals of stonemasons’ guilds. They called their members **Freemasons** because that was the term given to apprentice masons when they were

Freemasons: Members of Masonic lodges, where nobles and middle-class professionals (and even some artisans) shared interest in the Enlightenment and reform.

deemed “free” to practice as masters of their guild. Although not explicitly political in aim, the lodges encouraged equality among members, and both aristocrats and middle-class men could join. Members wrote constitutions for their lodges and elected their own officers, thus promoting a direct experience of constitutional government.

Freemasonry arose in Great Britain and spread eastward: the first French and Italian lodges opened in 1726; Frederick II of Prussia founded a lodge in 1740; and after 1750, Freemasonry spread in Poland, Russia, and British North America. In France, women set up their own Masonic lodges. Despite the papacy’s condemnation of Freemasonry in 1738 as subversive of religious and civil authority, lodges continued to multiply throughout the eighteenth century because they offered a place for socializing outside of the traditional channels and a way of declaring one’s interest in the Enlightenment and reform. In short, Freemasonry offered a kind of secular religion. After 1789 and the outbreak of the French Revolution, conservatives would blame the lodges for every kind of political upheaval, but in the 1700s many high-ranking nobles became active members and saw no conflict with their privileged status.

Nobles and middle-class professionals also met in local learned societies, which greatly increased in number in this period. They gathered to discuss such practical issues as new scientific innovations or methods to eliminate poverty. The

societies, sometimes called academies, brought the Enlightenment down from the realm of books and ideas to the level of concrete reforms. They sponsored essay contests, such as the one won by Rousseau in 1749, or the one set by the society in Metz in 1785 on the question “Are there means for making the Jews happier and more useful in France?” The Metz society approved essays that argued for granting civil rights to Jews.

New Cultural Styles. Shared tastes in travel, architecture, the arts, and even reading helped strengthen the links between nobles and members of the middle class. “Grand tours” of Europe often led upper-class youths to recently discovered Greek and Roman ruins at Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Paestum in Italy. These excavations aroused enthusiasm for the neoclassical style in architecture and painting, which began pushing aside the rococo and the long dominant baroque. Urban residences, government buildings, furniture, fabrics, wallpaper, and even pottery soon reflected the neoclassical emphasis on purity and clarity of forms. As one German writer noted, with considerable exaggeration, “Everything in Paris is in the Greek style.” Employing neoclassical motifs, the English potter Josiah Wedgwood (1730–1795) almost single-handedly created a mass market for domestic crockery and appealed to middle-class desires to emulate the rich and royal. His designs of special tea sets for the British queen, for Catherine the

Neoclassical Style

In this Georgian interior of Syon House on the outskirts of London, various neoclassical motifs are readily apparent: Greek columns, Greek-style statuary on top of the columns, and Roman-style mosaics in the floor. The Scottish architect Robert Adam created this room for the duke of Northumberland in the 1760s. Adam had spent four years in Italy and returned in 1758 to London to decorate homes in the “Adam style,” meaning the neoclassical manner.

(© The Fotomas Index, U.K./The Bridgeman Art Library.)





Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Broken Eggs* (1756)

Greuze made his reputation as a painter of moralistic family scenes. In this one, an old woman (perhaps the mother) confronts the lover of a young girl and points to the eggs that have fallen out of a basket, a symbol of lost virginity. Diderot praised Greuze's work as "morality in paint," but the paintings often had an erotic subtext. (© Francis G. Mayer/Corbis.)

■ **For more help analyzing this image,** see the visual activity for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

Great of Russia, and for leading aristocrats allowed him to advertise his wares as fashionable. By 1767, he claimed that his Queensware pottery had "spread over the whole Globe," and indeed by then his pottery was being marketed in France, Russia, Venice, the Ottoman Empire, and British North America.

This period also supported artistic styles other than neoclassicism. Frederick II of Prussia built himself a palace outside of Berlin in the earlier rococo style, gave it the French name of Sanssouci ("worry-free"), and filled it with the works of French masters of the rococo. A growing taste for moralistic family scenes in painting reflected the same middle-class preoccupation with the emotions of ordinary private life that could be seen in novels. The middle-class public now attended the official painting exhibitions in France that were held regularly every other year after 1737. Court painting nonetheless remained much in demand. Marie-Louise-Élizabéth Vigée-Lebrun (1755–1842), who painted portraits at the French court, reported that in the 1780s "it was difficult to get a place on my waiting list. . . . I was the fashion."

Although wealthy nobles still patronized Europe's leading musicians, music, too, began to reflect the broadening of the elite and the spread of Enlightenment ideals as classical forms replaced the baroque style. Complex polyphony gave way to melody, which made the music more accessible to ordinary listeners. Large sections of string instruments became the backbone of professional orchestras, which now played to large audiences of well-to-do listeners in sizable concert halls. The public concert gradually displaced the private recital, and a new attitude toward "the classics" developed: for the first time in the 1770s and 1780s, concert groups began to play older music rather than simply playing the latest commissioned works.

This laid the foundation for what we still call classical music today—that is, a repertory of the greatest music of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Because composers now created works that would be performed over and over again as

part of a classical repertory, rather than occasional pieces for the court or noble patrons, they deliberately attempted to write lasting works. As a result, the major composers began to produce fewer symphonies: the Austrian composer Franz Joseph Haydn (1732–1809) wrote more than one hundred symphonies, but his successor Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827) would create only nine.

The two supreme masters of the new musical style of the eighteenth century show that the transition from noble patronage to classical concerts was far from complete. Haydn and his fellow Austrian Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791) both wrote for noble patrons, but by the early 1800s their compositions had been incorporated into the canon of concert classics all over Europe. Incredibly prolific, both excelled in combining lightness, clarity, and profound emotion. Both also wrote numerous Italian operas, a genre whose popularity continued to grow: in the 1780s, the Papal States alone boasted forty opera houses. Haydn spent most of his career working for a Hungarian noble family, the Eszterházy. Asked once why he had written no string quintets (at

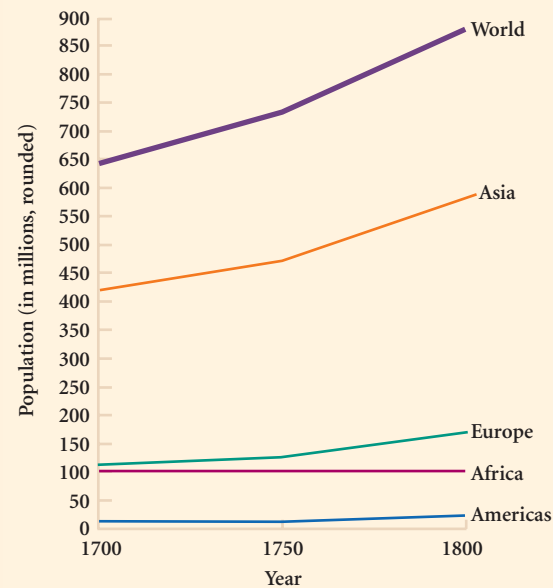
which Mozart excelled), he responded simply: “No one has ordered any.”

Interest in reading, like attending public concerts, took hold of the middle classes and fed a frenzied increase in publication. By the end of the eighteenth century, six times as many books were being published in the German states, for instance, as at the beginning. One Parisian author commented that “people are certainly reading ten times as much in Paris as they did a hundred years ago.” Provincial towns in western Europe published their own newspapers; by 1780, thirty-seven English towns had local newspapers. Lending libraries and book clubs multiplied. Despite the limitations of women’s education, which emphasized domestic skills, women benefited as much as men from the spread of print. As one Englishman observed, “By far the greatest part of ladies now have a taste for books.” Women also wrote them. Catherine Macaulay (1731–1791) published best-selling histories of Britain, and in France Stéphanie de Genlis (1746–1830) wrote children’s books—a genre that was growing in importance as middle-class parents became more interested in education. The universities had little impact on these new tastes. An Austrian reformer complained about the universities in his country: “Critical history, natural sciences—which are supposed to make enlightenment general and combat prejudice—were neglected or wholly unknown.”

Life on the Margins

Booming foreign trade fueled a dramatic economic expansion—French colonial trade increased tenfold in the 1700s—but the results did not necessarily trickle all the way down the social scale. The population of Europe grew by nearly 30 percent, with especially striking gains in England, Ireland, Prussia, and Hungary. (See “Taking Measure” on this page.) Even though food production increased, shortages and crises still occurred periodically. Prices went up in many countries after the 1730s and continued to rise gradually until the early nineteenth century; wages in many trades rose as well, but less quickly than prices. Some people prospered—for example, peasants who produced surpluses to sell in local markets and shopkeepers and artisans who could increase their sales to meet growing demand. But those at the bottom of the social ladder—day laborers in the cities and peasants with small holdings—lived on the edge of dire poverty, and when they lost their land or work, they either migrated to the cities or wandered the roads in search of food and work. In France alone, 200,000 workers left their

TAKING MEASURE



World Population Growth, 1700–1800

This graph gives a very crude comparison of regional population growth in the 1700s. Precise statistical data are impossible to develop for this period on a world-wide scale. Asia had many more people than Europe, and both Asia and Europe were growing much more rapidly in the 1700s than Africa or the Americas. The population stagnation in Africa has been the subject of much scholarly controversy; it seems likely that it was the result of the slave trade, which transported millions across the ocean to the Americas. The native population in the Americas died because of disease and was only partially replaced by the import of African slaves. What are the advantages of a growing population?

What are the disadvantages? (Adapted from Andre Gundar Frank, *Reorient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 1998.)

homes every year in search of seasonal employment elsewhere. At least 10 percent of Europe’s urban population depended on some form of charity.

The growing numbers of poor overwhelmed local governments. In some countries, beggars and vagabonds had been locked up in workhouses since the mid-1600s. The expenses for running these overcrowded institutions increased by 60 percent in England between 1760 and 1785. After 1740, most German towns created workhouses that were part workshop, part hospital, and part prison. Such institutions also appeared for the first time in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. To

supplement the inadequate system of religious charity, offices for the poor, public workshops, and workhouse hospitals, the French government created *dépôts de mendicité*, or beggar houses, in 1767. The government sent people to these new workhouses to labor in manufacturing, but most were too weak or sick to work, and 20 percent of them died within a few months of incarceration. The ballooning number of poor people created fears about rising crime. To officials, beggars seemed more aggressive than ever. The handful of police assigned to keep order in each town or district found themselves confronted with increasing incidents of rural banditry and crimes against property.

The Persistence of Popular Culture. Those who were able to work or keep their land fared better: an increase in literacy, especially in the cities, allowed some lower-class people to participate in new tastes and ideas. One French observer insisted, “These days, you see a waiting-maid in her back-room, a lackey in an ante-room reading pamphlets. People can read in almost all classes of society.” In France, only 50 percent of men and 27 percent of women could read and write in the 1780s, but that was twice the rate of a century earlier. Literacy rates were higher in England and the Dutch Republic, much lower in eastern Europe. About one in four Parisians owned books, but the lower classes overwhelmingly read religious books, as they had in the past.

Whereas the new elite might attend salons, concerts, or art exhibitions, peasants enjoyed their traditional forms of popular entertainment, such as fairs and festivals, and the urban lower classes relaxed in cabarets and taverns. Sometimes pleasures were cruel. In Britain, bullbaiting, bearbaiting, dogfighting, and cockfighting were all common forms of entertainment that provided opportunities for organized gambling. “Gentle” sports frequented by the upper classes had their violent side too, showing that the upper classes had not become as different as they sometimes thought. Cricket matches, whose rules were first laid down in 1744, were often accompanied by brawls among fans (not unlike soccer matches today, though on a much smaller scale). Many Englishmen enjoyed what one observer called a “battle royal with sticks, pebbles and hog’s dung.”

Changes in Sexual Behavior. As population increased and villagers began to move to cities to better their prospects, sexual behavior changed too. The rates of births out of wedlock soared, from less than 5 percent of all births in the seventeenth century to nearly 20 percent at the end of the eighteenth.

Historians have disagreed about the causes and meanings of this change. Some detect in this pattern a sign of sexual liberation and the beginnings of a modern sexual revolution: as women moved out of the control of their families, they began to seek their own sexual fulfillment. Others view this change more bleakly, as a story of seduction and betrayal: family and community pressure had once forced a man to marry a woman pregnant with his child, but now a man could abandon a pregnant lover by simply moving away.

Increased mobility brought freedom for some women, but it also aggravated the vulnerability of those newly arrived in cities from the countryside. Desperation, not reason, often ruled their choices. Women who came to the city as domestic servants had little recourse against masters or fellow servants who seduced or raped them. The result was a startling rise in abandoned babies. Most European cities established foundling hospitals in the 1700s, but infant and child mortality was 50 percent higher in such institutions than for children brought up at home. Some women tried herbs, laxatives, or crude surgical means of abortion; a few, usually servants who would lose their jobs if their employers discovered they had borne a child, resorted to infanticide.

European states had long tried to regulate sexual behavior; every country had laws against prostitution, adultery, fornication, sodomy, and infanticide. Reformers criticized the harshness of laws against infanticide, but they showed no mercy for “sodomites” (as male homosexuals were called), who in some places, in particular the Dutch Republic, were systematically persecuted and imprisoned or even executed. Male homosexuals attracted the attention of authorities because they had begun to develop networks and special meeting places. The stereotype of the effeminate, exclusively homosexual male seems to have appeared for the first time in the eighteenth century, perhaps as part of a growing emphasis on separate roles for men and women.

The Enlightenment’s emphasis on reason, self-control, and childhood innocence made parents increasingly anxious about their children’s sexuality. Moralists and physicians wrote books about the evils of masturbation, “proving” that it led to physical and mental degeneration and even madness.

While the Enlightenment thus encouraged excessive concern about children being left to their own devices, it nevertheless taught the middle and upper classes to value their children and to expect their improvement through education. Writers such as de Genlis and Rousseau drew attention to children, who were no longer viewed only as little

sinner in need of harsh discipline. Paintings now showed individual children playing at their favorite activities rather than formally posed with their families. Books about and for children became popular. *The Newtonian System of the Universe Digested for Young Minds*, by “Tom Telescope,” was published in Britain in 1761 and reprinted many times. Toys, jigsaw puzzles, and clothing designed for children all appeared for the first time in the 1700s. Children were no longer considered miniature adults.

REVIEW: What were the major differences in the impact of the Enlightenment on nobles, middle classes, and lower classes?

State Power in an Era of Reform

Rulers turned to Enlightenment-inspired reforms to improve life for their subjects and to gain commercial or military advantage over rival states. Historians label many of the sovereigns of this time **enlightened despots** or enlightened absolutists, for they aimed to promote Enlightenment reforms without giving up their absolutist powers. Catherine the Great’s admiring relationship with Voltaire showed how even the most absolutist rulers championed reform when it suited their own goals. Foremost among those goals was the expansion of a ruler’s territory.

War and Diplomacy

Europeans no longer fought devastating wars over religion that killed hundreds of thousands of civilians; instead, professional armies and navies battled for control of overseas empires and for dominance on the European continent. Rulers continued to expand their armies: the Prussian army, for example, nearly tripled in size between 1740 and 1789. Widespread use of flintlock muskets required deployment in long lines, usually three men deep, with each line in turn loading and firing on command. Military strategy became cautious and calculating, but this did not prevent the outbreak of hostilities. Between 1740 and 1775, the instability of the European balance of power re-

sulted in two major wars, a diplomatic reversal of alliances, and the partition of Poland-Lithuania among Russia, Austria, and Prussia.

War of the Austrian Succession, 1740–1748.

The difficulties over the succession to the Austrian throne typified the dynastic complications that repeatedly threatened the European balance of power. In 1740, Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI died without a male heir. Most European rulers recognized the emperor’s chosen heiress, his daughter Maria Theresa, because Charles’s Pragmatic Sanction of 1713 had given a woman the right to inherit the Habsburg crown lands. The new king of Prussia, Frederick II, who had just succeeded his father a few months earlier in 1740, saw his chance to grab territory and immediately invaded the rich Austrian province of Silesia. France joined Prussia in an attempt to further humiliate its traditional enemy Austria, and Great Britain

Maria Theresa and Her Family

In this portrait by Martin van Meytens (1695–1770), Austrian empress Maria Theresa is shown with her husband, Francis I, and twelve of their sixteen children. Their eldest son eventually succeeded to the Austrian throne as Joseph II, and their youngest daughter, Maria Antonia, or Marie-Antoinette, became the queen of France. (Bridgeman–Giraudon/Art Resource, NY)



enlightened despots: Rulers—such as Catherine the Great of Russia, Frederick the Great of Prussia, and Joseph II of Austria—who tried to promote reform without giving up their own supreme political power; also called enlightened absolutists.

MAP 18.1 War of the Austrian Succession, 1740–1748

The accession of a twenty-three-year-old woman, Maria Theresa, to the Austrian throne gave the new king of Prussia, Frederick II, an opportunity to invade the province of Silesia. France joined on Prussia's side, Great Britain on Austria's. In 1745, the French defeated the British in the Austrian Netherlands and helped instigate an uprising in Scotland. The rebellion failed and British attacks on French overseas shipping forced the French to negotiate. The peace treaties guaranteed Frederick's conquest of Silesia, which soon became the wealthiest province of Prussia. France came to terms with Great Britain to protect its overseas possessions; Austria had to accept the peace settlement after a formal public protest.



allied with Austria to prevent the French from taking the Austrian Netherlands (Map 18.1). The War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) soon expanded to the overseas colonies of Great Britain and France. French and British colonials in North America fought each other all along their boundaries, enlisting native American auxiliaries. Britain tried but failed to isolate the French Caribbean colonies during the war, and hostilities broke out in India, too.

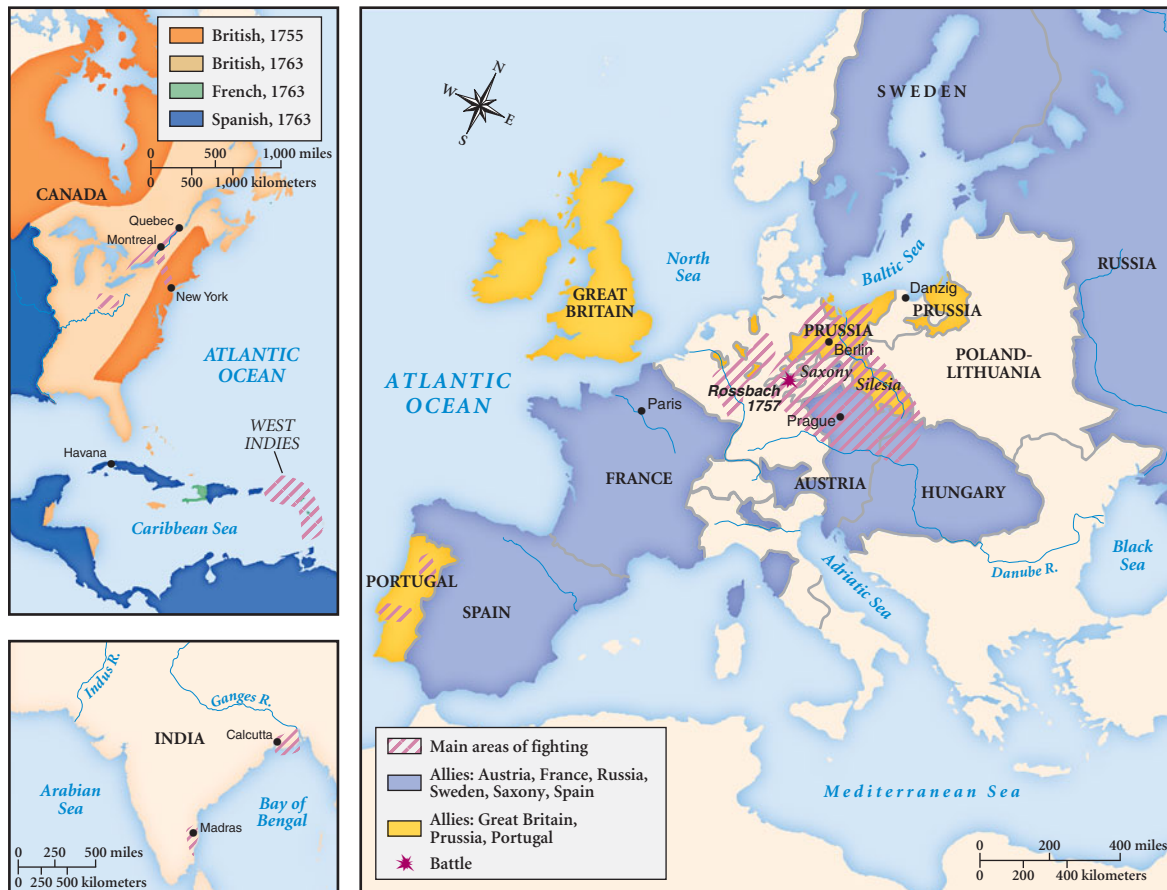
Maria Theresa (r. 1740–1780) survived only by conceding Silesia to Prussia in order to split the Prussians off from France. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748 recognized Maria Theresa as the heiress to the Austrian lands, and her husband, Francis I, became Holy Roman Emperor, thus reasserting the integrity of the Austrian Empire. The peace of 1748 failed to resolve the colonial conflicts between Britain and France, however, and fighting for domination continued unofficially.

Seven Years' War, 1756–1763. In 1756, a major reversal of alliances — what historians call the Diplomatic Revolution — reshaped relations among the great powers. Prussia and Great Britain signed a defensive alliance, prompting Austria to overlook two centuries of hostility and ally with France. Russia

and Sweden soon joined the Franco-Austrian alliance. When Frederick II invaded Saxony, an ally of Austria, with his bigger and better disciplined army, the long-simmering hostilities between Great Britain and France over colonial boundaries flared into a general war that became known as the **Seven Years' War** (1756–1763).

Fighting soon raged around the world (Map 18.2). The French and British battled on land and sea in North America (where the conflict was called the French and Indian War), the West Indies, and India. The two coalitions also fought each other in central Europe. At first, in 1757, Frederick the Great surprised Europe with a spectacular victory at Rossbach in Saxony over a much larger Franco-Austrian army. But in time, Russian and Austrian armies encircled his troops. Frederick despaired: “I believe all is lost. I will not survive the ruin of my country.” A fluke of history saved him. Empress Elizabeth of Russia (r. 1741–1762) died and was succeeded by the mentally unstable Peter III, a fanatical admirer of Frederick and things Prussian. Peter withdrew Russia from the war. (This was

Seven Years' War: A worldwide series of battles (1756–1763) between Austria, France, Russia, and Sweden on one side and Prussia and Great Britain on the other.



MAP 18.2 The Seven Years' War, 1756–1763

In what might justly be called the first worldwide war, the French and British fought each other in Europe, the West Indies, North America, and India. Skirmishing in North America helped precipitate the war, which became more general when Austria, France, and Russia allied to check Prussian influence in central Europe. The treaty between Austria and Prussia simply restored the status quo in Europe, but the changes overseas were much more dramatic. Britain gained control over Canada and India but gave back to France the West Indian islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique. Britain was now the dominant power of the seas.

practically his only accomplishment as tsar. He was soon mysteriously murdered, probably at the instigation of his wife, Catherine the Great.) In a separate peace treaty Frederick kept all his territory, including Silesia.

The Anglo-French overseas conflicts ended more decisively than the continental land wars. British naval superiority, fully achieved only in the 1750s, enabled Great Britain to rout the French in North America, India, and the West Indies. In the Treaty of Paris of 1763, France ceded Canada to Great Britain and agreed to remove its armies from India, in exchange for keeping its rich West Indian islands. Eagerness to avenge this defeat would motivate France to support the British North American colonists in their War of Independence just fifteen years later.

Prussia's Rise and the First Partition of Poland.

Although Prussia suffered great losses in the Seven Years' War—some 160,000 Prussian soldiers died either in action or of disease—the army helped vault Prussia to the rank of leading powers. In 1733, Frederick II's father, Frederick William I, had instituted the “canton system,” which enrolled peasant youths in each canton (or district) in the army, gave them two or three months of training annually, and allowed them to return to their family farms the rest of the year. They remained “cantonnists” (reservists) as long as they were able-bodied. In this fashion, the Prussian military steadily grew in size; by 1740, Prussia had the third or fourth largest army in Europe even though it was tenth in population and thirteenth in land area. Under Frederick II, Prussia's military expenditures



Dividing Poland, 1772

In this contemporary depiction, Catherine the Great, Joseph II, and Frederick II point on the map to the portion of Poland-Lithuania each plans to take. The artist makes it clear that Poland's fate rested in the hands of neighboring rulers, not its own people. Can you infer the sentiments of the artist from the content of this engraving? (Mansell/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images.)

rose to two-thirds of the state's revenue. Virtually every nobleman served in the army, paying for his own support as officer and buying a position as company commander. Once retired, the officers returned to their estates, coordinated the canton system, and served as local officials. In this way, the military permeated every aspect of rural society, fusing army and agrarian organization. The army gave the state great power, but the militarization of Prussian society also had a profoundly conservative effect: it kept the peasants ensnared to their lords and blocked the middle classes from access to estates or high government positions.

Prussia's power grew so dramatically that in 1772 Frederick the Great proposed that large chunks of Polish-Lithuanian territory be divided among Austria, Prussia, and Russia. Despite the protests of the Austrian empress Maria Theresa that the partition

would spread "a stain over my whole reign," she agreed to the first **partition of Poland**, splitting one-third of Poland-Lithuania's territory and half of its people among the three powers. Austria feared growing Russian influence in Poland and in the Balkans, where Russia had been successfully battling the Ottoman Empire. Conflicts between Catholics, Protestants, and Orthodox Christians in Poland were used to justify this cynical move. Russia took over most of Lithuania, effectively ending the large but weak Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth.

State-Sponsored Reform

In the aftermath of the Seven Years' War, all the belligerents faced pressing needs for more money to fund their growing armies, to organize navies to wage overseas conflicts, and to counter the impact of inflation. To make tax increases more palatable to public opinion, rulers appointed reform-minded ministers and gave them a mandate to modernize government. As one adviser to the Austrian ruler Joseph II put it, "A properly constituted state must be exactly analogous to a machine . . . and the ruler must be the foreman, the mainspring . . . which sets everything else in motion." Such reforms always threatened the interests of traditional groups, however, and the spread of Enlightenment ideas aroused sometimes unpredictable desires for more change.

Administrative and Legal Reforms. Reforming monarchs did not invent government bureaucracy, but they did insist on greater attention to merit, hard work, and professionalism, which made bureaucrats more like modern civil servants. In this view, the ruler should be a benevolent, enlightened administrator who worked for the general well-being of his or her people. Frederick II of Prussia, who drove himself as hard as he drove his officials, boasted, "I am the first servant of the state."

A freemason and supporter of religious toleration, Frederick abolished torture, reorganized taxation, and hosted leading French philosophes at his court. The Prussian king also composed more than a hundred original pieces of music.

Legal reform, both of the judicial system and of the often



The First Partition of Poland, 1772

partition of Poland: Division of one-third of Poland-Lithuania's territory between Prussia, Russia, and Austria in 1772.

disorganized and irregular law codes, was central to the work of many reform-minded monarchs. Like Frederick II, Joseph II of Austria (r. 1780–1790) ordered the compilation of a unified law code, a project that required many years for completion. Catherine II of Russia began such an undertaking even more ambitiously. In 1767, she called together a legislative commission of 564 deputies and asked them to consider a long document called the *Instruction*, which represented her hopes for legal reform based on the ideas of Montesquieu and the Italian jurist Cesare Beccaria. Montesquieu had insisted that punishment should fit the crime; he criticized the use of torture and brutal corporal punishment. In his influential book *On Crimes and Punishments* (1764), Beccaria argued that justice should be administered in public, that judicial torture should be abolished as inhumane, and that the accused should be presumed innocent until proven guilty. He also advocated eliminating the death penalty. Despite much discussion and hundreds of petitions and documents about local problems, little came of Catherine's commission because the monarch herself—despite her regard for Voltaire and his fellow philosophes—proved ultimately unwilling to see through far-reaching legal reform.

The Church, Education, and Religious Toleration. Rulers everywhere wanted more control over church affairs, and they used Enlightenment criticisms of the organized churches to get their way. In Catholic countries, many government officials resented the influence of the Jesuits, the major Catholic teaching order. The Jesuits trained the Catholic intellectual elite, ran a worldwide missionary network, enjoyed close ties to the papacy, and amassed great wealth. Critics mounted campaigns against the Jesuits in many countries, and by the early 1770s the Society of Jesus had been dissolved in Portugal, France, and Spain. In 1773, Pope Clement XIV (r. 1769–1774) agreed under pressure to disband the order, an edict that held until a reinvigorated papacy restored the society in 1814. Joseph II of Austria not only applauded the suppression of the Jesuits but also required Austrian bishops to swear fidelity and submission to him. Joseph had become Holy Roman Emperor and co-regent with his mother, Maria Theresa, in 1765. After her death in 1780, he initiated a wide-ranging program of reform. Under him, the Austrian state supervised Catholic seminaries, abolished contemplative monastic orders, and confiscated monastic property to pay for education and poor relief.

Joseph II launched the most ambitious educational reforms of the period. In 1774, once the Jesuits had been disbanded, a General School Ordinance in Austria ordered state subsidies for local schools, which the state would regulate. By 1789, one quarter of the school-age children attended school. In Prussia, the school code of 1763 required all children between the ages of five and thirteen to attend school. Although not enforced uniformly, the Prussian law demonstrated Frederick II's belief that modernization depended on education. Catherine II of Russia also tried to expand elementary education—and the education of women in particular—and founded engineering schools.

No ruler pushed the principle of religious toleration as far as Joseph II of Austria, who in 1781 granted freedom of religious worship to Protestants, Orthodox Christians, and Jews. For the first time, these groups were allowed to own property, build schools, enter the professions, and hold political and military offices. The efforts of other rulers to extend religious toleration proved more limited. Louis XVI signed an edict in 1787 restoring French Protestants' civil rights—but still, Protestants could not hold political office. Great Britain continued to deny Catholics freedom of open worship and the right to sit in Parliament. Most European states limited the rights and opportunities available to Jews. In Russia, only wealthy Jews could hold municipal office, and in the Papal States, the pope encouraged forced baptism. Even in Austria, where Joseph encouraged toleration, the laws forced Jews to take German-sounding names. The leading philosophes opposed persecution of the Jews in theory but often treated them with undisguised contempt. Diderot's comment was all too typical: the Jews, he said, bore “all the defects peculiar to an ignorant and superstitious nation.”

Limits of Reform

When enlightened absolutist leaders introduced reforms, they often ran into resistance from groups threatened by the proposed changes. The most contentious area of reform was agricultural policy. Whereas Catherine II reinforced the authority of nobles over their serfs, Joseph II tried to remove the burdens of serfdom in the Habsburg lands. In 1781, he abolished the personal aspects of serfdom: serfs could now move freely, enter trades, or marry without their lords' permission. Joseph abolished the tithe to the church, shifted more of the tax burden to the nobility, and converted peasants' labor services into cash payments.

The Austrian nobility furiously resisted these far-reaching reforms. When Joseph died in 1790, his brother Leopold II had to revoke most reforms to appease the nobles. Prussia's Frederick II, like Joseph, encouraged such agricultural innovations as planting potatoes and turnips (new crops that could help feed a growing population), experimenting with cattle breeding, draining swamplands, and clearing forests. But Prussia's noble landlords, the Junkers, continued to expand their estates at the expense of poorer peasants and thwarted Frederick's attempts to improve the status of serfs.

Reforming ministers also tried to stimulate agricultural improvement in France. Unlike most other western European countries, France still had about a hundred thousand serfs; though their burdens weighed less heavily than those in eastern Europe, serfdom did not entirely disappear until 1789. A group of economists called the physiocrats urged the French government to deregulate the grain trade and make the tax system more equitable to encourage agricultural productivity. In the interest of establishing a free market, they also insisted that urban guilds be abolished because the guilds prevented free entry into the trades. Their proposed reforms applied the Enlightenment emphasis on individual liberties to the economy; Adam Smith took up many of the physiocrats' ideas in his writing in favor of free markets. The French government heeded some of this advice and gave up its system of price controls on grain in 1763, but it had to reverse the decision in 1770 when grain shortages caused a famine.

A conflict with the parlements, the thirteen high courts of law, prompted Louis XV to go even further in 1771. He replaced the parlements with courts in which the judges no longer owned their offices and thus could not sell them or pass them on as an inheritance. Justice would then presumably be more impartial. The displaced judges of the parlements succeeded in arousing widespread opposition to what they portrayed as tyrannical royal policy. The furor calmed down only when Louis XV died in 1774 and his successor, Louis XVI (r. 1774–1792), yielded to aristocratic demands and restored the old parlements.

Louis XVI tried to carry out part of the program suggested by the physiocrats, and he chose one of their disciples, Jacques Turgot (1727–1781), as his chief minister. A contributor to the *Encyclopedia*, Turgot pushed through several edicts that again freed the grain trade, suppressed guilds, converted the peasants' forced labor on roads into a money tax payable by all landowners, and reduced court expenses. He also began making plans to in-

troduce a system of elected local assemblies, which would have made government much more representative. Faced with broad-based resistance led by the parlements and his own courtiers, as well as with riots against rising grain prices, Louis XVI dismissed Turgot, and one of the last possibilities to overhaul France's government collapsed.

The failure of reform in France paradoxically reflected the power of Enlightenment thinkers; everyone now endorsed Enlightenment ideas but used them for different ends. The nobles in the parlements blocked the French monarchy's reform efforts using the very same Enlightenment language spoken by the crown's ministers. France's large and growing middle-class public felt increasingly frustrated by the failure to institute social change, a failure that ultimately helped undermine the monarchy itself. Where Frederick II, Catherine II, and even Joseph II used reform to bolster the efficiency of absolutist government, attempts at change in France backfired. French kings found that their ambitious programs for reform succeeded only in arousing unrealistic hopes.

REVIEW: What prompted enlightened absolutists to undertake reforms in the second half of the eighteenth century?

Rebellions against State Power

Although traditional forms of popular discontent had not disappeared, Enlightenment ideals and reforms changed the rules of the game in politics. Governments had become accountable for their actions to a much wider range of people than ever before. In Britain and France, ordinary people rioted when they perceived government as failing to protect them against food shortages. The growth of informed public opinion had its most dramatic consequences in the North American colonies, where a struggle over the British Parliament's right to tax turned into a full-scale war for independence. The American War of Independence showed that once put into practice, Enlightenment ideals could have revolutionary implications.

Food Riots and Peasant Uprisings

Population growth, inflation, and the extension of the market system put added pressure on the already beleaguered poor. Seventeenth-century peasants and townspeople had rioted to protest new taxes. In the last half of the eighteenth cen-

tury, the food supply became the focus of political and social conflict. Poor people in the villages and the towns believed that it was the government's responsibility to ensure they had enough food, and many governments did stockpile grain to make up for the occasional bad harvest. At the same time, in keeping with Adam Smith's and the French physiocrats' free-market proposals, governments wanted to allow grain prices to rise with market demand, because higher profits would motivate producers to increase the overall supply of food.

Free trade in grain meant selling to the highest bidder even if that bidder was a foreign merchant. In the short run, in times of scarcity, big landowners and farmers could make huge profits by selling grain outside their hometowns or villages. This practice enraged poor farmers, agricultural workers, and city wage workers, who could not afford the higher prices. Lacking the political means to affect policy, they could enforce their desire for old-fashioned price regulation only by rioting. Most did not pillage or steal grain but rather forced the sale of grain or flour at a "just" price and blocked the shipment of grain out of their villages to other markets. Women often led these "popular price fixings," as they were called in France, in desperate attempts to protect the food supply for their children.

Such food riots occurred regularly in Britain and France in the last half of the eighteenth century. One of the most turbulent was the so-called Flour War in France in 1775. Turgot's deregulation of the grain trade in 1774 caused prices to rise in several provincial cities. Rioting spread from there to the Paris region, where villagers attacked grain convoys heading to the capital city. Local officials often ordered merchants and bakers to sell at the price the rioters demanded, only to find themselves arrested by the central government for overriding free trade. The government brought in troops to restore order and introduced the death penalty for rioting.

Frustrations with serfdom and hopes for a miraculous transformation provoked the **Pugachev rebellion** in Russia beginning in 1773. An army



The Pugachev Rebellion, 1773

deserter from the southeast frontier region, Emelian Pugachev (1742–1775) claimed to be Tsar Peter III, the dead husband of Catherine II. Pugachev's appearance seemed to confirm peasant hopes for a "redeemer tsar" who would save the people from oppression. He rallied around him Cossacks like himself who resented the loss of their old tribal independence. Now increasingly ensnared or forced to pay taxes and endure army service, these nomadic bands joined with other serfs, rebellious mine workers, and Muslim minorities. Catherine

dispatched a large army to squelch the uprising, but Pugachev eluded them and the fighting spread. Nearly three million people eventually participated, making this the largest single rebellion in the history of tsarist Russia. When Pugachev

A Cossack

Pugachev and many of his followers were Cossacks, Ukrainians who set up nomadic communities of horsemen to resist outside control, whether from Turks, Poles, or Russians. This eighteenth-century painting captures the common view of Cossacks as horsemen always ready for battle but with a fondness for music too. (© The Bridgeman Art Library.)



Pugachev (poo guh CHAWF) **rebellion**: A massive revolt of Russian Cossacks and serfs in 1773 against local nobles and the armies of Catherine the Great; its leader, Emelian Pugachev, was eventually captured and executed.

urged the peasants to attack the nobility and seize their estates, hundreds of noble families perished. Foreign newspapers called it “the revolution in southern Russia” and offered fantastic stories about Pugachev’s life history. Finally, the army captured the rebel leader and brought him in an iron cage to Moscow, where he was tortured and executed. In the aftermath, Catherine tightened the nobles’ control over their serfs with the Charter of the Nobility and harshly punished those who dared to criticize serfdom.

Public Opinion and Political Opposition

Peasant uprisings might briefly shake even a powerful monarchy, but the rise of public opinion as a force independent of court society caused more enduring changes in European politics. Across much of Europe and in the North American colonies, demands for broader political participation reflected Enlightenment notions about individual rights. Aristocratic bodies such as the French parlements, which had no legislative role like that of the British Parliament, insisted that the monarch consult them on the nation’s affairs, and the new educated elite wanted more influence too. Newspapers began to cover daily political affairs, and the public learned the basics of political life, despite the strict limits on political participation in most countries. Monarchs turned to public opinion to seek support against aristocratic groups that opposed reform. Gustavus III of Sweden (r. 1771–1792) called himself “the first citizen of a free people” and promised to deliver the country from “insufferable aristocratic despotism.” Shortly after coming to the throne, Gustavus proclaimed a new constitution that divided power between the king and the legislature, abolished the use of torture in the judicial process, and assured some freedom of the press.

The Wilkes affair in Great Britain showed that public opinion could be mobilized to challenge a government. In 1763, during the reign of George III (r. 1760–1820), John Wilkes, a member of Parliament, attacked the government in his newspaper, *North Briton*, and sued the crown when he was arrested. He won his release as well as damages. When he was reelected, Parliament denied him his seat, not once but three times.

The Wilkes episode soon escalated into a major campaign against the corruption and social exclusiveness of Parliament, complaints the Levellers had first raised during the English Revolution of the late 1640s. Newspapers, magazines, pamphlets,

handbills, and cheap editions of Wilkes’s collected works all helped promote his cause. Those who could not vote demonstrated for Wilkes. In one incident eleven people died when soldiers broke up a huge gathering of his supporters. The slogan “Wilkes and Liberty” appeared on walls all over London. Middle-class voters formed a Society of Supporters of the Bill of Rights, which circulated petitions for Wilkes; they gained the support of about one-fourth of all the voters. The more determined Wilkesites proposed sweeping reforms of Parliament, including more frequent elections, more representation for the counties, elimination of “rotten boroughs” (election districts so small that they could be controlled by one big patron), and restrictions of pensions used by the crown to gain support. These demands would be at the heart of agitation for parliamentary reform in Britain for decades to come.

Popular demonstrations did not always support reforms. In 1780, the Gordon riots devastated London. They were named after the fanatical anti-Catholic crusader Lord George Gordon, who helped organize huge marches and petition campaigns against a bill the House of Commons passed to grant limited toleration to Catholics. The demonstrations culminated in a seven-day riot that left fifty buildings destroyed and three hundred people dead. Despite the continuing limitation on voting rights in Great Britain, British politicians were learning that they could ignore public opinion only at their peril.

Political opposition also took artistic forms, particularly in countries where governments restricted organized political activity. A striking example of a play with a political message was *The Marriage of Figaro* (1784) by Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais (1732–1799), who at one time or another worked as a watchmaker, a judge, a gunrunner in the American War of Independence, and a French spy in Britain. *The Marriage of Figaro* was first a hit at court, when Queen Marie-Antoinette had it read for her friends. But when her husband, Louis XVI, read it, he forbade its production on the grounds that “this man mocks at everything that should be respected in government.” When finally performed publicly, the play caused a sensation. The chief character, Figaro, is a clever servant who gets the better of his noble employer. When speaking of the count, he cries, “What have you done to deserve so many rewards? You went to the trouble of being born, and nothing more.” Two years later, Mozart based an equally famous but somewhat tamer opera on Beaumarchais’s story.

Revolution in North America

Oppositional forms of public opinion came to a head in Great Britain's North American colonies, where the result was American independence and the establishment of a republican constitution that stood in stark contrast to most European regimes. Many Europeans saw the American War of Independence, or the American Revolution, as a triumph for Enlightenment ideas. As one German writer exclaimed in 1777, American victory would give "greater scope to the Enlightenment, new keenness to the thinking of peoples and new life to the spirit of liberty."

The American revolutionary leaders had been influenced by a common Atlantic civilization; they participated in the Enlightenment and shared political ideas with the opposition Whigs in Britain. Supporters demonstrated for Wilkes in South Carolina and Boston, and the South Carolina legislature donated a substantial sum to the Society of Supporters of the Bill of Rights. In the 1760s and 1770s, both British and American opposition

leaders became convinced that the British government was growing increasingly corrupt and despotic. British radicals wanted to reform Parliament so that the voices of a broader, more representative segment of the population would be heard. The colonies had no representatives in Parliament, and colonists claimed that "no taxation without representation" should be allowed. Indeed, they denied that Parliament had any jurisdiction over the colonies, insisting that the king govern them through colonial legislatures and recognize their traditional British liberties. The failure of the "Wilkes and Liberty" campaign to produce concrete results convinced many Americans that Parliament was hopelessly tainted and that they would have to stand up for their rights as British subjects.

The British colonies remained loyal to the crown until Parliament's encroachment on their autonomy and the elimination of the French threat at the end of the Seven Years' War transformed colonial attitudes. Unconsciously, perhaps, the colonies had begun to form a separate nation; their economies generally flourished in the eighteenth

Overthrowing British Authority

The uncompromising attitude of the British government went a long way toward dissolving long-standing loyalties to the home country. During the American War of Independence, residents of New York City pulled down the statue of the hated George III. (*Lafayette College Art Collection, Easton, PA.*)



DOCUMENT

Thomas Jefferson, Declaration of Independence (July 4, 1776)

Although others helped revise the Declaration of Independence of the thirteen North American colonies from Great Britain, Jefferson wrote the original draft himself. A Virginia planter and lawyer, Jefferson went on to become governor of Virginia, minister to France, secretary of state, vice president and president of the United States (1801–1809). The Declaration begins with a stirring expression of the belief in natural or human rights.

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,—That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer,

while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.—Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States.

Source: U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

century, and between 1750 and 1776 their population almost doubled. With the British clamoring for lower taxes and the colonists paying only a fraction of the tax rate paid by the Britons at home, Parliament passed new taxes, including the Stamp Act in 1765, which required a special tax stamp on all legal documents and publications. After violent rioting in the colonies, the tax was repealed, but in 1773 a new Tea Act revived colonial resistance, which culminated in the so-called Boston Tea Party of 1773. Colonists dressed as Indians boarded British ships and dumped the imported tea (by this time an enormously popular beverage) into Boston's harbor.

Political opposition in the American colonies turned belligerent when Britain threatened to use force to maintain control. In 1774, the First Continental Congress convened, composed of delegates from the colonies, and unsuccessfully petitioned the crown for redress. The next year the Second Continental Congress organized an army with George Washington in command. After actual fighting had begun, in 1776, the congress issued

the Declaration of Independence. An eloquent statement of the American cause written by Thomas Jefferson, the Declaration of Independence was couched in the language of universal human rights, which enlightened Europeans could be expected to understand. (See Document, "Declaration of Independence," above.) George III denounced the American "traitors and rebels." But European newspapers enthusiastically reported on every American response to "the cruel acts of oppression they have been made to suffer." In 1778, France boosted the American cause by entering on the colonists' side. Spain, too, saw an opportunity to check the growing power of Britain, though without actually endorsing American independence out of fear of the response of its Latin American colonies. Spain declared war on Britain in 1779; in 1780, Great Britain declared war on the Dutch Republic in retaliation for Dutch support of the rebels. The worldwide conflict that resulted was more than Britain could handle. The American colonies achieved their independence in the peace treaty of 1783.

The newly independent states still faced the challenge of republican self-government. The Articles of Confederation, drawn up in 1777 as a provisional constitution, proved weak because they gave the central government few powers. In 1787, a constitutional convention met in Philadelphia to draft a new constitution. It established a two-house legislature, an indirectly elected president, and an independent judiciary. The U.S. Constitution's preamble insisted explicitly, for the first time in history, that government derived its power solely from the people and did not depend on divine right or on the tradition of royalty or aristocracy. The new educated elite of the eighteenth century had now created government based on a "social contract" among male, property-owning, white citizens. It was by no means a complete democracy (women and slaves were excluded from political participation), but the new government represented a radical departure from European models. In 1791, the Bill of Rights was appended to the Constitution outlining the essential rights (such as freedom of speech) that the government could never overturn. Although slavery continued in the American republic, the new emphasis on

rights helped fuel the movement for its abolition in both Britain and the United States.

Interest in the new republic was greatest in France. The U.S. Constitution and various state constitutions were published in French with commentary by leading thinkers. Even more important in the long run were the effects of the American war. Dutch losses to Great Britain aroused a widespread movement for political reform in the Dutch Republic, and debts incurred by France in supporting the American colonies would soon force the French monarchy to the edge of bankruptcy and then to revolution. Ultimately, the entire European system of royal rule would be challenged.

REVIEW: Why did public opinion become a new factor in politics in the second half of the eighteenth century?

Conclusion

When Thomas Jefferson looked back many years later on the Declaration of Independence, he said he hoped it would be "the signal of arousing men

MAPPING THE WEST



Europe and the World, c. 1780

Although Great Britain lost control over part of its North American colonies, which became the new United States, European influence on the rest of the world grew dramatically in the eighteenth century. The slave trade linked European ports to African slave-trading outposts and to plantations in the Caribbean, South America, and North America. The European countries on the Atlantic Ocean benefited most from this trade. Yet almost all of Africa, China, Japan, and large parts of India still resisted European incursion, and the Ottoman Empire, with its massive territories, still presented Europe with a formidable military challenge.

to burst the chains under which monkish ignorance and superstition had persuaded them to bind themselves.” What began as a cosmopolitan movement of a few intellectuals in the first half of the eighteenth century had reached a relatively wide audience among the educated elite of men and women by the 1770s and 1780s. The spirit of Enlightenment swept from the salons, coffeehouses, and Masonic lodges into the halls of government from Philadelphia to Vienna. Scientific inquiry into the causes of social misery and laws defending individual rights and freedoms gained adherents even among the rulers and ministers responsible for censoring Enlightenment works.

For most Europeans, however, the promise of the Enlightenment did not become a reality. Rulers such as Catherine the Great had every intention of retaining their full, often unchecked, powers, even as they corresponded with leading philosophes and entertained them at their courts. Moreover, would-be reformers often found themselves blocked by the resistance of nobles, by the priorities rulers gave to waging wars, or by popular resistance to deregulation of trade that increased the uncertainties of the market. Yet even the failure of

reform contributed to the ferment in Europe after 1770. Peasant rebellions in eastern Europe, the “Wilkes and Liberty” campaign in Great Britain, the struggle over reform in France, and the revolution in America all occurred around the same time, and their conjunction convinced many Europeans that change was brewing. Just how much could change, and whether change made life better or worse, would come into question in the next ten years.

FOR FURTHER EXPLORATION

- **For suggested references, including Web sites, for topics in this chapter,** see page SR-1 at the end of the book.
- **For additional primary-source material from this period,** see Chapter 18 in *Sources of THE MAKING OF THE WEST*, Third Edition.
- **For Web sites and documents related to topics in this chapter,** see *Make History* at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

CHAPTER REVIEW

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

philosophes (556)	Methodism (566)
deists (559)	Freemasons (568)
abolitionists (560)	enlightened despots (573)
laissez-faire (561)	Seven Years' War (574)
Jean-Jacques Rousseau (561)	partition of Poland (576)
romanticism (566)	Pugachev rebellion (579)

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What were the major differences between the Enlightenment in France, Great Britain, and the German states?
2. What were the major differences in the impact of the Enlightenment on nobles, middle classes, and lower classes?
3. What prompted enlightened absolutists to undertake reforms in the second half of the eighteenth century?
4. Why did public opinion become a new factor in politics in the second half of the eighteenth century?

MAKING CONNECTIONS

1. Why would rulers feel ambivalent about the Enlightenment, supporting reform on the one hand, while clamping down on political dissidents on the other hand?
2. Which major developments in this period ran counter to the influence of the Enlightenment?
3. In what ways had politics changed, and in what ways did they remain the same during the Enlightenment?

For practice quizzes, a customized study plan, and other study tools, see the Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

IMPORTANT EVENTS

1740–1748	War of the Austrian Succession: France, Spain, and Prussia versus Austria and Great Britain	1773	Pugachev rebellion of Russian peasants
1751–1772	<i>Encyclopedia</i> published in France	1776	American Declaration of Independence from Great Britain; Adam Smith, <i>The Wealth of Nations</i>
1756–1763	Seven Years' War fought in Europe, India, and the American colonies	1780	Joseph II of Austria undertakes a wide-reaching reform program
1762	Jean-Jacques Rousseau, <i>The Social Contract</i> and <i>Émile</i>	1781	Immanuel Kant, <i>The Critique of Pure Reason</i>
1764	Voltaire, <i>Philosophical Dictionary</i>	1785	Catherine the Great's Charter of the Nobility grants nobles exclusive control over their serfs in exchange for subservience to the state
1771	Louis XV of France fails to break the power of the French law courts	1787	Delegates from the states draft the U.S. Constitution
1772	First partition of Poland		



The Cataclysm of Revolution

1789–1799

On October 5, 1789, a crowd of several thousand women marched in a drenching rain twelve miles from the center of Paris to Versailles. They demanded the king's help in securing more grain for the hungry and his reassurance that he did not intend to resist the emerging revolutionary movement. Joined the next morning by thousands of men who came from Paris to reinforce them, they broke into the royal family's private apartments, killing two of the royal bodyguards. To prevent further bloodshed, the king agreed to move his family and his government to Paris. A dramatic procession of the royal family guarded by throngs of ordinary men and women made its slow way back to the capital. The people's proud display of cannons and pikes underlined the fundamental transformation that was occurring. Ordinary people had forced the king of France to respond to their grievances. The French monarchy was in danger, and if such a powerful and long-lasting institution could come under fire, then could any monarch of Europe rest easy?

Although even the keenest political observer did not predict its eruption in 1789, the French Revolution had its immediate origins in a constitutional crisis provoked by a growing government deficit, traceable to French involvement in the American War of Independence. The constitutional crisis came to a head on July 14, 1789, when armed Parisians captured the Bastille, a royal fortress and symbol of monarchical authority in the center of the capital. The fall of the Bastille, like the women's march to Versailles three months later, showed the determination of the common people to put their mark on events.

The French Revolution first grabbed the attention of the entire world because it seemed to promise universal human rights, constitutional government, and broad-based political participation. Its most

Women's March to Versailles

Thousands of prints broadcast the events of the French Revolution to the public in France and elsewhere. They varied from fine-art engravings signed by the artist to anonymous simple woodcuts. This colored engraving shows a crowd of armed women marching to Versailles on October 5, 1789, to confront the king. The sight of armed women frightened many observers and demonstrated that the Revolution was not only a men's affair. (*The Granger Collection, New York.*)

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- Protesters in the Low Countries and Poland
- Origins of the French Revolution, 1787–1789

From Monarchy to Republic, 1789–1793 594

- The Revolution of Rights and Reason
- The End of Monarchy

Terror and Resistance 600

- Robespierre and the Committee of Public Safety
- The Republic of Virtue, 1793–1794
- Resisting the Revolution
- The Fall of Robespierre and the End of the Terror

Revolution on the March 607

- Arms and Conquests
- European Reactions to Revolutionary Change
- Poland Extinguished, 1793–1795
- Revolution in the Colonies

famous slogan pledged “Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity” for all. An enthusiastic German wrote, “One of the greatest nations in the world, the greatest in general culture, has at last thrown off the yoke of tyranny.” The revolutionaries used a blueprint based on the Enlightenment idea of reason to remake all of society and politics: they executed the king and queen, established a republic for the first time in French history, abolished nobility, and gave the vote to all adult men.

Even as the Revolution promised democracy, however, it also inaugurated a cycle of violence and intimidation. When the revolutionaries encountered resistance to their programs, they set up a government of terror to compel obedience. Some historians therefore see in the French Revolution the origins of modern totalitarianism—that is, governments that try to control every aspect of life, including daily activities, while limiting all forms of political dissent. As events unfolded after 1789, the French Revolution became the model of modern revolution; republicanism, democracy, terrorism, nationalism, and military dictatorship all took their modern forms during the French Revolution.

The Revolution might have remained a strictly French affair if war had not involved the rest of Europe. After 1792, huge French republican armies, fueled by patriotic nationalism, marched across Europe, promising liberation from traditional monarchies but often delivering old-fashioned conquest and annexation. French victories spread revolutionary ideas far and wide, from Poland to the colonies in the Caribbean, where the first successful slave revolt established the republic of Haiti.

The breathtaking succession of regimes in France between 1789 and 1799 and the failure of the republican experiment after ten years of upheaval raised disturbing questions about the

relationship between rapid political change and violence. Do all revolutions inevitably degenerate into terror or wars of conquest? Is a regime democratic if it does not allow poor men, women, or blacks to vote? The French Revolution raised these questions and many more. The questions resonated in many countries because the French Revolution seemed to be only the most extreme example of a much broader political and social movement at the end of the eighteenth century.

FOCUS QUESTION: What was so revolutionary about the French Revolution?

The Revolutionary Wave, 1787–1789

Between 1787 and 1789, revolts in the name of liberty broke out in the Dutch Republic, the Austrian Netherlands (present-day Belgium and Luxembourg), and Poland, as well as in France. At the same time, the newly independent United States of America prepared a new federal constitution. Historians have sometimes referred to these revolts as the Atlantic revolutions because so many protest movements arose in countries on both shores of the North Atlantic. These revolutions were the product of long-term prosperity and high expectations, created in part by the spread of the Enlightenment. Europeans in general were wealthier, healthier, more numerous, and better educated than they had ever been before; and the Dutch, Belgian, and French societies were among the wealthiest and best educated within Europe. The French Revolution nonetheless differed greatly from the others. Not only was France the richest, most powerful, and most

1787	■ 1787 Dutch Patriot revolt stifled	1789	■ 1788–1790 Austrian Netherlands’ resistance	1791	■ 1792 France and rest of Europe at war; second revolution of August 10
			■ 1789 French Revolution begins		■ 1791 St. Domingue slave revolt

populous state in western Europe, but its revolution was also more violent, more long-lasting, and ultimately more influential. (See “Terms of History,” page 590.)

Protesters in the Low Countries and Poland

Political protests in the Dutch Republic attracted European attention because Dutch banks still controlled a hefty portion of the world’s capital at the end of the eighteenth century, even though the Dutch Republic’s role in international politics had diminished. Revolts also broke out in the neighboring Austrian Netherlands and Poland. Although none of these movements ultimately succeeded, they showed how quickly political discontent could boil over in this era of rising economic and political expectations.

The Dutch Patriot Revolt, 1787. The Dutch Patriots, as they chose to call themselves, wanted to reduce the powers of the prince of Orange, the kinglike stadholder who favored close ties with Great Britain. Government-sponsored Dutch banks owned 40 percent of the British national debt, and by 1796 they held the entire foreign debt of the United States. Relations with the British deteriorated during the American War of Independence, however, and by the middle of the 1780s, agitation in favor of the Americans had boiled over into an attack on the stadholder.

Building on support among middle-class bankers and merchants, the Patriots soon gained a more popular audience by demanding political reforms and organizing armed citizen militias of men, called Free Corps. Town by town the Patriots forced local officials to set up new elections to replace councils that had been packed with Orangist supporters through patronage or family

connections. Before long, the Free Corps took on the troops of the prince of Orange and got the upper hand. In response, Frederick William II of Prussia, whose sister had married the stadholder, intervened in 1787 with tacit British support. Thousands of Prussian troops soon occupied Utrecht and Amsterdam, and the house of Orange regained its former position.

Social divisions among the rebels paved the way for the success of this outside intervention. Many of the Patriots from the richest merchant families feared the growing power of the Free Corps. The Free Corps wanted a more democratic form of government, and to get it they encouraged the publication of pamphlets and cartoons attacking the prince and his wife, promoted the rapid spread of clubs and societies made up of common people, and organized crowd-pleasing public ceremonies, such as parades and bonfires, that sometimes turned into riots. In the aftermath of the Prussian invasion in September 1787, the Orangists got their revenge: lower-class mobs pilaged the houses of prosperous Patriot leaders, forcing many to flee to the United States, France, or the Austrian Netherlands. Those Patriots who remained nursed their grievances until the French republican armies invaded in 1795.

The Belgian Independence Movement. If Austrian emperor Joseph II had not tried to introduce Enlightenment-inspired reforms, the Belgians of the ten provinces of the Austrian Netherlands might have remained tranquil. Just as he had done previously in his own crown lands (see Chapter 18), Joseph abolished torture, decreed toleration



The Low Countries in 1787

■ 1793 Second partition of Poland;
Louis XVI executed

1793

■ 1795 Third partition of Poland;
France annexes Austrian Netherlands

1795

■ 1794 French abolish slavery;
Robespierre falls

1797

■ 1797–1798 “Sister”
republics established in
Italian states and Switzerland

TERMS OF HISTORY

Revolution

Revolution had previously meant cyclical change that brought life back to a starting point, as a planet makes a revolution around the sun. Revolutions could come and go, by this definition, and change nothing fundamental in the structure of society. After 1789, *revolution* came to mean a self-conscious attempt to leap into the future by reshaping society and politics and even the human personality. A revolutionary official analyzed the meaning of the word in 1793: “A revolution is never made by halves; it must either be total or it will abort. . . . *Revolutionary* means outside of all forms and all rules.” In short, *revolution* soon had an all-or-nothing meaning; you were either for the revolution or against it. There could be no in between.

Revolution still has the same meaning given it by the French revolutionaries, but it is now an even more contested term because of its association with communist theory. In the nineteenth century, Karl Marx incorporated the French Revolution into his new doctrine of communism. In his view, the middle-class French revolutionaries had overthrown the monarchy and the “feudal” aristocracy to pave the way for capitalist development. In the future, the proletariat (industrial workers) would overthrow the capitalist middle class to install a communist government that would abolish private property. Since Marxists claimed the French Revolution as the forerunner of the communist revolution in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it was perhaps inevitable that those who opposed communism would also criticize the French Revolution.

The most influential example of this view is that of the French scholar François Furet. An ex-communist, Furet argued that the French Revolution can be seen as the origin of totalitarianism because it incarnated what Furet calls “the illusion of politics,” that is, the belief that people can transform social and economic relationships through political revolution. The French revolutionaries became totalitarian, in Furet’s view, because they wanted to establish a kind of political and social utopia (a perfect society), in which reason alone determined the shape of political and social life. Because this dream is impossible given human resistance to rapid change, the revolutionaries had to use force to achieve their goals. In other words, revolution itself was a problematic idea, according to Furet. *Revolution* as a term remains as contested as the events that gave rise to it.

for Jews and Protestants (in this resolutely Catholic area), and suppressed monasteries. His reorganization of the administrative and judicial systems eliminated many offices that belonged to nobles and lawyers, sparking resistance among the upper classes in 1788.

Upper-class protesters intended only to defend historic local liberties against an overbearing government. Nonetheless, their resistance galvanized democrats, who wanted a more representative gov-

ernment and organized clubs to give voice to their demands. At the end of 1788, a secret society formed armed companies to prepare an uprising. By late 1789, each province had separately declared its independence, and the Austrian administration had collapsed. Delegates from the various provinces declared themselves the United States of Belgium, a clear reference to the American precedent.

Once again, however, social divisions doomed the rebels. When the democrats began to challenge noble authority, aristocratic leaders drew to their side the Catholic clergy and peasants, who had little sympathy for the democrats of the cities. Every Sunday in May and June 1790, thousands of peasant men and women, led by their priests, streamed into Brussels carrying crucifixes, nooses, and pitchforks to intimidate the democrats and defend the church. Faced with the choice between the Austrian emperor and “our current tyrants,” the democrats chose to support the return of the Austrians under Emperor Leopold II (r. 1790–1792), who had succeeded his brother.

Polish Patriots. A reform party calling itself the Patriots also emerged in Poland, which had been shocked by the loss of a third of its territory in the first partition of 1772. The Patriots sought to overhaul the weak commonwealth along modern western European lines and looked to King Stanisław August Poniatowski (r. 1764–1795) to lead them. A nobleman who owed his crown solely to the dubious honor of being Catherine the Great’s discarded lover but who was also a favorite correspondent of the Parisian salon hostess Madame Geoffrin, Poniatowski saw in moderate reform the only chance for his country to escape the consequences of a century’s misgovernment and cultural decline. Ranged against the Patriots stood most of the aristocrats and the formidable Catherine the Great, determined to uphold imperial Russian influence.

Pleased to see Russian influence waning in Poland, Austria and Prussia allowed the reform movement to proceed. In 1788, the Patriots got their golden chance. Bugged down in war with the Ottoman Turks, Catherine could not block the summoning of a reform-minded parliament, which eventually enacted the constitution of May 3, 1791. It established a hereditary monarchy with somewhat strengthened authority, ended the veto power that each aristocrat had over legislation, granted townspeople limited political rights, and vaguely promised future Jewish emancipation. Abolishing serfdom was hardly mentioned. Within a year, however, Catherine II had turned her attention to Poland and engineered the downfall of the Patriots.

Origins of the French Revolution, 1787–1789

Many French enthusiastically greeted the American experiment in republican government and supported the Dutch, Belgian, and Polish patriots. But they did not expect the United States and the Dutch Republic to provide them a model. Montesquieu and Rousseau, the leading political theorists of the Enlightenment, taught that republics suited only small countries, not big ones like France. After suffering humiliation at the hands of the British in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), the French had regained international prestige by supporting the victorious Americans, and the monarchy had shown its eagerness to promote reforms. In 1787, for example, the French crown granted civil rights to Protestants. Yet by the late 1780s, the French monarchy faced a serious fiscal crisis caused by a mounting deficit. It soon provoked a constitutional crisis of epic proportions.

Fiscal Crisis. France's fiscal problems stemmed from its support of the Americans against the British in the American War of Independence. About half of the French national budget went to paying interest on the debt that had accumulated. In contrast to Great Britain, which had a national bank to help raise loans for the government, the French government lived off relatively short-term, high-interest loans from private sources including Swiss banks, government annuities, and advances from tax collectors.

For years the French government had been trying unsuccessfully to modernize the tax system to make it more equitable. The peasants bore the greatest burden of taxes, whereas the nobles and clergy were largely exempt from them. Tax collection was also far from systematic: private contractors collected many taxes and pocketed a large share of the proceeds. With the growing support of public opinion, the bond and annuity holders from the middle and upper classes now demanded a clearer system of fiscal accountability.

In a monarchy, the ruler's character is always crucial. Many complained that **Louis XVI** (r. 1774–1792) showed more interest in hunting or in his hobby of making locks than in the problems of government. His wife, **Marie-Antoinette**, was blond, beautiful, and much criticized for her

extravagant taste in clothes, elaborate hairdos, and supposed indifference to popular misery. When confronted by the inability of the poor to buy bread, she was reported to have replied, "Let them eat cake." "The Austrian bitch," as underground writers called her, had been the target of an increasingly nasty pamphlet campaign in the 1780s. By 1789, the queen had become an object of popular hatred. The king's ineffectiveness and the queen's growing unpopularity helped undermine the monarchy as an institution.

Faced with a mounting deficit, in 1787 Louis submitted a package of reforms to the Assembly of Notables, a group of handpicked nobles, clergymen, and officials. When this group refused to

Queen Marie-Antoinette (detail)

Marie-Louise-Élizabeth Vigée-Lebrun painted this portrait of the French queen Marie-Antoinette and her children in 1788. The eldest son, Louis (not shown in this detail), died in 1789. When he died, her second son (on her lap here), also called Louis, became heir to the throne. Known to supporters of the monarch as Louis XVII, he died in prison in 1795 and never ruled. Vigée-Lebrun fled France in 1789 and returned only in 1805. (© Chateau de Versailles, France/The Bridgeman Art Library.)



Louis XVI: French King (r. 1774–1792) who was tried and found guilty of treason; he was executed on January 21, 1793.

Marie-Antoinette: Wife of Louis XVI and queen of France who was tried and executed in October 1793.

endorse his program, the king presented his proposals for a more uniform land tax to his old rival the parlement of Paris. When it too refused, he ordered the parlement judges into exile in the provinces. Overnight, the judges (members of the nobility because of the offices they held) became popular heroes for resisting the king's "tyranny"; in reality, however, the judges, like the notables, wanted reform only on their own terms. Louis finally gave in to demands that he call a meeting of the Estates General, which had last met 175 years before.

The Estates General. The calling of the Estates General electrified public opinion. Who would determine the fate of the nation? The **Estates General** was a body of deputies from the three estates, or orders, of France. The deputies in the First Estate represented some 100,000 clergy of the Catholic church, which owned about 10 percent of the land and collected a 10 percent tax (the tithe) on peasants. The deputies of the Second Estate represented the nobility, about 400,000 men and women who owned about 25 percent of the land, enjoyed many tax exemptions, and collected seigneurial dues and rents from their peasant tenants. The deputies of the Third Estate represented everyone else, at least 95 percent of the nation. In 1614, at the last meeting of the Estates General, each order had deliberated and voted separately. Before the elections to the Estates General in 1789, the king agreed to double the number of deputies for the Third Estate (making them equal in number to the other two combined), but he refused to mandate voting by individual head rather than by order. Voting by order (each order would have one vote) would conserve the traditional powers of the clergy and nobility; voting by head (each deputy would have one vote) would give the Third Estate an advantage since many clergymen and even some nobles sympathized with the Third Estate.

As the state's censorship apparatus broke down, pamphleteers by the hundreds denounced the traditional privileges of the nobility and clergy and called for voting by head rather than by order. In the most vitriolic of all the pamphlets, *What Is the Third Estate?*, the middle-class clergyman Abbé (Abbot) Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès charged that the nobility contributed nothing at all to the nation's well-being; they were "a malignant disease which preys upon and tortures the body of a sick man." In the winter and spring of 1789, villagers

and townspeople alike held meetings to elect deputies and write down their grievances. The effect was immediate. Although educated men dominated the meetings at the regional level, the humblest peasants voted in their villages and burst forth with complaints, especially about taxes. As one villager lamented, "The last crust of bread has been taken from us." The long series of meetings raised expectations that the Estates General would help the king solve all the nation's ills.

These new hopes soared just at the moment France experienced an increasingly rare but always dangerous food shortage. Bad weather had damaged the harvest of 1788, causing bread prices to soar in many places in the spring and summer of 1789 and threatening starvation for the poorest people. In addition, a serious slump in textile production had been causing massive unemployment since 1786. Hundreds of thousands of textile workers were out of work and hungry, adding another volatile element to an already tense situation.

When some twelve hundred deputies journeyed to the king's palace of Versailles for the opening of the Estates General in May 1789, many readers avidly followed the developments in newspapers that sprouted overnight. Although most nobles insisted on voting by order, the deputies of the Third Estate refused to proceed on that basis. After six weeks of stalemate, on June 17, 1789, the deputies of the Third Estate took unilateral action and declared themselves and whoever would join them the National Assembly, in which each deputy would vote as an individual. Two days later, the clergy voted by a narrow margin to join them. Suddenly denied access to their meeting hall on June 20, the deputies met on a nearby tennis court and swore an oath not to disband until they had given France a constitution that reflected their newly declared authority. This "tennis court oath" expressed the determination of the Third Estate to carry through a constitutional revolution. A few days later, the nobles had no choice but to join too.

July 14, 1789: The Fall of the Bastille. At first, Louis appeared to agree to the new National Assembly, but he also ordered thousands of soldiers to march to Paris. The deputies who supported the Assembly feared a plot by the king and high-ranking nobles to arrest them and disperse the Assembly. "Everyone is convinced that the approach of the troops covers some violent design," one deputy wrote home. Their fears were confirmed when, on July 11, the king fired Jacques Necker, the Swiss Protestant finance minister and the one high official regarded as sympathetic to the deputies' cause.

Estates General: A body of deputies from the three estates, or orders, of France: the clergy (First Estate), the nobility (Second Estate), and everyone else (Third Estate).

Fall of the Bastille

The Bastille prison is shown here in all its imposing grandeur. When the fortress's governor Bernard René de Launay surrendered on July 14, 1789, he was marched off to city hall. The gathering crowd taunted and spat at him, and after he lashed out at one of the men nearest him, he was stabbed, shot, and then beheaded. The head was displayed as a trophy on a pike held high above the crowd. Royal authority had been successfully challenged and even humiliated.

(The Granger Collection, New York.)



The popular reaction in Paris to Necker's dismissal and the threat of military force changed the course of the French Revolution. When the news spread, the common people in Paris began to arm themselves and attack places where either grain or arms were thought to be stored (Map 19.1). A deputy in Versailles reported home: "Today all of the evils overwhelm France, and we are between despotism, carnage, and famine." On July 14, 1789, an armed crowd marched on the Bastille, a fortified prison that symbolized royal authority. After a chaotic battle in which a hundred armed citizens died, the prison officials surrendered.

The fall of the Bastille (an event now commemorated as the French national holiday) set an important precedent. The common people showed themselves willing to intervene violently at a crucial political moment (see *The Third Estate Awakens*, at right). All over France, food riots turned into local revolts. The officials in one city wrote of their plight: "Yesterday afternoon [July 19] more than seven or eight thousand people, men and women, assembled in front of the two gates to the city hall. . . . We were forced to negotiate with them and to promise to give them wheat . . . and to reduce the price of bread." Local governments were forced out of power and replaced by committees of "patriots" loyal to the revolutionary cause. The king's government began to crumble. To restore order, the patriots relied on newly formed National Guard units composed of civilians. In



The Third Estate Awakens

This print, produced after the fall of the Bastille (note the heads on pikes outside the prison), shows a clergyman (First Estate) and a noble (Second Estate) alarmed by the awakening of the commoners (Third Estate). The Third Estate breaks the chains of oppression and arms itself. In what ways does this print draw attention to the social conflicts that lay behind the political struggles in the Estates General? (*Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY.*)

■ For more help analyzing this image, see the visual activity for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.



MAP 19.1 Revolutionary Paris, 1789

The French Revolution began with the fall of the Bastille prison on July 14, 1789. The huge fortified prison was located on the eastern side of the city in a neighborhood of working people. Before attacking the Bastille, crowds had torn down many of the customs booths located in the wall of the Farmers General (the private company in charge of tax collection), and taken the arms stored in the Hôtel des Invalides, a veterans' hospital on the western side of the city where the upper classes lived. During the Revolution, executions took place on the square or Place de la Révolution, now called Place de la Concorde.

Paris, the Marquis de Lafayette, a hero of the American War of Independence and a noble deputy in the National Assembly, became commander of the new National Guard. One of Louis XVI's brothers and many other leading aristocrats fled into exile. The Revolution thus had its first heroes, its first victims, and its first enemies.

REVIEW: How did the beginning of the French Revolution resemble the other revolutions of 1787–1789?

From Monarchy to Republic, 1789–1793

Until July 1789, the French Revolution followed a course much like that of the protest movements in the Low Countries. Unlike the Dutch and Belgian uprisings, however, the French Revolution did not

come to a quick end. The French revolutionaries first tried to establish a constitutional monarchy based on the Enlightenment principles of human rights and rational government. This effort failed when the king attempted to raise a counterrevolutionary army. When war broke out in 1792, new tensions culminated in a second revolution on August 10, 1792, that deposed the king and established a republic in which all power rested in an elected legislature.

The Revolution of Rights and Reason

Before drafting a constitution, the deputies of the National Assembly had to confront growing violence in the countryside. Peasants made up 80 percent of the French population but owned only about 50 percent of the land. Most could barely make ends meet but still had to pay taxes to the state, the tithe to the Catholic church, and a host of seigniorial dues to their lords, whether for us-

ing the lords' mills to grind wheat or to ensure their ability to give their land as inheritance to their children. Peasants greeted the news of events in 1789 with a mixture of hope and anxiety. As food shortages spread, they feared that the beggars and vagrants crowding the roads might be part of an aristocratic plot to starve the people by burning crops or barns. In many places, the **Great Fear** (the term used by historians to describe this rural panic) turned into peasant attacks on aristocrats or on the records of peasants' dues kept in the lord's château. Peasants now refused to pay dues to their lords, and the persistence of peasant violence raised alarms about the potential for a general peasant insurrection.

The End of Feudalism. Alarmed by peasant unrest, the National Assembly decided to make sweeping changes. On the night of August 4, 1789, noble deputies announced their willingness to give up their tax exemptions and seigneurial dues. By the end of the night, amid wild enthusiasm, dozens of deputies had come to the podium to relinquish the tax exemptions of their own professional groups, towns, or provinces. The National Assembly decreed the abolition of what it called “the feudal regime”—that is, it freed the remaining serfs and eliminated all special privileges in matters of taxation, including all seigneurial dues on land. (A few days later the deputies insisted on financial compensation for some of these dues, but most peasants refused to pay.) Peasants had achieved their goals. The Assembly also mandated equality of opportunity in access to government positions. Talent, rather than birth, was to be the key to success. Enlightenment principles were beginning to become law.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen. Three weeks later, the deputies drew up the **Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen** as the preamble to a new constitution. In words reminiscent of the American Declaration of Independence, whose author, Thomas Jefferson, was in Paris at the time, it proclaimed, “Men are born and



The Great Fear, 1789

remain free and equal in rights.” The Declaration granted freedom of religion, freedom of the press, equality of taxation, and equality before the law. It established the principle of national sovereignty: since “all sovereignty rests essentially in the nation,” it said, the king derived his authority henceforth from the nation rather than from tradition or divine right.

By pronouncing all *men* free and equal, the Declaration immediately created new dilemmas. Did women have equal rights with men? What about free blacks in the colonies? How could slavery be justified if all men were born free? Did religious toleration of Protestants and Jews include equal political rights? Women never received the right to vote during the French Revolution, though Protestant and Jewish men did. Women were theoretically citizens under civil law but without the right to full political participation. (See Document, “The Rights of Minorities,” page 597.)

Some women did not accept their exclusion, viewing it as a betrayal of the promised new order. In addition to joining demonstrations, such as the march to Versailles in October 1789, women wrote petitions, published tracts, and organized political clubs to demand more participation (see A Women’s Club, below). In her Declaration of the

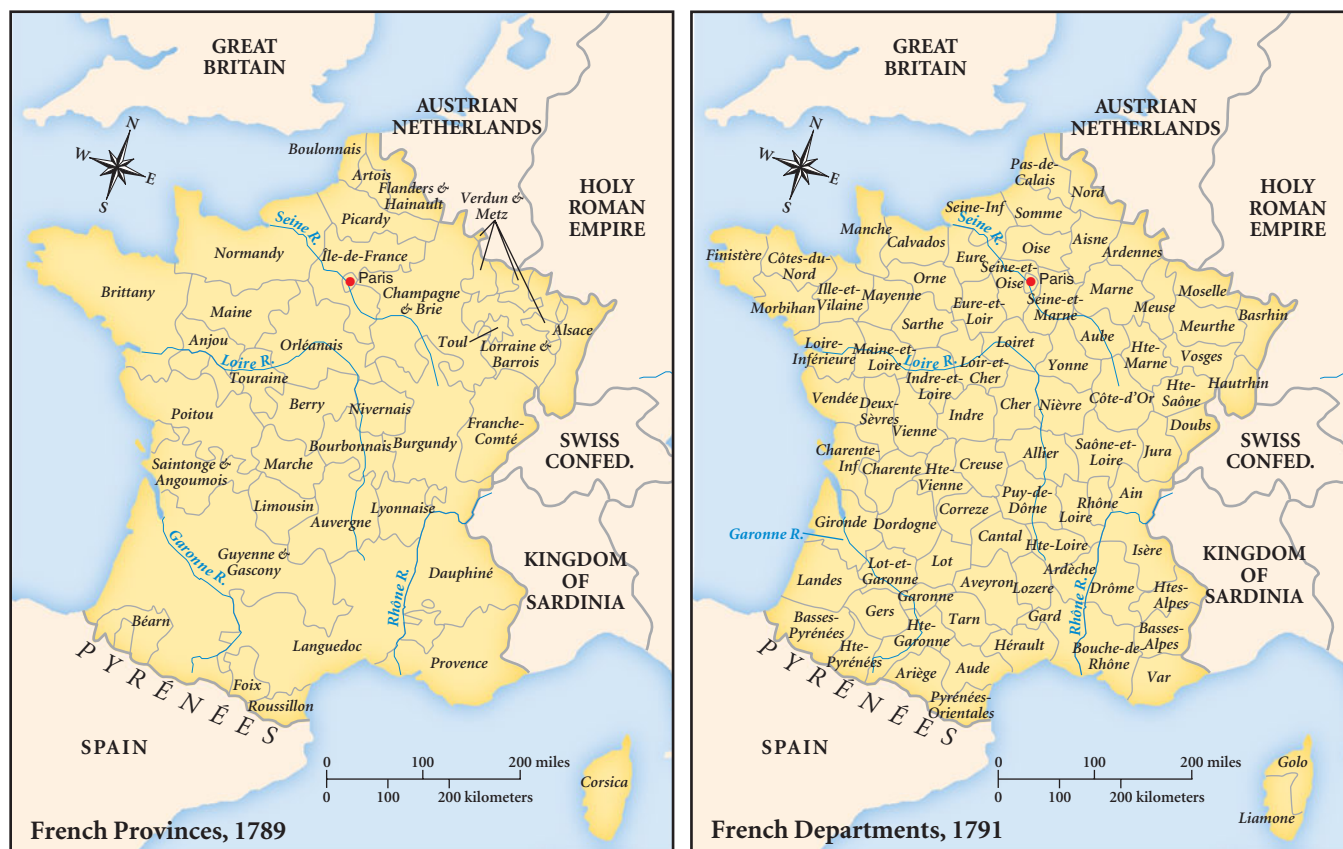
A Women’s Club

In this gouache by the Lesueur brothers, *The Patriotic Women’s Club*, the club president urges the members to contribute funds for poor patriot families. Women’s clubs focused on philanthropic work but also discussed revolutionary legislation. The colorful but sober dress indicates that the women are middle class. (Bridgeman-Giraudon/Art Resource, NY.)



Great Fear: The term used by historians to describe the French rural panic of 1789, which led to peasant attacks on aristocrats or on seigneurial records of peasants' dues.

Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen: The preamble to the French constitution drafted in August 1789; it established the sovereignty of the nation and equal rights for citizens.



MAP 19.2 Redrawing the Map of France, 1789–1791

Before 1789, France had been divided into provinces named after the territories owned by dukes and counts in the Middle Ages. Many provinces had their own law codes and separate systems of taxation. As it began its deliberations, the new National Assembly determined to install uniform administrations and laws for the entire country. Discussion of the administrative reforms began in October 1789 and became law on February 15, 1790, when the Assembly voted to divide the provinces into eighty-three departments, with names based on their geographical characteristics: Basses-Pyrénées for the Pyrénées mountains, Haute-Marne for the Marne River, and so on. ■ How did this redrawing of the administrative map reflect the deputies' emphasis on reason over history?

Rights of Women of 1791, Olympe de Gouges (1748–1793) played on the language of the official Declaration to make the point that women should also be included. She announced in Article I, “Woman is born free and lives equal to man in her rights.” She also insisted that since “woman has the right to mount the scaffold,” she must “equally have the right to mount the rostrum.” De Gouges linked her complaints to a program of social reform in which women would have equal rights to property and public office and equal responsibilities in taxes and criminal punishment.

The Constitution and the Church. Unresponsive to calls for women's equality, the National Assembly turned to preparing France's first written constitution. The deputies gave voting rights only to white men who passed a test of wealth. Despite

these limitations, France became a constitutional monarchy in which the king served as the leading state functionary. A one-house legislature was responsible for making laws. The king could postpone enactment of laws but not veto them. The deputies abolished all the old administrative divisions of the provinces and replaced them with a national system of eighty-three departments with identical administrative and legal structures (Map 19.2). All officials were elected; no offices could be bought or sold. The deputies also abolished the old taxes and replaced them with new ones that were supposed to be uniformly levied. The National Assembly had difficulty collecting taxes, however, because many people had expected a substantial cut in the tax rate. The new administrative system survived, nonetheless, and the departments are still the basic units of the French state today.

DOCUMENT

The Rights of Minorities

When the National Assembly passed the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen on August 26, 1789, it opened the way to discussion of the rights of various groups, from actors (considered ineligible for voting under the monarchy because they impersonated other people as part of their profession) to women, free blacks, mulattoes, and slaves. A nobleman, Count Stanislas de Clermont Tonnerre, gave a speech on December 23, 1789, in which he advocated ending exclusions based on profession or religion, though not gender or race.

Sirs, in the declaration that you believed you should put at the head of the French constitution you have established, consecrated, the rights of man and citizen. In the constitutional work that you have decreed relative to the organization of the municipalities, a work accepted by the King, you have fixed the conditions of eligibility that can be required of citizens. It would seem, Sirs, that there is nothing else left to do and that prejudices should be silent in the face of the language of the law; but an honorable member has explained to us that the

non-Catholics of some provinces still experience harassment based on former laws, and seeing them excluded from the elections and public posts, another honorable member has protested against the effect of prejudice that persecutes some professions. This prejudice, these laws, force you to make your position clear. I have the honor to present you with the draft of a decree, and it is this draft that I defend here. I establish in it the principle that professions and religious creed can never become reasons for ineligibility. . . .

Every creed has only one test to pass in regard to the social body: it has only one examination to which it must submit, that of its morals. It is here that the adversaries of the Jewish people attack me. This people, they say, is not sociable. They are commanded to loan at usurious rates; they cannot be joined with us either in marriage or by the bonds of social interchange; our food is forbidden to them; our tables prohibited; our armies will never have Jews serving in the defense of the fatherland. The worst of these reproaches is unjust; the others are only specious. Usury is not

commanded by their laws; loans at interest are forbidden between them and permitted with foreigners. . . .

But, they say to me, the Jews have their own judges and laws. I respond that is your fault and you should not allow it. We must refuse everything to the Jews as a nation and accord everything to Jews as individuals. We must withdraw recognition from their judges; they should only have our judges. We must refuse legal protection to the maintenance of the so-called laws of their Judaic organization; they should not be allowed to form in the state either a political body or an order. They must be citizens individually. But, some will say to me, they do not want to be citizens. Well then! If they do not want to be citizens, they should say so, and then, we should banish them. It is repugnant to have in the state an association of non-citizens, and a nation within the nation. . . . In short, Sirs, the presumed status of every man resident in a country is to be a citizen.

Source: *Archives parlementaires*, 10 (Paris, 1878): 754–57. Translation by Lynn Hunt.

When the deputies turned to reforming the Catholic church, they created enduring conflicts. Convinced that monastic life encouraged idleness and a decline in the nation's population, the deputies outlawed any future monastic vows and encouraged monks and nuns to return to private life by offering state pensions. Motivated partly by the ongoing financial crisis, the National Assembly confiscated all the church's property and promised to pay clerical salaries in return. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy, passed in July 1790, set pay scales for the clergy and provided that the voters elect their own parish priests and bishops just as they elected other officials. The impounded property served as a guarantee for the new paper money, called assignats, issued by the government. The assignats soon became subject to inflation because the government began to sell the church lands to the highest bidders in state auctions. The

sales increased the landholdings of wealthy city dwellers and prosperous peasants but cut the value of the paper money.

Faced with resistance to these changes, in November 1790, the National Assembly required all clergy to swear an oath of loyalty to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Pope Pius VI in Rome condemned the constitution, and half of the French clergy refused to take the oath. The oath of allegiance permanently divided the Catholic population, which had to choose between loyalty to the old church and commitment to the Revolution with its "constitutional" church. The revolutionary government lost many supporters by passing laws against the clergy who refused the oath and by forcing them into exile, deporting them forcibly, or executing them as traitors. Riots and demonstrations led by women greeted many of the oath-taking priests who replaced those who refused.

The End of Monarchy

The reorganization of the Catholic church offended Louis XVI, who was reluctant to recognize the new limits on his powers. On June 20, 1791, the royal family escaped in disguise from Paris and fled to the eastern border of France, where they hoped to gather support from Austrian emperor Leopold II, the brother of Marie-Antoinette. The plans went awry when a postmaster recognized the king from his portrait on the new French money, and the royal family was arrested at Varennes, forty miles from the Austrian Netherlands border. The National Assembly tried to depict the departure as a kidnapping, but the “flight to Varennes” touched off demonstrations in Paris against the royal family, whom some now regarded as traitors. Cartoons circulated depicting the royal family as animals being returned “to the stable.”

War with Austria and Prussia. The constitution, finally completed in 1791, provided for the immediate election of the new Legislative Assembly. In a rare act of self-denial, the deputies of the National Assembly declared themselves ineligible for the new Assembly. Those who had experienced the Revolution firsthand now departed from the scene, opening the door to men with little previous experience in national politics. The status of the king might have remained uncertain if war had not intervened, but by early 1792 everyone seemed intent on war with Austria. Louis and Marie-Antoinette hoped that such a war would lead to the defeat of the Revolution, whereas the deputies who favored a republic believed that war would lead to the

king’s downfall. On April 21, 1792, Louis declared war on Austria. Prussia immediately entered on the Austrian side. Thousands of French aristocrats, including two-thirds of the army officer corps, had already emigrated, including both the king’s brothers, and they were gathering along France’s eastern border in expectation of joining a counterrevolutionary army.

When fighting broke out in 1792, all the powers expected a brief and relatively contained war. Instead, it would continue despite brief interruptions for the next twenty-three years. War had an immediate radicalizing effect on French politics. When the French armies proved woefully unprepared for battle, the authority of the Legislative Assembly came under fire. In June 1792, an angry crowd invaded the hall of the Assembly in Paris and threatened the royal family. The Prussian commander, the duke of Brunswick, issued a manifesto announcing that Paris would be totally destroyed if the royal family suffered any violence.

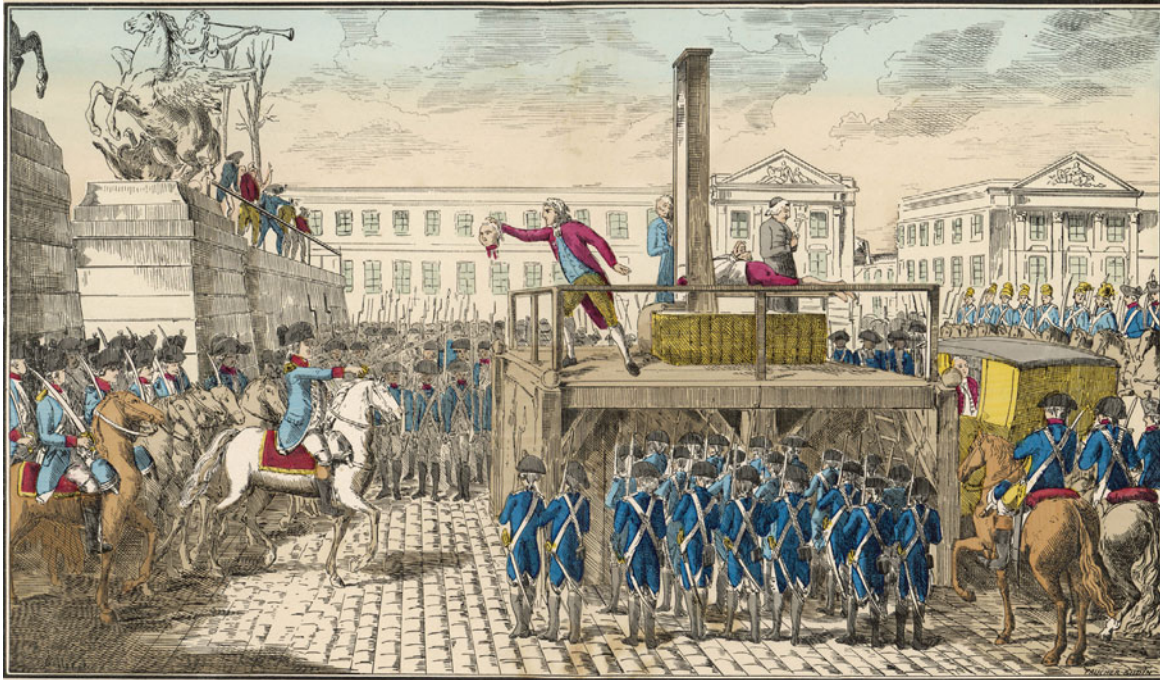
The Second Revolution of August 10, 1792. The ordinary people of Paris did not passively await their fate. Known as *sans-culottes* (literally, “without breeches”)—because men who worked with their hands wore long trousers rather than the knee breeches of the upper classes—they had followed every twist and turn in revolutionary fortunes. Faced with the threat of military retaliation and frustrated with the inaction of the Legislative Assembly, on August 10, 1792, the *sans-culottes* organized an insurrection and attacked the Tuileries palace, the residence of the king. The king and his

The King as a Farmyard Animal

This simple print makes a powerful point: King Louis XVI has lost not only his authority but also the respect of his subjects. Engravings and etchings like this one appeared in reaction to the attempted flight of the king and queen in June 1791.

(The Granger Collection, New York.)





The Execution of King Louis XVI

Louis XVI was executed by order of the National Convention on January 21, 1793. In this print, the executioner shows the severed head to the national guards standing in orderly silence around the scaffold. (Mary Evans Picture Library.)

family had to seek refuge in the meeting room of the Legislative Assembly, where the frightened deputies ordered elections for a new legislature. By abolishing the property qualifications for voting, the deputies instituted universal male suffrage for the first time.

When it met, the National Convention abolished the monarchy and on September 22, 1792, established the first republic in French history. The republic would answer only to the people, not to any royal authority. Many of the deputies in the Convention belonged to the devotedly republican **Jacobin Club**, named after the former monastery in Paris where the club first met. The Jacobin Club in Paris headed a national political network of clubs that linked all the major towns and cities. Lafayette and other liberal aristocrats who had supported the constitutional monarchy fled into exile.

Violence soon exploded again when early in September 1792 the Prussians approached Paris. Hastily gathered mobs stormed the overflowing prisons to seek out traitors who might help the enemy. In an atmosphere of near hysteria, eleven

hundred inmates were killed, including many ordinary and completely innocent people. The princess of Lamballe, one of the queen's favorites, was hacked to pieces and her mutilated body displayed beneath the windows where the royal family was kept under guard. These "September massacres" showed the dark side of popular revolution, in which the common people demanded instant revenge on supposed enemies and conspirators.

The Execution of the King. The National Convention faced a dire situation. It needed to write a new constitution for the republic while fighting a war with external enemies and confronting increasing resistance at home. Many thought the Revolution had gone too far when it confiscated the properties of the church, eliminated titles of nobility, and deposed the king. The French people had never known any government other than monarchy. Only half the population could read and write at even a basic level. In this situation, symbolic actions became very important. Any public sign of monarchy was at risk, and revolutionaries soon pulled down statues of kings and burned reminders of the former regime.

The fate of Louis XVI and the future direction of the republic divided the deputies elected to the

Jacobin Club: A French political club formed in 1789 that inspired the formation of a national network whose members dominated the revolutionary government during the Terror.

National Convention. Most of the deputies were middle-class lawyers and professionals who had developed their ardent republican beliefs in the network of Jacobin Clubs. After the fall of the monarchy in August 1792, however, the Jacobins divided into two factions. The Girondins (named after a department in southwestern France, the Gironde, which provided some of its leading orators) met regularly at the salon of Jeanne Roland, the wife of a minister. They resented the growing power of Parisian militants and tried to appeal to the departments outside of Paris. The Mountain (so called because its deputies sat in the highest seats of the National Convention), in contrast, was closely allied with the Paris militants.

The first showdown between the Girondins and the Mountain occurred during the trial of the king in December 1792. Although the Girondins agreed that the king was guilty of treason, many of them argued for clemency, exile, or a popular referendum on his fate. After a long and difficult debate, the National Convention supported the Mountain and voted by a very narrow majority to execute the king. Louis XVI went to the guillotine on January 21, 1793, sharing the fate of Charles I of England in 1649. “We have just convinced ourselves that a king is only a man,” wrote one newspaper, “and that no man is above the law.”

REVIEW: Why did the French Revolution turn in an increasingly radical direction after 1789?

Terror and Resistance

The execution of the king did not solve the new regime’s problems. The continuing war required even more men and money, and the introduction of a national draft provoked massive resistance in some parts of France. In response to growing pressures, the National Convention named the Committee of Public Safety to supervise food distribution, direct the war effort, and root out counterrevolutionaries. The leader of the committee, **Maximilien Robespierre** (1758–1794), wanted to go beyond these stopgap measures and create a “republic of virtue,” in which the government would teach, or force, citizens to become virtuous republicans through a massive program of politi-

cal reeducation. Thus began the **Terror**, in which the guillotine became the most terrifying instrument of a government that suppressed almost every form of dissent (see *The Guillotine*, page 601). These policies only increased divisions, which ultimately led to Robespierre’s fall from power and to a dismantling of government by terror.

Robespierre and the Committee of Public Safety

The conflict between the more moderate Girondins and the more radical Mountain came to a head in spring 1793. Militants in Paris agitated for the removal of the deputies who had proposed a referendum on the king, and in retaliation the Girondins engineered the arrest of Jean-Paul Marat, a deputy allied with the Mountain who in his newspaper had been calling for more and more executions. Marat was acquitted, and Parisian militants marched into the National Convention on June 2, 1793, forcing the deputies to decree the arrest of their twenty-nine Girondin colleagues. The Convention consented to the establishment of paramilitary bands called “revolutionary armies” to hunt down political suspects and hoarders of grain. The deputies also agreed to speed up the operation of special revolutionary courts.

Setting the course for government and the war increasingly fell to the twelve-member Committee of Public Safety, set up by the National Convention on April 6, 1793. When Robespierre was elected to the committee three months later, he became in effect its guiding spirit and the chief spokesman of the Revolution. A lawyer from northern France known as “the incorruptible” for his stern honesty and fierce dedication to democratic ideals, Robespierre remains one of the most controversial figures in world history because of his association with the Terror. Although he originally opposed the death penalty and the war, he was convinced that the emergency situation of 1793 required severe measures, including death for those, such as the Girondins, who opposed the committee’s policies.

Like many other educated eighteenth-century men, Robespierre had read the classics of republicanism from the ancient Roman writers Tacitus and Plutarch to the Enlightenment thinkers Mon-

Maximilien Robespierre (roh behs PYEHR): A lawyer from northern France who laid out the principles of a republic of virtue and of the Terror; his arrest and execution in July 1794 brought an end to the Terror.

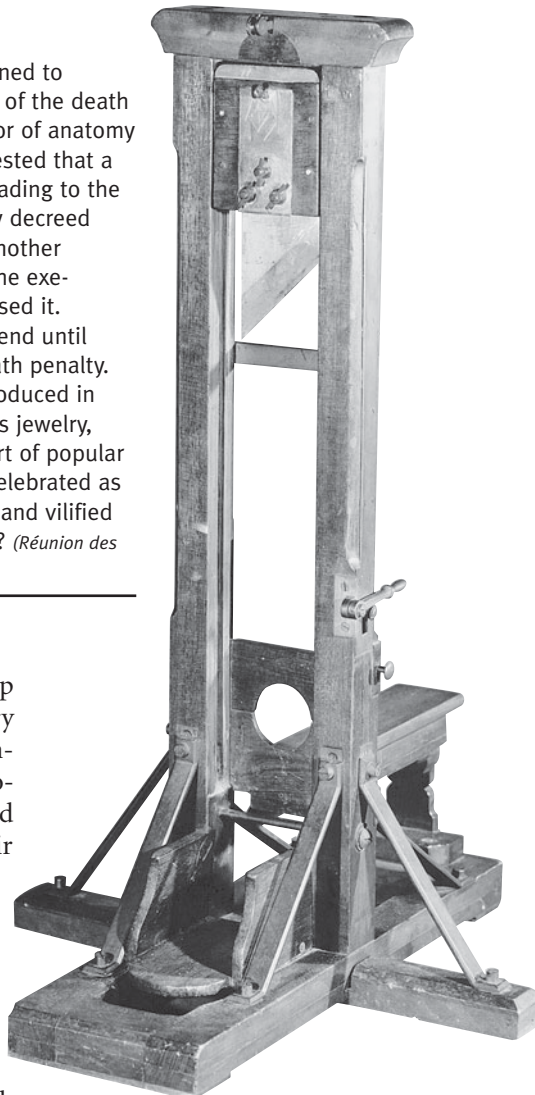
Terror: The policy established under the direction of the Committee of Public Safety during the French Revolution to arrest dissidents and execute opponents in order to protect the republic from its enemies.

The Guillotine

Before 1789, only nobles were decapitated if condemned to death; commoners were usually hanged. Equalization of the death penalty was first proposed by J. I. Guillotin, a professor of anatomy and a deputy in the National Assembly. He also suggested that a mechanical device be constructed for decapitation, leading to the instrument's association with his name. The Assembly decreed decapitation as the death penalty in June 1791 and another physician, A. Louis, actually invented the guillotine. The executioner pulled up the blade by a cord and then released it. Use of the guillotine began in April 1792 and did not end until 1981, when the French government abolished the death penalty. The guillotine fascinated as much as it repelled. Reproduced in miniature, painted onto snuffboxes and china, worn as jewelry, and even serving as a toy, the guillotine became a part of popular culture. How could the guillotine be simultaneously celebrated as the people's avenger by supporters of the Revolution and vilified as the preeminent symbol of the Terror by opponents? (*Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY*)

tesquieu and Rousseau. But he took them a step further. He defined “the theory of revolutionary government” as “the war of liberty against its enemies.” He defended the people's right to democratic government, while in practice he supported many emergency measures that restricted their liberties. He personally favored a free-market economy, as did almost all middle-class deputies, but in this time of crisis he was willing to enact price controls and requisitioning. In an effort to stabilize prices, the National Convention established the General Maximum on September 29, 1793, which set limits on the prices of thirty-nine essential commodities and on wages. In a speech to the Convention, Robespierre explained the necessity of government by terror: “The first maxim of your policies must be to lead the people by reason and the people's enemies by terror. . . . Without virtue, terror is deadly; without terror, virtue is impotent.” *Terror* was not an idle term; it seemed to imply that the goal of democracy justified what we now call totalitarian means, that is, the suppression of all dissent.

Through a series of desperate measures, the Committee of Public Safety set the machinery of the Terror in motion. It sent deputies out “on mission” to purge unreliable officials and organize the war effort. Revolutionary tribunals set up in Paris and provincial centers tried political suspects. In October 1793, the Revolutionary Tribunal in Paris convicted Marie-Antoinette of treason and sent her to the guillotine. The Girondin leaders and Madame Roland were also guillotined, as was Olympe de Gouges. The government confiscated all the property of convicted traitors.



The new republic won its greatest success on the battlefield. As of April 1793, France faced war with Austria, Prussia, Great Britain, Spain, Sardinia, and the Dutch Republic — all fearful of the impact of revolutionary ideals on their own populations. The execution of Louis XVI, in particular, galvanized European governments; according to William Pitt, the British prime minister, it was “the foulest and most atrocious act the world has ever seen.” To face this daunting coalition of forces, the French republic ordered the first universal draft of men in history. Every unmarried man and childless widower between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five was declared eligible for conscription. The government also tapped a new and potent source of power — nationalist pride — in decrees mobilizing young and old alike:

The young men will go to battle; married men will forge arms and transport provisions; women will make tents and clothing and serve in hospitals; children will

make bandages; old men will get themselves carried to public places to arouse the courage of warriors and preach hatred of kings and unity of the republic.

Forges were set up in the parks and gardens of Paris to produce thousands of guns, and citizens everywhere helped collect saltpeter to make gunpowder. By the end of 1793, the French nation in arms had stopped the advance of the allied powers, and in the summer of 1794 it invaded the Austrian Netherlands and crossed the Rhine River. The army was ready to carry the gospel of revolution and republicanism to the rest of Europe.

The Republic of Virtue, 1793–1794

The program of the Terror went beyond pragmatic measures to fight the war and internal enemies to include efforts to “republicanize everything”—in other words, to effect a cultural revolution. While censoring writings deemed counterrevolutionary, the government encouraged republican art, set up civic festivals, and in some places directly attacked the churches in a campaign known as de-Christianization. In addition to drawing up plans

for a new program of elementary education, the republic set about politicizing aspects of daily life, including even the measurement of space and time.

Republican Culture. Refusing to tolerate opposition, the republic left no stone unturned in its endeavor to get its message across. Songs—especially the new national anthem, “La Marseillaise”—and placards, posters, pamphlets, books, engravings, paintings, sculpture, even everyday crockery, chamberpots, and playing cards conveyed revolutionary slogans and symbols. Foremost among them was the figure of Liberty, which appeared on coins and bills, on letterheads and seals, and as statues in festivals. Hundreds of new plays were produced and old classics revised. To encourage the production of patriotic and republican works, the government sponsored state competitions for artists. Works of art were supposed to “awaken the public spirit and make clear how atrocious and ridiculous were the enemies of liberty and of the Republic.”

At the center of this elaborate cultural campaign were the revolutionary festivals modeled on Rousseau’s plans for a civic religion. The festivals



Representing Liberty

Liberty was represented by a female figure because in French the noun is feminine (*la liberté*). This painting from 1793–1794, by Jeanne-Louise Vallain, captures the usual attributes of Liberty: she is soberly seated, wearing a Roman-style toga and holding a pike with a Roman liberty cap on top. Her Roman appearance signals that she represents an abstract quality. The fact that she holds an instrument of battle suggests that women might be active participants. The Statue of Liberty in New York harbor, given by the French to the United States, is a late-nineteenth-century version of the same figure, but without any suggestion of battle. (*Musée de la Révolution française, Vizille; 1857#44.*)

first emerged in 1789 with the spontaneous planting of liberty trees in villages and towns. The Festival of Federation on July 14, 1790, marked the first anniversary of the fall of the Bastille. Under the National Convention, the well-known painter Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825), who was a deputy and an associate of Robespierre, took over festival planning. David aimed to destroy the mystique of monarchy and to make the republic sacred. His Festival of Unity on August 10, 1793, for example, celebrated the first anniversary of the overthrow of the monarchy. In front of the statue of Liberty built for the occasion, a bonfire consumed crowns and scepters symbolizing royalty while a cloud of three thousand white doves rose into the sky. This was all part of preaching the “moral order of the Republic . . . that will make us a people of brothers, a people of philosophers.”

De-Christianization. Some revolutionaries hoped the festival system would replace the Catholic church altogether. They initiated a campaign of **de-Christianization** that included closing churches (Protestant as well as Catholic), selling many church buildings to the highest bidder, and trying to force even those clergy who had taken the oath of loyalty to abandon their clerical vocations and marry. Great churches became storehouses for arms or grain, or their stones were sold off to contractors. The medieval statues of kings on the facade of Notre Dame cathedral were beheaded. Church bells were dismantled and church treasures melted down for government use.

In the ultimate step in de-Christianization, extremists tried to establish what they called the Cult of Reason to supplant Christianity. In Paris in the fall of 1793, a goddess of Liberty, played by an actress, presided over the Festival of Reason in Notre Dame cathedral. Local militants in other cities staged similar festivals, which alarmed deputies in the National Convention, who were wary of turning rural, devout populations against the republic. Robespierre objected to the de-Christianization campaign's atheism; he favored a Rousseau-inspired deistic religion without the supposedly superstitious trappings of Catholicism. The Committee of Public Safety halted the de-Christianization campaign, and Robespierre, with David's help, tried to institute an alternative, the Cult of the Supreme Being, in June 1794. Neither the Cult of Reason nor the Cult of the Supreme Being attracted many followers, but both show the depth of the commit-

ment to overturning the old order and all its traditional institutions.

Politicizing Daily Life. In principle, the best way to ensure the future of the republic was through the education of the young. The deputy Georges-Jacques Danton (1759–1794), Robespierre's main competitor as theorist of the Revolution, maintained that “after bread, the first need of the people is education.” The National Convention voted to make primary schooling free and compulsory for both boys and girls. It took control of education away from the Catholic church and tried to set up a system of state schools at both the primary and secondary levels, but it lacked trained teachers to replace those the Catholic religious orders had provided. As a result, opportunities for learning how to read and write may have diminished. In 1799, only one-fifth as many boys enrolled in the state secondary schools as had studied in church schools ten years earlier.

Although many of the ambitious republican programs failed, colors, clothing, and daily speech were all politicized. The tricolor—the combination of red, white, and blue that was to become the flag of France—was devised in July 1789, and by 1793 everyone had to wear a cockade (a badge made of ribbons) with the colors. Using the formal forms of speech—*vous* for “you”—or the title *monsieur* or *madame* might identify someone as an aristocrat; true patriots used the informal *tu* and *citoyen* or *citoyenne* (“citizen”) instead. Some people changed their names or gave their children new kinds of names. Biblical and saints' names such as John, Peter, Joseph, and Mary gave way to names recalling heroes of the ancient Roman republic (Brutus, Gracchus, Cornelia), revolutionary heroes, or flowers and plants. Such changes symbolized adherence to the republic and to Enlightenment ideals rather than to Catholicism.

Even the measures of time and space were revolutionized. In October 1793, the National Convention introduced a new calendar to replace the Christian one. Its bases were reason and republican principles. Year I dated from the beginning of the republic on September 22, 1792. Twelve months of exactly thirty days each received new names derived from nature—for example, Pluviôse (roughly equivalent to February) recalled the rain (*la pluie*) of late winter. Instead of seven-day weeks, ten-day *décades* provided only one day of rest every ten days and pointedly eliminated the Sunday of the Christian calendar. The five days left at the end of the calendar year were devoted to special festivals called *sans-culottides*. The calendar remained in force for twelve years despite contin-

de-Christianization: During the French Revolution, the campaign of extremist republicans against organized churches and in favor of a belief system based on reason.

uing resistance to it. More enduring was the new metric system based on units of ten that was invented to replace the hundreds of local variations in weights and measures. Other countries in Europe and throughout the world eventually adopted the metric system.

Revolutionary laws also changed the rules of family life. The state took responsibility for all family matters away from the Catholic church: people now registered births, deaths, and marriages at city hall, not the parish church. Marriage became a civil contract and as such could be broken and thereby nullified. The new divorce law of September 1792 was the most far-reaching in Europe: a couple could divorce by mutual consent or for reasons such as insanity, abandonment, battering, or criminal conviction. Thousands of men and women took advantage of the law to dissolve unhappy marriages, even though the pope had condemned the measure. (In 1816, the government revoked the right to divorce, and not until the 1970s did French divorce laws return to the principles of the 1792 legislation.) In one of its most influential actions, the National Convention passed a series of laws that created equal inheritance among all children in the family, including girls. The father's right to favor one child, especially the oldest male, was considered aristocratic and hence antirepublican.

Resisting the Revolution

By intruding into religion, culture, and daily life, the republic inevitably provoked resistance. Shouting curses against the republic, uprooting liberty trees, carrying statues of the Virgin Mary in procession, hiding a priest who would not take the oath, singing a royalist song—all these expressed dissent with the new symbols, rituals, and policies. Resistance also took more violent forms, from riots over food shortages or religious policies to assassination and full-scale civil war.

Women's Resistance. Many women, in particular, suffered from the hard conditions of life that persisted in this time of war, and they had their own ways of voicing discontent. Long bread lines in the cities exhausted the patience of women, and police spies reported their constant grumbling, which occasionally turned into spontaneous demonstrations or riots over high prices

or food shortages. Women also organized their fellow parishioners to refuse to hear Mass offered by the “constitutional” priests, and they protected the priests who would not sign the oath of loyalty.

Other forms of resistance were more individual. One young woman, Charlotte Corday, assassinated the outspoken deputy Jean-Paul Marat in July 1793. Corday fervently supported the Girondins, and she considered it her patriotic duty to kill the deputy who, in the columns of his paper, had constantly demanded more heads and more blood. Marat was immediately eulogized as a great martyr, and Corday went to the guillotine vilified as a monster but confident that she had “avenged many innocent victims.”

Rebellion and Civil War. Organized resistance broke out in many parts of France. The arrest of the Girondin deputies in June 1793 sparked insurrections in several departments. After the government retook the city of Lyon, one of the centers of the revolt, the deputy on mission ordered sixteen hundred houses demolished and the name of the city changed to Liberated City. Special courts sentenced almost two thousand people to death.

In the Vendée region of western France, resistance turned into a bloody and prolonged civil war. Between March and December 1793, peasants, artisans, and weavers joined under noble leadership to form a “Catholic and Royal Army.” One rebel group explained its motives: “They [the republicans] have killed our king, chased away our priests, sold the goods of our church, eaten everything we have and now they want to take our bodies [in the draft].” The uprising took two different forms: in the Vendée itself, a counter-revolutionary army organized to fight the republic; in nearby Brittany, resistance took the form of guerrilla bands, which united to attack a target and then quickly melted into the countryside. Great Britain provided money and underground contacts for these attacks, which were almost always aimed at towns. In many ways this was a civil war between town and country, for the townspeople were the ones who supported the Revolution and bought church lands for themselves. The peasants had gained most of what they wanted in 1789 with the abolition of seigneurial dues, and they resented the government's demands for money and



The Vendée Rebellion, 1793

manpower and actions taken against their local clergy.

For several months in 1793, the Vendée rebels stormed the largest towns in the region. Both sides committed horrible atrocities. At the small town of Machecoul, for example, the rebels massacred five hundred republicans, including administrators and National Guard members; many were tied together, shoved into freshly dug graves, and shot. By the fall, however, republican soldiers had turned back the rebels. A republican general wrote to the Committee of Public Safety claiming, “There is no more Vendée, citizens, it has perished under our free sword along with its women and children. . . . Following the orders that you gave me I have crushed children under the feet of horses, massacred women who at least . . . will engender no more brigands.” His claims of complete victory turned hollow soon afterward, as fighting continued.

“Infernal columns” of republican troops marched through the region to restore control, military courts ordered thousands executed, and republican soldiers massacred thousands of others. In one especially gruesome incident, the deputy Jean-Baptiste Carrier supervised the drowning of some two thousand Vendée rebels, including a number of priests. Barges loaded with prisoners were floated into the Loire River near Nantes and then sunk. Controversy still rages about the rebellion’s death toll because no accurate count could be taken. Estimates of rebel deaths alone range from about 20,000 to 250,000 and higher. Many thousands of republican soldiers and civilians also lost their lives in fighting that continued on and off for years. Even the low estimates reveal the carnage of this catastrophic confrontation between the republic and its opponents.

The Fall of Robespierre and the End of the Terror

In an atmosphere of fear of conspiracy that these outbreaks fueled, Robespierre tried simultaneously to exert the National Convention’s control over popular political activities and to weed out opposition among the deputies. As a result, the Terror intensified until July 1794, when a group of deputies joined within the Convention to order the arrest and execution of Robespierre and his followers. The Convention then ordered elections and drew up a new republican constitution that gave executive power to five directors. This “Directory government” maintained power during four years of seesaw battles between royalists and former Jacobins.

The Revolution Devours Its Own. In the fall of 1793, the National Convention cracked down on popular clubs and societies. First to be suppressed were women’s political clubs. Founded in early 1793, the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women played a very active part in sans-culottes politics. The society urged harsher measures against the republic’s enemies and insisted that women have a voice in politics even if they did not have the vote. Women had set up their own clubs in many provincial towns and also attended the meetings of local men’s organizations. Using traditional arguments about women’s inherent unsuitability for politics, the deputies abolished women’s political clubs. The closing of women’s clubs marked an important turning point in the Revolution. From then on, the sans-culottes and their political organizations came increasingly under the thumb of the Jacobin deputies in the National Convention.

In the spring of 1794, the Committee of Public Safety moved against its critics among leaders in Paris and deputies in the National Convention itself. First, a handful of “ultrarevolutionaries” — a collection of local Parisian politicians — were arrested and executed. Next came the other side, the “indulgents,” so called because they favored a moderation of the Terror. Included among them was the deputy Danton, himself once a member of the Committee of Public Safety and a friend of Robespierre. Danton was the Revolution’s most flamboyant orator and, unlike Robespierre, a high-living, high-spending, excitable politician. At every critical turning point in national politics, his booming voice had swayed opinion in the National Convention. Now, under pressure from the Committee of Public Safety, the Revolutionary Tribunal convicted him and his friends of treason and sentenced them to death.

“The Revolution,” as one of the Girondin victims of 1793 had remarked, “was devouring its own children.” Even after the major threats to the Committee of Public Safety’s power had been eliminated, the Terror continued and even worsened. A law passed in June 1794 denied the accused the right of legal counsel, reduced the number of jurors necessary for conviction, and allowed only two judgments: acquittal or death. The category of political crimes expanded to include “slandering patriotism” and “seeking to inspire discouragement.” Ordinary people risked the guillotine if they expressed any discontent. The rate of executions in Paris rose from five a day in the spring of 1794 to twenty-six a day in the summer. The political atmosphere darkened even though the military situation improved. At the

end of June, the French armies decisively defeated the main Austrian army and advanced through the Austrian Netherlands to Brussels and Antwerp. The emergency measures for fighting the war were working, yet Robespierre and his inner circle had

MAJOR EVENTS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

MAY 5, 1789	The Estates General opens at Versailles
JUNE 17, 1789	The Third Estate decides to call itself the National Assembly
JUNE 20, 1789	“Tennis court oath” shows determination of deputies to carry out a constitutional revolution
JULY 14, 1789	Fall of the Bastille
AUGUST 4, 1789	National Assembly abolishes “feudalism”
AUGUST 26, 1789	National Assembly passes Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen
OCTOBER 5–6, 1789	Women march to Versailles and are joined by men in bringing the royal family back to Paris
JULY 12, 1790	Civil Constitution of the Clergy
JUNE 20, 1791	Louis and Marie-Antoinette attempt to flee in disguise and are captured at Varennes
APRIL 20, 1792	Declaration of war on Austria
AUGUST 10, 1792	Insurrection in Paris and attack on Tuileries palace lead to removal of king’s authority
SEPTEMBER 2–6, 1792	Murder of prisoners in “September massacres” in Paris
SEPTEMBER 22, 1792	Establishment of the republic
JANUARY 21, 1793	Execution of Louis XVI
MARCH 11, 1793	Beginning of uprising in the Vendée
MAY 31–JUNE 2, 1793	Insurrection leading to arrest of the Girondins
JULY 27, 1793	Robespierre named to the Committee of Public Safety
SEPTEMBER 29, 1793	Convention establishes General Maximum on prices and wages
OCTOBER 16, 1793	Execution of Marie-Antoinette
FEBRUARY 4, 1794	Slavery abolished in the French colonies
MARCH 13–24, 1794	Arrest, trial, and executions of so-called ultra-revolutionaries
MARCH 30–APRIL 5, 1794	Arrest, trial, and executions of Danton and his followers
JULY 27, 1794	Arrest of Robespierre and his supporters (executed July 28–29); beginning of end of the Terror
OCTOBER 26, 1795	Directory government takes office
APRIL 1796–OCTOBER 1797, 1795	Succession of Italian victories by Bonaparte

made so many enemies that they could not afford to loosen the grip of the Terror.

The Terror hardly touched many parts of France, but overall the experience was undeniably traumatic. Across the country, the official Terror cost the lives of at least 40,000 French people, most of them living in the regions of major insurrections or near the borders with foreign enemies, where suspicion of collaboration ran high. As many as 300,000 people—one out of every fifty French people—went to prison as suspects between March 1793 and August 1794. The toll for the aristocracy and the clergy was especially high. Many leading nobles perished under the guillotine, and thousands emigrated. Thirty thousand to forty thousand clergy who refused the oath left the country, at least two thousand (including many nuns) were executed, and thousands were imprisoned. The clergy were singled out in particular in the civil war zones: 135 priests were massacred at Lyon in November 1793, and 83 were shot in one day during the Vendée revolt. Yet many victims of the Terror were peasants or ordinary working people.

The final crisis of the Terror came in July 1794. Conflicts within the Committee of Public Safety and the National Convention left Robespierre isolated. On July 27, 1794 (the ninth of Thermidor, Year II, according to the revolutionary calendar), Robespierre appeared before the Convention with yet another list of deputies to be arrested. Many feared they would be named, and they shouted him down and ordered him arrested along with his followers on the committee, the president of the Revolutionary Tribunal in Paris, and the commander of the Parisian National Guard. An armed uprising led by the Paris city government failed to save Robespierre when most of the National Guard took the side of the Convention. Robespierre tried to kill himself with a pistol but only broke his jaw. The next day he and scores of followers went to the guillotine.

The Thermidorian Reaction and the Directory, 1794–1799. The men who led the attack on Robespierre in Thermidor (July 1794) did not intend to reverse all his policies, but that happened nonetheless because of a violent backlash known as the **Thermidorian Reaction**. As most of the instruments of terror were dismantled, newspapers attacked the Robespierrists as “tigers thirsting for human blood.” The new government released hundreds of suspects and arranged a temporary truce

Thermidorian Reaction: The violent backlash against the rule of Robespierre that dismantled the Terror and punished Jacobins and their supporters.

in the Vendée. It purged Jacobins from local bodies and replaced them with their opponents. It arrested some of the most notorious “terrorists” in the National Convention, such as Carrier, and put them to death. Within the year, the new leaders abolished the Revolutionary Tribunal and closed the Jacobin Club in Paris. Popular demonstrations met severe repression. In southeastern France, in particular, the “White Terror” replaced the Jacobins’ “Red Terror.” Former officials and local Jacobin leaders were harassed, beaten, and often murdered by paramilitary bands who had tacit support from the new authorities. Those who remained in the National Convention prepared yet another constitution in 1795, setting up a two-house legislature and an executive body—the Directory, headed by five directors.

The Directory regime tenuously held on to power for four years, all the while trying to fend off challenges from the remaining Jacobins and the resurgent royalists. The puritanical atmosphere of the Terror gave way to the pursuit of pleasure—low-cut dresses of transparent materials, the reappearance of prostitutes in the streets, fancy dinner parties, and “victims’ balls” where guests wore red ribbons around their necks as reminders of the guillotine. Bands of young men dressed in knee breeches and rich fabrics picked fights with known Jacobins and disrupted theater performances with loud antirevolutionary songs. All over France, people petitioned to reopen churches closed during the Terror. If necessary, they broke into a church to hold services with a priest who had been in hiding or a lay schoolteacher who was willing to say Mass.

Although the Terror had ended, the revolution had not. In 1794, the most democratic and most repressive phases of the Revolution both ended at once. Between 1795 and 1799, the republic endured in France, but it directed a war effort abroad that would ultimately bring to power the man who would dismantle the republic itself.

REVIEW: What factors can explain the Terror? To what extent was it simply a response to a national emergency or a reflection of deeper problems within the French Revolution?

Revolution on the March

War raged almost constantly from 1792 to 1815. At one time or another, and sometimes all at once, France faced every principal power in Europe. The French republic—and later the French Empire under its supreme commander, Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte—proved an even more formidable op-

ponent than the France of Louis XIV. New means of mobilizing and organizing soldiers enabled the French to dominate Europe for a generation. The influence of the Revolution as a political model and the threat of French military conquest combined to challenge the traditional order in Europe.

Arms and Conquests

The powers allied against France squandered their best chance to triumph in early 1793, when the French armies verged on chaos because of the emigration of noble army officers and the problems of integrating new draftees. By the end of 1793, the French had a huge and powerful fighting force of 700,000 men. But the army still faced many problems in the field. As many as a third of the recent draftees deserted before or during battle. At times the soldiers were fed only moldy bread, and if their pay was late, they sometimes resorted to pillaging and looting. Generals might pay with their lives if they lost a key battle and their loyalty to the Revolution came under suspicion.

France nevertheless had one overwhelming advantage: those soldiers who agreed to serve fought for a revolution that they and their brothers and sisters had helped make. The republic was their government, and the army was in large measure theirs too; many officers had risen through the ranks by skill and talent rather than by inheriting or purchasing their positions. One young peasant boy wrote to his parents, “Either you will see me return bathed in glory, or you will have a son who is a worthy citizen of France who knows how to die for the defense of his country.”

When the French armies invaded the Austrian Netherlands and crossed the Rhine in the summer of 1794, they proclaimed a war of liberation. Middle-class people near the northern and eastern borders of France reacted most positively to the French invasion (Map 19.3). In the Austrian Netherlands, Mainz, Savoy, and Nice, French officers organized Jacobin Clubs that attracted locals. The clubs petitioned for annexation to France, and French legislation was then introduced, including the abolition of seigneurial dues. As the French annexed more and more territory, however, “liberated” people in many places began to view them as an army of occupation. Despite resistance, especially in the Austrian Netherlands, these areas remained part of France until 1815, and the legal changes were permanent.

The Directory government that came to power in 1795 launched an even more aggressive policy of creating semi-independent “sister republics” wherever the armies succeeded. When Prussia

MAP 19.3 French Expansion, 1791–1799

The influence of the French Revolution on neighboring territories is dramatically evident in this map. The French directly annexed the papal territories in southern France in 1791, Nice and Savoy in 1792, and the Austrian Netherlands in 1795. They set up a series of sister republics in the former Dutch Republic and in various Italian states. Local people did not always welcome these changes. For example, the French made the Dutch pay a huge war indemnity, support a French occupying army of 25,000 soldiers, and give up some southern territories. The sister republics faced a future of subordination to French national interests.



declared neutrality in 1795, the French armies swarmed into the Dutch Republic, abolished the stadholderate, and—with the revolutionary penchant for renaming—created the new Batavian Republic, a satellite of France. The brilliant young general Napoleon Bonaparte gained a reputation by defeating the Austrian armies in northern Italy in 1797 and then created the Cisalpine Republic. Next he overwhelmed Venice and then handed it over to the Austrians in exchange for a peace agreement that lasted less than two years. After the French attacked the Swiss cantons in 1798, they set up the Helvetic Republic and curtailed many of the Catholic church's privileges. They conquered the Papal States in 1798 and installed a Roman Republic, forcing the pope to flee to Siena.

The revolutionary wars had an immediate impact on European life at all levels of society. Thousands of men died in every country involved, with perhaps as many as 200,000 casualties in the French armies alone in 1794 and 1795. More soldiers died in hospitals as a result of their wounds than on the battlefields. Constant warfare hampered world

commerce and especially disrupted French overseas shipping. Times were now hard almost everywhere, because the dislocations of internal and external commerce provoked constant shortages.

European Reactions to Revolutionary Change

The French Revolution profoundly transformed European politics and social relations. (See “Contrasting Views,” page 610.) Many had greeted the events of 1789 with unabashed enthusiasm. The English Unitarian minister Richard Price had exulted, “Behold, the light . . . after setting AMERICA free, reflected to FRANCE, and there kindled into a blaze that lays despotism in ashes, and warms and illuminates EUROPE.” Democrats and reformers from many countries flooded to Paris to witness events firsthand. Supporters of the French Revolution in Great Britain joined constitutional and reform societies that sprang up in many cities. The most important of these societies, the London Corresponding Society, founded in 1792, corre-



The English Rebuttal

In this caricature, James Gillray satirizes the French version of liberty. Gillray produced thousands of political caricatures. How would you interpret the message of this print?

(© Copyright The Trustees of the British Museum.)

sponded with the Paris Jacobin Club and served as a center for reform agitation in England. Pro-French feeling ran even stronger in Ireland. Catholics and Presbyterians, both excluded from the vote, came together in 1791 in the Society of United Irishmen, which eventually pressed for secession from England.

European elites became alarmed when the French abolished monarchy and nobility and encouraged popular participation in politics. The British government, for example, quickly suppressed the corresponding societies and harassed their leaders, charging that their ideas and their contacts with the French were seditious (see the cartoon above for a negative English view). When the Society of United Irishmen timed a rebellion to coincide with an attempted French invasion in 1798, the British mercilessly repressed them, killing thirty thousand rebels. Twice as many regular British troops (seventy thousand) as fought in any of the major continental battles were required to put down the rebellion. Spain's royal gov-

ernment suppressed all news from France, fearing that it might ignite the spirit of revolt.

Elites sometimes found allies in opposing the French. Peasants in the German and Italian states fiercely resisted French occupation, often in the form of banditry. Because the French offered the Jews religious toleration and civil and political rights wherever they conquered, anti-French groups sometimes attacked Jews. One German traveler reported, "It is characteristic of the region in which the bandits are based that these two nations [the French and the Jews] are hated. So crimes against them are motivated not just by a wish to rob them but also by a variety of fanaticism which is partly political and partly religious."

Many leading intellectuals in the German states, including the philosopher Immanuel Kant, initially supported the revolutionary cause, but after 1793 most of them turned against the popular violence and military aggressiveness of the Revolution. One of the greatest writers of the age,

CONTRASTING VIEWS

Perspectives on the French Revolution

Contemporaries instantly grasped the cataclysmic significance of the French Revolution and began to argue about its lessons for their own countries. A member of the British Parliament, Edmund Burke, ignited a firestorm of controversy with his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (Document 1). He condemned the French revolutionaries for attempting to build a government on abstract reasoning rather than taking historical traditions and customs into account; his book provided a foundation for the doctrine known as conservatism, which argued for “conserving” the traditional foundations of society and avoiding the pitfalls of radical or revolutionary change. Burke’s views provoked a strong response from the English political agitator Thomas Paine. Paine’s pamphlet *Common Sense* (1776) had helped inspire the British North American colonies to demand independence from Great Britain. In *The Rights of Man* (Document 2), written fifteen years later, Paine attacked the traditional order as fundamentally unjust and defended the idea of a revolution to uphold rights. Joseph de Maistre, an aristocratic opponent of both the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, put the conservative attack on the French Revolution into a deeply religious and absolutist framework (Document 3). In contrast, Anne-Louise-Germaine de Staël, an opponent of Napoleon and one of the most influential intellectuals of the early nineteenth century, took the view that the violence of the Revolution had been the product of generations of superstition and arbitrary rule, that is, rule by an absolutist Catholic church and monarchical government (Document 4).

1. Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790)

An Irish-born supporter of the American colonists in their opposition to the British Parliament, Edmund Burke (1729–1797) opposed the French Revolution. He argued the case for tradition, continuity, and gradual reform based on practical experience—what he called “a sure principle of conservation.”

Can I now congratulate the same nation [France] upon its freedom? Is it because liberty in the abstract may be classed amongst the blessings of mankind, that I am seriously to felicitate a madman, who has escaped from the protecting restraint and wholesome darkness of his cell, on his restoration to the enjoyment of light and liberty? Am I to congratulate an highwayman and murderer, who has broke prison, upon the recovery of his natural rights? . . .

Government is not made in virtue of natural rights, which may and do exist in total independence of it; and exist in much greater clearness, and in a much greater degree of abstract perfection: but their abstract perfection is their practical defect. By having a right to every thing they want every thing. . . . The science of constructing a commonwealth, or renovating it, or reforming it, is, like every other experimental science, not to be taught *a priori* [based on theory rather than on experience]. Nor is it a short experience that can instruct us in that practical science; because the real effects of moral causes are not always immediate; but that which in the first instance is prejudicial may be excellent in its remoter operation; and its excellence may arise even from the ill effects it produces in the beginning. . . .

In the groves of *their* academy, at the end of every visto [vista], you see nothing but the gallows. Nothing is left which engages the affections on the part of the commonwealth. . . . To make us love our country, our country ought to be lovely.

Source: *Two Classics of the French Revolution: Reflections on the Revolution in France (Edmund Burke) and The Rights of Man (Thomas Paine)* (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1973), 19, 71–74, 90–91.

2. Thomas Paine, *The Rights of Man* (1791)

In his reply to Burke, *The Rights of Man*, which sold 200,000 copies in two years, Thomas Paine (1737–1809) defended the idea of reform based on reason, advocated a concept of universal human rights, and attacked the excesses of privilege and tradition in Great Britain. Elected as a deputy to the French National Convention in 1793 in recognition of his writings in favor of the French Revolution, Paine narrowly escaped condemnation as an associate of the Girondins.

Before anything can be reasoned upon to a conclusion, certain facts, principles, or data, to reason from, must be established, admitted, or denied. Mr. Burke, with his usual outrage, abuses the *Declaration of the Rights of Man*, published by the National Assembly of France, as the basis on which the Constitution of France is built. This he calls “paltry and blurred sheets of paper about the rights of man.”

Does Mr. Burke mean to deny that *man* has any rights? If he does, then he must mean that there are no such things as rights

any where, and that he has none himself; for who is there in the world but man? . . .

Hitherto we have spoken only (and that but in part) of the natural rights of man. We have now to consider the civil rights of man, and to show how the one originates from the other. Man did not enter into society to become *worse* than he was before, nor to have fewer rights than he had before, but to have those rights better secured. His natural rights are the foundation of all his civil rights. . . .

A constitution is not a thing in name only, but in fact. It has not an ideal, but a real existence; and wherever it cannot be produced in a visible form, there is none. A constitution is a thing *antecedent* to a government, and a government is only the creature of a constitution. The constitution of a country is not the act of its government, but of the people constituting a government. . . .

Can then Mr. Burke produce the English Constitution? If he cannot, we may fairly conclude, that though it has been so much talked about, no such thing as a constitution exists, or ever did exist, and consequently that the people have yet a constitution to form.

Source: *Two Classics of the French Revolution: Reflections on the Revolution in France (Edmund Burke) and The Rights of Man (Thomas Paine)* (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1973), 302, 305–306, 309.

3. Joseph De Maistre, *Considerations on France* (1797)

An aristocrat born in Savoy, Joseph de Maistre (1753–1821) believed in reform but he passionately opposed both the Enlightenment and the French Revolution as destructive to good order. He believed that Protestants, Jews, lawyers, journalists, and scientists all threatened the social order because they questioned the need for absolute obedience to authority in matters both religious and political. De Maistre set the foundations for reactionary conservatism, a conservatism that defended throne and altar.

This consideration especially makes me think that the French Revolution is a great epoch and that its consequences, in all kinds of ways, will be felt far beyond the time of its explosion and the limits of its birthplace. . . .

There is a satanic quality to the French Revolution that distinguishes it from everything we have ever seen or anything we are ever likely to see in the future. Recall the great assemblies, Robespierre's speech against the priesthood, the solemn apostasy [renunciation of vows] of the clergy, the desecration of objects of worship, the installation of the goddess of reason, and that multitude of extraordinary actions by which the provinces

sought to outdo Paris. All this goes beyond the ordinary circle of crime and seems to belong to another world.

Source: Joseph de Maistre, *Considerations on France*, trans. Richard A. Lebrun (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 21, 41.

4. Anne-Louise-Germaine de Staël, *Considerations on the Main Events of the French Revolution* (1818)

De Staël published her views long after the Revolution was over, but she had lived through the events herself. She was the daughter of Jacques Necker, Louis XVI's Swiss Protestant finance minister. Necker's dismissal in July 1789 had sparked the attack on the Bastille. De Staël published novels, literary tracts, and memoirs and became one of the best-known writers of the nineteenth century. In her writings she defended the Enlightenment; though she opposed the violence unleashed by the Revolution, she traced it back to the excesses of monarchical government. (See her portrait on page 627.)

Once the people were freed from their harness there is no doubt that they were in a position to commit any kind of crime. But how can we explain their depravity? The government we are now supposed to miss so sorely [the former monarchy] had had plenty of time to form this guilty nation. The priests whose teaching, example, and wealth were supposed to be so good for us had supervised the childhood of the generation that broke out against them. The class that revolted in 1789 must have been accustomed to the privileges of feudal nobility which, as we are also assured, are so peculiarly agreeable to those on whom they weigh [the peasants]. How does it happen, then, that the seed of so many vices was sown under the ancient institutions? . . . What can we conclude from this, then? — That no people had been as unhappy for the preceding century as the French. If the Negroes of Saint-Domingue have committed even greater atrocities, it is because they had been even more greatly oppressed.

Source: Vivian Folkenflik, ed., *An Extraordinary Woman: Selected Writings of Germaine de Staël* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 365–66.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. Which aspect of the French Revolution most disturbed these commentators?
2. How would you align each of these writers on a spectrum running from extreme right to extreme left in politics?
3. How would each of these writers judge the Enlightenment that preceded the French Revolution?

Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805), typified the turn in sentiment against revolutionary politics:

Freedom is only in the realm of dreams
And the beautiful blooms only in song.

The German states, still run by many separate rulers, experienced a profound artistic and intellectual revival, which eventually connected with anti-French nationalism. This renaissance included a resurgence of intellectual life in the universities, a thriving press (1225 journals were launched in the 1780s alone), and the multiplication of Masonic lodges and literary clubs.

Even far from France, echoes of revolutionary upheaval could be heard. In the United States, for example, opinion fiercely divided on the virtues of the French Revolution. In Sweden, King Gustavus III (r. 1771–1792) was assassinated by a nobleman who claimed that “the king has violated his oath . . . and declared himself an enemy of the realm.” The king’s son Gustavus IV (r. 1792–1809) was convinced that the French Jacobins had sanctioned his father’s assassination, and he insisted on avoiding “licentious liberty.” Despite government controls on news, 278 outbreaks of peasant unrest occurred in Russia between 1796 and 1798. One Russian landlord complained, “This is the self-same . . . spirit of insubordination and independence, which has spread through all Europe.”

Poland Extinguished, 1793–1795

The spirit of independence made the Poles and Lithuanians especially discontent, for they had already suffered a significant loss of territory and

population. Fearing French influence, Prussia joined Russia in dividing up generous new slices of Polish territory in the second partition of 1793 (Map 19.4). As might be expected, Poland’s reform movement became even more pro-French. Some leaders fled abroad, including Tadeusz Kościuszko (1746–1817), an officer who had been a foreign volunteer in the War of American Independence and who now escaped to Paris. In the spring of 1794, Kościuszko returned from France to lead a nationalist revolt.

Cracow, Warsaw, and the old Lithuanian capital, Vilnius, responded with uprisings. Kościuszko faced an immediate, insoluble dilemma. He could win only if the peasants joined the struggle—highly unlikely unless villagers could be convinced that serfdom would end. But such a drastic step risked alienating the nobles who had started the revolt. So Kościuszko compromised. He promised the serfs a reduction of their obligations, but not freedom itself. A few peasant bands joined the insurrection, but most let their lords fight it out alone. Urban workers displayed more enthusiasm; at Warsaw, for example, a mob hanged several Russian collaborators, including an archbishop in his full regalia.

The uprising failed. Kościuszko won a few victories, but when the Russian empress Catherine the Great’s forces regrouped, they routed the Poles and Lithuanians. Kościuszko and other Polish Patriot leaders languished for years in Russian and Austrian prisons. Taking no further chances, Russia, Prussia, and Austria wiped Poland completely from the map in the third partition of 1795. “The Polish question” would plague international rela-

MAP 19.4 The Second and Third Partitions of Poland, 1793 and 1795

In 1793, Prussia took over territory that included 1.1 million Poles while Russia gained 3 million new inhabitants. Austria gave up any claims to Poland in exchange for help from Russia and Prussia in acquiring Bavaria. In the final division of 1795, Prussia absorbed an additional 900,000 Polish subjects, including those in Warsaw; Austria incorporated 1 million Poles and the city of Cracow; Russia gained another 2 million Poles. The three powers determined never to use the term *Kingdom of Poland* again. ■ How had Poland become such a prey to the other powers?



DOCUMENT

Address on Abolishing the Slave Trade (February 5, 1790)

Founded in 1788, the Society of the Friends of Blacks agitated for the abolition of the slave trade. Among its members were many who became leaders of the French Revolution. In a pamphlet, titled Address to the National Assembly in Favor of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, the Friends of Blacks denied that they wanted to abolish slavery altogether and argued only for the abolition of the slave trade. The pamphlet raised the prospect of a slave revolt, which in fact broke out in St. Domingue in 1791. As a consequence, many planters and their allies accused the society of fomenting the revolt.

You have declared them, these rights; you have engraved on an immortal monument that all men are born and remain free and equal in rights; you have restored to the French people these rights that despotism had for so long despoiled; . . . you have broken the chains of feudalism that still degraded a good number of our fellow citizens; you have announced the destruction of all the stigmatizing distinctions that religious or political prejudices introduced into the great family of humankind. . . .

We are not asking you to restore to French blacks those political rights which alone, nevertheless, attest to and maintain

the dignity of man; we are not even asking for their liberty. No; slander, bought no doubt with the greed of the shipowners, ascribes that scheme to us and spreads it everywhere; they want to stir up everyone against us, provoke the planters and their numerous creditors, who take alarm even at gradual emancipation. They want to alarm all the French, to whom they depict the prosperity of the colonies as inseparable from the slave trade and the perpetuity of slavery.

. . . The immediate emancipation of the blacks would not only be a fatal operation for the colonies; it would even be a deadly gift for the blacks, in the state of abjection and incompetence to which cupidity has reduced them. It would be to abandon to themselves and without assistance children in the cradle or mutilated and impotent beings.

It is therefore not yet time to demand that liberty; we ask only that one cease butchering thousands of blacks regularly every year in order to take hundreds of captives; we ask that henceforth cease the prostitution, the profaning of the French name, used to authorize these thefts, these atrocious murders; we demand in a word the abolition of the slave trade. . . .

In regard to the colonists, we will demonstrate to you that if they need to re-

cruit blacks in Africa to sustain the population of the colonies at the same level, it is because they wear out the blacks with work, whippings, and starvation; that, if they treated them with kindness and as good fathers of families, these blacks would multiply and that this population, always growing, would increase cultivation and prosperity. . . .

If some motive might on the contrary push them [the blacks] to insurrection, might it not be the indifference of the National Assembly about their lot? Might it not be the insistence on weighing them down with chains, when one consecrates everywhere this eternal axiom: *that all men are born free and equal in rights*. So then therefore there would only be fetters and gallows for the blacks while good fortune glimmers only for the whites? Have no doubt, our happy revolution must re-electrify the blacks whom vengeance and resentment have electrified for so long, and it is not with punishments that the effect of this upheaval will be repressed. From one insurrection badly pacified will twenty others be born, of which one alone can ruin the colonists forever.

Source: *Adresse à l'Assemblée Nationale, pour l'abolition de la traite des noirs*. Par la Société des Amis des Noirs de Paris (Paris, February 1790), 1–4, 10–11, 17, 19–22. Translation by Lynn Hunt.

tions for more than a century as Polish rebels flocked to any international upheaval that might undo the partitions. Beyond all this maneuvering lay the unsolved problem of Polish serfdom, which isolated the nation's gentry and townspeople from the rural masses.

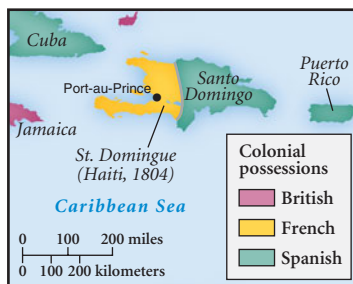
Revolution in the Colonies

The revolution that produced so much upheaval in continental Europe had repercussions in France's Caribbean colonies. These colonies were

crucial to the French economy. Twice the size in land area of the neighboring British colonies, they also produced nearly twice as much revenue in exports. The slave population had doubled in the French colonies in the twenty years before 1789. St. Domingue (present-day Haiti) was the most important French colony. Occupying the western half of the island of Hispaniola, it was inhabited by 465,000 slaves, 30,000 whites, and 28,000 free people of color, whose primary job was to apprehend runaway slaves and ensure plantation security.

Despite the efforts of a Paris club called the Friends of Blacks, most French revolutionaries did not consider slavery a pressing problem. As one deputy explained, “This regime [in the colonies] is oppressive, but it gives a livelihood to several million Frenchmen. This regime is barbarous but a still greater barbarity will result if you interfere with it without the necessary knowledge.” (See Document, “Address on Abolishing the Slave Trade,” page 613.)

In August 1791, however, the slaves in northern St. Domingue, inspired by the slogan “Listen to the voice of Liberty which speaks in the hearts of all,” organized a large-scale revolt. To restore authority over the slaves, the Legislative Assembly in Paris granted civil and political rights to the free



St. Domingue on the Eve of the Revolt, 1791

blacks. This action infuriated white planters and merchants, who in 1793 signed an agreement with Great Britain, now France’s enemy in war, declaring British sovereignty over St. Domingue. To complicate matters further, Spain, which controlled the rest of the island and had entered on Great Britain’s side in the war with France, offered freedom to individual slave rebels who

joined the Spanish armies as long as they agreed to maintain the slave regime for the other blacks.

The few thousand French republican troops on St. Domingue were outnumbered, and to prevent complete military disaster, the French commissioner freed all the slaves in his jurisdiction in August 1793 without permission from the government in Paris. In February 1794, the National Con-



Toussaint L'Ouverture

The leader of the St. Domingue slave uprising appears in his general's uniform, sword in hand. This portrait appeared in one of the earliest histories of the revolt, Marcus Rainsford's *Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti* (London, 1805). Toussaint, a former slave who educated himself, fascinated many of his contemporaries in Europe as well as the New World by turning a chaotic slave rebellion into an organized and ultimately successful independence movement. (North Wind Picture Archives.)

vention formally abolished slavery and granted full rights to all black men in the colonies. These actions had the desired effect. One of the ablest black generals allied with the Spanish, the ex-slave François Dominique Toussaint L'Ouverture (1743–1803), changed sides and committed his troops to the French (see the illustration on page 614). The French eventually appointed Toussaint governor of St. Domingue as a reward for his efforts.

The vicious fighting and the flight of whites left St. Domingue's economy in ruins. In 1800, the plantations produced one-fifth of what they had in 1789. In the zones Toussaint controlled, army officers or government officials took over the great estates and kept all those working in agriculture under military discipline. The former slaves were bound to their estates like serfs and forced to work the plantations in exchange for an autonomous family life and the right to maintain personal garden plots.

Toussaint remained in charge until 1802, when Napoleon sent French armies to regain control of the island. They arrested Toussaint and transported him to France, where he died in prison. His arrest prompted the English poet William Wordsworth to write of him:

There's not a breathing of the common wind
That will forget thee; thou hast great allies;
Thy friends are exultations, agonies,
And love, and man's unconquerable mind.

Toussaint became a hero to abolitionists everywhere, a potent symbol of black struggles to win freedom. Napoleon attempted to restore slavery, as he had in the other French Caribbean colonies of Guadeloupe and Martinique, but the remaining black generals defeated his armies and in 1804 proclaimed the Republic of Haiti.

REVIEW: Why did some groups outside of France embrace the French Revolution while others resisted it?

Conclusion

Growing out of aspirations for freedom that also inspired the Dutch, Belgians, and Poles, the revolution that shook France permanently altered the political landscape of the Western world. Between

1789 and 1799, monarchy as a form of government had given way in France to a republic whose leaders were elected. Aristocracy based on rank and birth had been undermined in favor of civil equality and the promotion of merit. The people who marched in demonstrations, met in clubs, and, in the case of men, voted in national elections for the first time had insisted that government respond to them. Thousands of men had held elective office. A revolutionary government had tried to teach new values with a refashioned calendar, state festivals, and a civic religion. Its example inspired would-be revolutionaries everywhere, including in France's own colonies.

But the French Revolution also had its darker side. The divisions created by the Revolution within France endured in many cases until after World War II. Even now, French public-opinion surveys ask if it was right to execute the king in 1793 (most believe Louis XVI was guilty of treason but should not have been executed). The revolutionaries proclaimed human rights and democratic government as a universal goal, but they also explicitly excluded women, even though they admitted Protestant, Jewish, and eventually black men. They used the new spirit of national pride to inspire armies and then used them to conquer other peoples. Their ideals of universal education, religious toleration, and democratic participation could not prevent the institution of new forms of government terror to persecute, imprison, and kill dissidents. These paradoxes created an opening for Napoleon Bonaparte, who rushed in with his remarkable military and political skills to push France—and with it all of Europe—in new directions.

FOR FURTHER EXPLORATION

- **For suggested references, including Web sites, for topics in this chapter,** see page SR-1 at the end of the book.
- **For additional primary-source material from this period,** see Chapter 19 in *Sources of THE MAKING OF THE WEST*, Third Edition.
- **For Web sites and documents related to topics in this chapter,** see *Make History* at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

MAPPING THE WEST

**Europe in 1799**

France's expansion during the revolutionary wars threatened to upset the balance of power in Europe. A century earlier, the English and Dutch had allied and formed a Europe-wide coalition to check the territorial ambitions of Louis XIV. Thwarting French ambitions after 1799 would prove to be even more of a challenge to the other European powers. The Dutch had been reduced to satellite status, as had most of the Italian states. Even Austria and Prussia would suffer devastating losses to the French on the battlefield. Only a new coalition of European powers could stop France in the future.

CHAPTER REVIEW

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Louis XVI (591)	Jacobin Club (599)
Marie-Antoinette (591)	Maximilien Robespierre (600)
Estates General (592)	Terror (600)
Great Fear (595)	de-Christianization (603)
Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (595)	Thermidorian Reaction (606)

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How did the beginning of the French Revolution resemble the other revolutions of 1787–1789?
2. Why did the French Revolution turn in an increasingly radical direction after 1789?
3. What factors can explain the Terror? To what extent was it simply a response to a national emergency or a reflection of deeper problems within the French Revolution?
4. Why did some groups outside of France embrace the French Revolution while others resisted it?

MAKING CONNECTIONS

1. Should the French Revolution be viewed as the origin of democracy or the origin of totalitarianism (a government in which no dissent is allowed)? Explain.
2. Why did other European rulers find the French Revolution so threatening?

For practice quizzes, a customized study plan, and other study tools, see the Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

IMPORTANT EVENTS

1787	Dutch Patriot revolt is stifled by Prussian invasion	1792	Beginning of war between France and the rest of Europe; second revolution of August 10 overthrows monarchy
1788	Beginning of resistance of Austrian Netherlands against reforms of Joseph II; opening of reform parliament in Poland	1793	Second partition of Poland by Austria and Russia; Louis XVI of France executed for treason
1789	French Revolution begins	1794	Abolition of slavery in French colonies; Robespierre's government by terror falls
1790	Internal divisions lead to collapse of resistance in Austrian Netherlands	1795	Third (final) partition of Poland; France annexes the Austrian Netherlands
1791	Beginning of slave revolt in St. Domingue (Haiti)	1797–1798	Creation of “sister republics” in Italian states and Switzerland



Napoleon and the Revolutionary Legacy

1800–1830

In her novel *Frankenstein* (1818), the prototype for modern thrillers, Mary Shelley tells the story of a Swiss technological genius who creates a humanlike monster in his pursuit of scientific knowledge. The monster, “so scaring and unearthly in his ugliness,” terrifies all who encounter him and ends by destroying Dr. Frankenstein’s own loved ones. Despite desperate chases across deserts and frozen landscapes, Frankenstein never manages to trap the monster, who is last seen hunched over his creator’s deathbed.

Frankenstein’s monster can be taken as a particularly horrifying incarnation of the fears of the postrevolutionary era, but which fears did Shelley have in mind? Did the monster represent the French Revolution, which had devoured its own children in the Terror? Shelley was the daughter of Mary Wollstonecraft, an English feminist who had defended the French Revolution and died in childbirth when Mary was born. Mary Shelley was also the wife of the romantic poet Percy Bysshe Shelley, who often wrote against the ugliness of contemporary life and in opposition to the conservative politics that had triumphed in Great Britain after Napoleon’s fall. Whatever the meaning—and Mary Shelley may well have intended more than one—*Frankenstein* makes the forceful point that humans cannot always control their own creations. The Enlightenment and the French Revolution had celebrated the virtues of human creativity, but Shelley shows that innovation often has a dark and uncontrollable side.

Those who witnessed Napoleon Bonaparte’s stunning rise to European dominance might have cast him as either Frankenstein or his monster. Like the scientist Frankenstein, Bonaparte created something

Napoleon as Military Hero

In this painting from 1800–1801, *Napoleon Crossing the Alps at St. Bernard*, Jacques-Louis David reminds the French of Napoleon’s heroic military exploits. Napoleon is a picture of calm and composure while his horse shows the fright and energy of the moment. David painted this propagandistic image shortly after one of his former students went to the guillotine on a trumped-up charge of plotting to assassinate the new French leader. The former organizer of republican festivals during the Terror had become a kind of court painter for the new regime. (*Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY*)

The Rise of Napoleon Bonaparte 620

- A General Takes Over
- From Republic to Empire
- The New Paternalism: The Civil Code
- Patronage of Science and Intellectual Life

“Europe Was at My Feet”: Napoleon’s Conquests 628

- The Grand Army and Its Victories, 1800–1807
- The Impact of French Victories
- From Russian Winter to Final Defeat, 1812–1815

The “Restoration” of Europe 636

- The Congress of Vienna, 1814–1815
- The Emergence of Conservatism
- The Revival of Religion

Challenges to the Conservative Order 640

- Romanticism
- Political Revolts in the 1820s
- Revolution and Reform, 1830–1832

dramatically new: the French Empire with himself as emperor. Like the former kings of France, he ruled under his first name. This Corsican artillery officer who spoke French with an Italian accent ended the French Revolution even while maintaining some of its most important innovations. Bonaparte transformed France from a republic with democratically elected leaders to an empire with a new aristocracy based on military service. But he kept the revolutionary administration and most of the laws that ensured equal treatment of citizens. Although he tolerated no opposition at home, he prided himself on bringing French-style changes to peoples elsewhere.

Bonaparte continued his revolutionary policy of conquest and annexation until it reached grotesque dimensions. His foreign policies made many see him as a monster hungry for dominion; he turned the sister republics of the revolutionary era into kingdoms personally ruled by his relatives, and he exacted tribute wherever he triumphed. Eventually, resistance to the French armies and the ever-mounting costs of military glory toppled Napoleon. The powers allied against him met and agreed to restore the monarchical governments that had been overthrown by the French, shrink France back to its prerevolutionary boundaries, and maintain this settlement against future demands for change.

Although the people of Europe longed for peace and stability in the aftermath of the Napoleonic whirlwind, they lived in a deeply unsettled world. Profoundly affected by French military occupation, many groups of people organized to demand ethnic and cultural autonomy, first from Napoleon and then from the restored governments after 1815. In 1830, a new round of revolutions broke out in France, Belgium, Poland, and some of the Italian states. The revolutionary legacy was far from exhausted.

FOCUS QUESTION: How did Napoleon Bonaparte’s actions force other European rulers to change their policies?

The Rise of Napoleon Bonaparte

In 1799, a charismatic young general took over the French republic and set France on a new course. Within a year, **Napoleon Bonaparte** (1769–1821) had effectively ended the French Revolution and steered France toward an authoritarian state. As emperor after 1804, he dreamed of European integration in the tradition of Augustus and Charlemagne, but he also mastered the details of practical administration. To achieve his goals, he compromised with the Catholic church and with exiled aristocrats willing to return to France. His most enduring accomplishment, the new Civil Code, tempered the principles of the Enlightenment and the Revolution with an insistence on the powers of fathers over children, husbands over wives, and employers over workers. His influence spread into many spheres as he personally patronized scientific inquiry and encouraged artistic styles in line with his vision of imperial greatness.

A General Takes Over

It would have seemed astonishing in 1795 that the twenty-six-year-old son of a noble family from the island of Corsica off the Italian coast would within four years become the supreme ruler of France and

Napoleon Bonaparte: The French general who became First Consul in 1799 and emperor in 1804; after losing the battle of Waterloo in 1815, he was exiled to the island of St. Helena.

■ 1799 Coup against Directory; Napoleon named First Consul	■ 1805 Battle of Trafalgar; battle of Austerlitz	■ 1812 Napoleon invades Russia	
■ 1801 Napoleon signs concordat with pope		■ 1814–1815 Congress of Vienna	
1800	1805	1810	1815
	■ 1804 Napoleon crowned emperor; issues Civil Code		■ 1815 Napoleon defeated at Waterloo, exiled to St. Helena

one of the greatest military leaders in world history. That year, Bonaparte was a penniless artillery officer, only recently released from prison as a presumed Robespierist. Thanks to some early military successes and links to Parisian politicians, however, he was named commander of the French army in Italy in 1796.

Bonaparte's astounding success in the Italian campaigns of 1796–1797 launched his meteoric career. With an army of fewer than fifty thousand men, he defeated the Piedmontese and the Austrians. In quick order, he established client republics dependent on his own authority, negotiated with the Austrians himself, and molded the army into his personal force by paying the soldiers in cash taken as tribute from the newly conquered territories. He mollified the Directory government by sending home wagonloads of Italian masterpieces of art, which were added to Parisian museum collections (most are still there) after being paraded in victory festivals.

In 1798, the Directory set aside its plans to invade England, gave Bonaparte command of the army raised for that purpose, and sent him across the Mediterranean Sea to Egypt. The Directory government hoped that French occupation of Egypt would strike a blow at British trade by cutting the route to India. Although the French immediately defeated a much larger Egyptian army, the British admiral Lord Horatio Nelson destroyed the French fleet while it was anchored in Aboukir Bay, cutting the French off from home. In the face of determined resistance and an outbreak of the bubonic plague, Bonaparte's armies retreated from a further expedition in Syria. But the French occupation of Egypt lasted long enough for that largely Muslim country to experience the same kinds of Enlightenment-inspired legal reforms that had been introduced in Europe: the French abolished torture, introduced equality before the

law, eliminated religious taxes, and proclaimed religious toleration.

Even the failures of the Egyptian campaign did not dull Bonaparte's luster. Bonaparte had taken France's leading scientists with him on the expedition, and his soldiers had discovered a slab of black basalt dating from 196 B.C.E. written in both hieroglyphic and Greek. Called the Rosetta stone after a nearby town, it enabled scholars to finally decipher the hieroglyphs used by the ancient Egyptians. With his army pinned down by Nelson's victory at sea, Bonaparte slipped out of Egypt and made his way secretly to southern France.

In October 1799, Bonaparte arrived home at just the right moment. The war in Europe was going badly. The territories of the former Austrian Netherlands had revolted against French conscription laws, and deserters swelled the ranks of rebels in western France. Amid increasing political instability, generals in the field had become virtually independent, and the troops felt more loyal to their units and generals than to the republic. Disillusioned members of the government saw in Bonaparte's return an occasion to overturn the constitution of 1795.

On November 9, 1799, the conspirators persuaded the legislature to move out of Paris to avoid an imaginary Jacobin plot. But when Bonaparte stomped into the new meeting hall the next day and demanded immediate changes in the constitution, he was greeted by cries of "Down with the dictator!" His quick-thinking brother Lucien, president of the Council of Five Hundred (the lower house), saved Bonaparte's coup by summoning troops guarding the hall and claiming that some deputies had tried to assassinate the popular general. The soldiers ejected those who opposed Bonaparte and left the remaining ones to vote to abolish the Directory and establish a new three-man executive called the consulate.

■ 1820 Revolt against Spanish crown

■ 1824 Beethoven, Ninth Symphony

■ 1830 Greece gains independence; Charles X overthrown; Louis-Phillipe installed; Polish revolt fails

1820

1825

1830

1835

■ 1818 Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein*

■ 1825 Decembrist Revolt in Russia

■ 1832 English Reform Bill; Goethe, *Faust*



Francisco de Goya, *The Colossus* (1808–1812)

The Spanish painter Goya might be imagined as portraying Frankenstein's monster or Napoleon himself as the new giant overwhelming much of Europe. Goya painted for the Spanish court before Napoleon invaded and occupied Spain; after an illness left him deaf, he turned toward darkly imaginative works such as this one. (All rights reserved © Museo Nacional del Prado–Madrid.)

Bonaparte became **First Consul**, a title revived from the ancient Roman republic. He promised to be a man above party and to restore order to the republic. A new constitution was submitted to the voters. Millions abstained from voting, and the government falsified the results to give an appearance of even greater support to the new regime. Inside France, political apathy had overtaken the original enthusiasm for revolutionary ideals. Altogether it was an unpromising beginning; yet within five years, Bonaparte would crown himself Napoleon I, emperor of the French. The French armies would recover from their reverses of 1799 to push the frontiers of French influence even farther eastward.

First Consul: The most important of the three consuls established by the French Constitution of 1800; the title, given to Napoleon Bonaparte, was taken from ancient Rome.

From Republic to Empire

Napoleon had no long-range plans to establish himself as emperor and conquer most of Europe. The deputies of the legislature who engineered the coup d'état of November 1799 picked him as one of three provisional consuls only because he was a famous general. Napoleon immediately asserted his leadership over the other two consuls in the process of drafting another constitution—the fourth since 1789. He then set about putting his stamp on every aspect of French life, building monuments and institutions that in some cases have endured to the present day.

The End of the Republic. The constitution of 1799 made Napoleon the First Consul with the right to pick the Council of State, which drew up all laws. He exerted control by choosing men loyal to him. Government was no longer representative in any real sense: the new constitution eliminated direct elections for deputies and granted no independent powers to the three houses of the legislature. Napoleon and his advisers chose the legislature's members out of a small pool of “notables.” Almost all men over twenty-one could vote in the plebiscite (referendum) to approve the constitution, but their only option was to choose *yes* or *no*.

Napoleon's most urgent task was to reconcile to his regime Catholics who had been alienated by revolutionary policies. Although nominally Catholic, Napoleon held no deep religious convictions. “How can there be order in the state without religion?” he asked cynically. “When a man is dying of hunger beside another who is stuffing himself, he cannot accept this difference if there is not an authority who tells him: ‘God wishes it so.’” In 1801, a concordat with Pope Pius VII (r. 1800–1823) ended a decade of church-state conflict in France. The pope validated all sales of church lands, and the government agreed to pay the salaries of bishops and priests who would swear loyalty to the state. Catholicism was officially recognized as the religion of “the great majority of French citizens.” (The state also paid Protestant pastors' salaries.) Thus, the pope brought the huge French Catholic population back into the fold and Napoleon gained the pope's support for his regime.

Napoleon continued the centralization of state power that had begun under the absolutist monarchy of Louis XIV and resumed under the

Terror. As First Consul, he appointed prefects who directly supervised local affairs in every department in the country. He created the Bank of France to facilitate government borrowing and relied on gold and silver coinage rather than paper money. He made good use of budgets and improved tax collection, but he also frequently made ends meet by exacting tribute from the territories he conquered.

Napoleon promised order and an end to the upheavals of ten years of revolutionary turmoil, but his regime severely limited political expression. He never relied on mass executions to achieve control, but he refused to allow those who opposed him to meet in clubs, influence elections, or publish newspapers. A decree reduced the number of newspapers in Paris from seventy-three to thirteen (and then finally to four), and the newspapers that remained became government organs. Government censors had to approve all operas and plays, and they banned “offensive” artistic works even more frequently than their royal predecessors had. The minister of police, Joseph Fouché, once a leading figure in the Terror of 1793–1794, could impose house arrest, arbitrary imprisonment, and surveillance of political dissidents. Political contest and debate shriveled to almost nothing. When a bomb attack on Napoleon’s carriage failed in 1800, Fouché suppressed the evidence of a royalist plot and instead arrested hundreds of former Jacobins. More than one hundred of them were deported and seven hundred imprisoned.

When it suited him, Napoleon also struck against royalist conspirators. In 1804, he ordered his police to kidnap from his residence in Germany Louis-Antoine-Henri de Bourbon-Condé, duc d’Enghien. Napoleon had intelligence, which proved to be false, that d’Enghien had joined a plot in Paris against him. Even when he learned the truth, he insisted that a military tribunal try d’Enghien, a close relative of the dead king Louis XVI. D’Enghien was shot on the spot after a summary trial. By then, Napoleon’s political intentions had become clear. He had named himself First Consul for life in 1802, and in 1804, with the pope’s blessing, he crowned himself emperor. Once again, plebiscites approved his decisions, but no alternatives were offered. The democratic political aims of the French Revolution had been trampled, but some aspects of daily life continued to be affected by those egalitarian ideals (see “Seeing History,” page 624).

Imperial Rule. Napoleon’s outsized personality dominated the new regime. His face and name

adorned coins, engravings, histories, paintings, and public monuments. His favorite painters embellished his legend by depicting him as a warrior-hero of mythic proportions even though he was short and physically unimpressive in person. Believing that “what is big is always beautiful,” Napoleon embarked on ostentatious building projects that would outshine even those of Louis XIV. Government-commissioned architects built the Arc de Triomphe, the Stock Exchange, fountains, and even slaughterhouses. Most of his new construction reflected his neoclassical taste for monumental buildings set in vast empty spaces.

Napoleon worked hard at establishing his reputation as an efficient administrator with broad intellectual interests: he met frequently with scientists, jurists, and artists, and stories abounded of his unflagging energy. When not on military campaigns, he worked on state affairs, usually until 10:00 p.m., taking only a few minutes for each meal. “Authority,” declared his adviser Abbé Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès, “must come from above and confidence from below.” To establish his authority, Napoleon relied on men who had served with him in the army. His chief of staff Alexandre Berthier, for example, became minister of war, and the chemist Claude Berthollet, who had organized the scientific part of the expedition to Egypt, became vice president of the Senate in 1804. Napoleon’s bureaucracy was based on a patron-client relationship, with Napoleon as the ultimate patron. Some of Napoleon’s closest associates married into his family.

Combining aristocratic and revolutionary values in a new social hierarchy that rewarded merit and talent, Napoleon personally chose as senators the nation’s most illustrious generals, ministers, prefects, scientists, rich men, and former nobles. Intending to replace both the old nobility of birth and the republic’s strict emphasis on equality, in 1802 he took the first step toward creating a new nobility by founding the Legion of Honor. (Members of the legion received lifetime pensions along with their titles.) Napoleon usually equated honor with military success. By 1814, the legion had thirty-two thousand members, only 5 percent of them civilians.

In 1808, Napoleon introduced a complete hierarchy of noble titles, ranging from princes down to barons and chevaliers. All Napoleonic nobles had served the state. Titles could be inherited but had to be supported by wealth—a man could not be a duke without a fortune of 200,000 francs or a chevalier without 3,000 francs. To go along with their new titles, Napoleon gave his favorite gener-

SEEING HISTORY

The Clothing Revolution: The Social Meaning of Changes in Postrevolutionary Fashion

Some revolutions take place in the realm of social life and culture rather than politics. One of the most striking of these social and cultural revolutions was the wearing of trousers. Before the French Revolution of 1789, men of the middle classes and nobility wore knee breeches, stockings, and buckled shoes, as can be seen in the colored engraving from 1778. Trousers (long pants) were worn only by working-class men, who needed them to protect themselves on the job and from the mud in the streets.

From Napoleon onward, a shift toward trousers took place across Europe, not all at once but slowly and surely.

Napoleon himself wore close-fitting pantaloons (from which the word *pants* is derived) until he became too fat and reverted back to knee breeches. The colored engraving of a middle-class couple in 1830 shows how long pants had become the fashion for men. In line with political changes that installed equality under the law and careers open to merit rather than birth, men began to dress more alike; all men wore trousers. Taking a closer look at the men in both pictures, do you see any other changes in style and accessories that might reflect a less class-conscious society?

Women's dress, in contrast, maintained and even underlined social distinctions after the Revolution. In the nineteenth century, middle- and upper-class women continued to wear dresses with such long and full skirts that they could not possibly be imagined working. Working women wore simpler blouses and skirts that allowed the movements necessary to labor at home or in manufacturing. Compare the pre-Revolution fashion shown with that of the woman in the 1830 engraving. Does one outfit look more comfortable than the other? Why or why not? What other differences (or similarities) do you notice? Why do you think women's fashion failed to become more uniform the way men's did in the decades following the Revolution?



Gentleman Proposing to a Lady, 1778. (© Private Collection/The Stapleton Collection/The Bridgeman Art Library.)



Fashion for Men and Women, 1830. (© Musée de la Ville de Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France/Lauros/Giraudon/The Bridgeman Art Library.)



Napoleon's Coronation as Emperor

In this detail from *The Coronation of Napoleon and Josephine* (1805–1807), Jacques-Louis David shows Napoleon crowning his wife at the ceremony of 1804. Napoleon orchestrated the entire event and took the only active role in it: Pope Pius VII gave his blessing to the ceremony (he can be seen seated behind Napoleon), but Napoleon crowned himself. What is the significance of Napoleon crowning himself? (Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.)

■ For more help analyzing this image, see the visual activity for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

als huge fortunes, often in the form of estates in the conquered territories.

Napoleon's own family reaped the greatest benefits. He made his older brother, Joseph, ruler of the newly established kingdom of Naples in 1806, the same year he installed his younger brother Louis as king of Holland. He proclaimed his twenty-three-year-old stepson, Eugène de Beauharnais, viceroy of Italy in 1805 and established his sister Caroline and brother-in-law General Joachim Murat as king and queen of Naples in 1808 when he moved Joseph to the throne of Spain. Napoleon wanted to establish an imperial succession, but he lacked an heir. In thirteen years of marriage, his wife Josephine had borne no children, so in 1809 he divorced her and in 1810 married the eighteen-year-old princess Marie-Louise of Austria. The next year she gave birth to a son, to whom Napoleon immediately gave the title king of Rome.

The New Paternalism: The Civil Code

As part of his restoration of order, Napoleon brought a paternalist model of power to his state. Previous governments had tried to unify and standardize France's multiple legal codes, but only Napoleon successfully established a new one, partly because he personally presided over the commission that drafted the new **Civil Code**, completed in 1804. Called the Napoleonic Code as a way of further exalting his image, it reasserted the Old Regime's patriarchal system of male domination over women and insisted on a father's control over his children, which revolutionary legislation had limited. For example, if children under age sixteen refused to follow their fathers' commands,

Civil Code: The French legal code formulated by Napoleon in 1804; it ensured equal treatment under the law to all men and guaranteed religious liberty, but it curtailed many rights of women.



Emperor Napoleon in His Study

In this portrait painted by Jacques-Louis David in 1812, Napoleon is shown in his general's uniform, sword by his side. He stands by his desk covered with papers to show how hard he works for the country. (Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.)

they could be sent to prison for up to a month with no hearing of any sort. Yet the code also required fathers to provide for their children's welfare. Moreover, the Civil Code protected many of the gains of the French Revolution by defining and assuring property rights, guaranteeing religious liberty, and establishing a uniform system of law that provided equal treatment for all adult males and affirmed the right of men to choose their professions. Napoleon wanted to discourage abortion and infanticide, not uncommon among the poorest classes in the fast-growing urban areas, so he helped set up private charities to help indigent mothers and made it easier for women to abandon their children anonymously to a government foundling hospital.

Although the code maintained the equal division of family property between all children, both male and female, it sharply curtailed women's rights in other respects. Napoleon wanted to restrict women to the private sphere of the home. One of his leading jurists remarked, "Women need protection because they are weaker; men are free because they are stronger." The law obligated a husband to support his wife, but the husband alone controlled any property held in common; a wife could not sue in court, sell or mortgage her own property, or contract a debt without her husband's consent. Divorce was severely restricted. A wife could petition for divorce only if her husband brought his mistress to live in the family home. In contrast, a wife convicted of adultery could be imprisoned for up to two years. The code's framers saw these discrepancies as a way to reinforce the family and make women responsible for private virtue, while leaving public decisions to men. The French code was imitated in many European and Latin American countries and in the French colony of Louisiana, where it had a similar negative effect on women's rights. Not until 1965 did French wives gain legal status equal to that of their husbands.

Napoleon took little interest in girls' education, believing that girls should spend most of their time at home learning religion, manners, and such "female occupations" as sewing and music. For boys, by contrast, the government set up a new system of lycées, state-run secondary schools in which students wore military uniforms and drumrolls signaled the beginning and end of classes. The lycées offered wider access to education and thus helped achieve Napoleon's goal of opening careers to those with talent, regardless of their social origins. (Without the military trappings, the lycées are now coeducational and still the heart of the French educational system.)

The new paternalism extended to relations between employers and employees. The state required all workers to carry a work card attesting to their good conduct, and it prohibited all workers' organizations. The police considered workers without cards as vagrants or criminals and could send them to workhouses or prison. After 1806, arbitration boards settled labor disputes, but they took employers at their word while treating workers as minors, demanding that foremen and shop superintendents represent them. Occasionally strikes broke out, led by secret, illegal journeymen's associations, yet many employers laid off employees when times were hard, deducted fines from their wages, and dismissed them without

appeal for being absent or making errors. These limitations on workers' rights won Napoleon the support of French business.

Patronage of Science and Intellectual Life

Napoleon did everything possible to promote French scientific inquiry, especially that which could serve practical ends. He closely monitored the research institutes established during the Revolution, sometimes intervening personally to achieve political conformity. An impressive outpouring of new theoretical and practical scientific work rewarded the state's efforts. Experiments with balloons led to the discovery of laws about the expansion of gases, and research on fossil shells prepared the way for new theories of evolutionary change later in the nineteenth century. The surgeon Dominique-Jean Larrey developed new techniques of battlefield amputation and medical care during Napoleon's wars, winning an appointment as an officer in the Legion of Honor and becoming a baron with a pension.

Napoleon aimed to modernize French society through science, but he could not tolerate criticism. Napoleon considered most writers useless or

dangerous, "good for nothing under any government." Some of the most talented French writers of the time had to live in exile. The best-known expatriate was Anne-Louise-Germaine de Staël (1766–1817), the daughter of Louis XVI's chief minister Jacques Necker. When explaining his desire to banish her, Napoleon exclaimed, "She is a machine in motion who stirs up the salons." While exiled in the German states, de Staël wrote a novel, *Corinne* (1807), whose heroine is a brilliant woman thwarted by a patriarchal system, and *On Germany* (1810), an account of the important new literary currents east of the Rhine. Her books were banned in France.

Although Napoleon restored the strong authority of state and religion in France, many royalists and Catholics still criticized him as an impious usurper. (See "Contrasting Views," page 634.) François-René de Chateaubriand (1768–1848) admired Napoleon as "the strong man who has saved us from the abyss," but he preferred monarchy. In his view, Napoleon had not properly understood the need to defend Christian values against the Enlightenment's excessive reliance on reason. Chateaubriand wrote his *Genius of Christianity* (1802) to draw attention to the power and mystery of faith. He warned, "It is to the vanity of knowledge that we owe almost all our misfor-



Germaine de Staël

One of the most fascinating intellectuals of her time, Anne-Louise-Germaine de Staël seemed to irritate Napoleon more than any other person did. Daughter of Louis XVI's Swiss Protestant finance minister, Jacques Necker, and wife of a Swedish diplomat, Madame de Staël frequently criticized Napoleon's regime. She published best-selling novels and influential literary criticism, and whenever allowed to reside in Paris she encouraged the intellectual and political dissidents from Napoleon's regime.

(Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY.)

tunes. . . . The learned ages have always been followed by ages of destruction.”

REVIEW: In what ways did Napoleon continue the French Revolution, and in what ways did he break with it?

“Europe Was at My Feet”: Napoleon’s Conquests

Building on innovations introduced by the republican governments before him, Napoleon revolutionized the art of war with tactics and strategy based on a highly mobile army. By 1812, he ruled a

European empire more extensive than any since ancient Rome (Map 20.1). Yet that empire had already begun to crumble, and with it went Napoleon’s power at home. Napoleon’s empire failed because it was based on a contradiction: Napoleon tried to reduce virtually all of Europe to the status of colonial dependents when Europe had long consisted of independent states. The result, inevitably, was a great upsurge in nationalist feeling that has dominated European politics to the present.

The Grand Army and Its Victories, 1800–1807

Napoleon attributed his military success “three-quarters to morale” and the rest to leadership and superiority of numbers at the point of attack. Con-



MAP 20.1 Napoleon’s Empire at Its Height, 1812

In 1812, Napoleon had at least nominal control of almost all of western Europe. Even before he made his fatal mistake of invading Russia, however, his authority had been undermined in Spain and seriously weakened in the Italian and German states. His efforts to extend French power sparked resistance almost everywhere: as Napoleon insisted on French domination, local people began to think of themselves as Italian, German, or Dutch. Thus, Napoleon inadvertently laid the foundations for the nineteenth-century spread of nationalism.

scription provided the large numbers: 1.3 million men ages twenty to twenty-four were drafted between 1800 and 1812, another million in 1813–1814. Many willingly served because the republic had taught them to identify the army with the nation. Military service was both a patriotic duty and a means of social mobility. The men who rose through the ranks to become officers were young, ambitious, and accustomed to the new ways of war. Consequently, the French army had higher morale than the armies of other powers, most of which rejected conscription as too democratic and continued to restrict their officer corps to the nobility. Only in 1813–1814, when the military tide turned against Napoleon, did French morale plummet.

When Napoleon came to power in 1799, desertion was rampant, and the generals competed with one another for predominance. Napoleon ended this squabbling by uniting all the armies into one Grand Army under his personal command. By 1812, he commanded 700,000 troops; while 250,000 soldiers fought in Spain, others remained garrisoned in France. In any given battle, between 70,000 and 180,000 men, not all of them French, fought for France. Life on campaign was no picnic—ordinary soldiers slept in the rain, mud, and snow and often had to forage for food—but Napoleon nonetheless inspired almost fanatical loyalty. He fought alongside his soldiers in some sixty battles and had nineteen horses shot from under him. One opponent said that Napoleon’s presence alone was worth 50,000 men.

A brilliant strategist who carefully studied the demands of war, Napoleon outmaneuvered virtually all his opponents. He had a pragmatic and direct approach to strategy: he went for the main body of the opposing army and tried to crush it in a lightning campaign. He gathered the largest possible army for one great and decisive battle and then followed with a relentless pursuit to break enemy morale altogether. His military command, like his rule within France, was personal and highly centralized. He essentially served as his own operations officer: “I alone know what I have to do,” he insisted. This style worked as long as Napoleon could be on the battlefield, but he failed to train independent subordinates to take over in his absence. He also faced constant difficulties in supplying a rapidly moving army, which, because of its size, could not always live off the land.

One of Napoleon’s greatest advantages was the lack of coordination among his enemies. Britain dominated the seas but did not want to field huge land armies. On the continent, the French republic had already set up satellites in the Netherlands

and Italy, which served as a buffer against the big powers to the east, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. By maneuvering diplomatically and militarily, Napoleon could usually take these on one by one. After reorganizing the French armies in 1799, for example, Napoleon won striking victories against the Austrians at Marengo and Hohenlinden in 1800, forcing them to agree to peace terms. Once the Austrians had withdrawn, Britain agreed to the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, effectively ending hostilities on the continent. Napoleon considered the peace with Great Britain merely a truce, however, and it lasted only until 1803.

Napoleon used the breathing space not only to consolidate his position before taking up arms again but also to send an expeditionary force to the Caribbean colony of St. Domingue to regain control of the island. Continuing resistance among the black population and an epidemic of yellow fever forced Napoleon to withdraw his troops from St. Domingue and abandon his plans to extend his empire to the Western Hemisphere. As part of his retreat, he sold the Louisiana Territory to the United States in 1803.

When war resumed in Europe, the British navy once more proved its superiority by blocking an attempted French invasion and by defeating the French and their Spanish allies in a huge naval battle at Trafalgar in 1805. France lost many ships; the British lost no vessels, but their renowned admiral Lord Horatio Nelson died in the battle. On land, Napoleon remained invincible. In 1805, Austria took up arms again when Napoleon demanded that it declare neutrality in the conflict with Britain. Napoleon promptly captured twenty-five thousand Austrian soldiers at Ulm, in Bavaria, in 1805. After marching on to Vienna, he again trounced the Austrians, who had been joined by their new ally, Russia. The battle of Austerlitz, often considered Napoleon’s greatest victory, was fought on December 2, 1805, the first anniversary of his coronation.

After maintaining neutrality for a decade, Prussia now declared war on France. In 1806, the French routed the Prussian army at Jena and Auerstädt. In 1807, Napoleon defeated the Russians at Friedland. Personal negotiations between Napoleon and the young tsar Alexander I (r. 1801–1825) resulted in a humiliating settlement imposed on Prussia, which paid the price for temporary reconciliation between France and Russia; the Treaties of Tilsit turned Prussian lands west of



France's Retreat from America

Napoleon Visiting the Battlefield

Antoine-Jean Gros painted this scene of the battle of Eylau (now in northwestern Russia, then in East Prussia) shortly after Napoleon's victory against the Russian army in 1807. The painter aims to show the compassion of Napoleon for his men, but he also draws attention to the sheer carnage of war. Each side lost 25,000 men, killed or wounded, in this battle. What would you conclude from the way the ordinary soldiers are depicted here? (© Archivio Iconografico, S.A./Corbis.)



the Elbe River into the kingdom of Westphalia under Napoleon's brother Jerome, and Prussia's Polish provinces became the duchy of Warsaw. Napoleon once again had turned the divisions among his enemies in his favor.

The Impact of French Victories

Wherever the Grand Army conquered, Napoleon's influence followed soon after. By annexing some territories and setting up others as satellite kingdoms with much-reduced autonomy, Napoleon attempted to colonize large parts of Europe (see Map 20.1, page 628). But even where he did not rule directly or through his relatives, his startling string of victories forced the other powers to reconsider their own methods of rule.

Rule in the Colonized Territories. Napoleon brought the disparate German and Italian states together to rule them more effectively and to exploit their resources for his own ends. In 1803, he consolidated the tiny German states by abolishing some of them and attaching them

to larger units. In July 1806, he established the Confederation of the Rhine, which soon included almost all the German states except Austria and Prussia. The Holy Roman Emperor gave up his title, held since the thirteenth century, and became simply the emperor of Austria. Napoleon

established three units in Italy: the territories directly annexed to France and the satellite kingdoms of Italy and Naples. Italy had not been so unified since the Roman Empire.

Napoleon forced French-style reforms on both the annexed territories, which were ruled directly from France, and the satellite kingdoms, which were usually ruled by one or another of Napoleon's relatives but with a certain autonomy. French-style reforms included abolishing serfdom, eliminating seigniorial dues, introducing the Napoleonic Code, suppressing monasteries, and subordinating church to state, as well as extending civil rights to Jews and other religious minorities. Napoleon's chosen rulers often made real improvements in roads, public works, law codes, and education. The removal of internal tariffs fostered



Consolidation of German and Italian States, 1812

economic growth by opening up the domestic market for goods, especially textiles. By 1814, Bologna had five hundred factories and Modena four hundred. Yet almost everyone had some cause for complaint. Republicans regretted Napoleon’s conversion of the sister republics into kingdoms. Tax increases and ever-rising conscription quotas fomented discontent as well. The annexed territories and satellite kingdoms paid half the cost of Napoleon’s wars.

Almost everywhere, conflicts arose between Napoleon’s desire for a standardized, centralized government and local insistence on maintaining customs and traditions. Sometimes his own relatives sided with the countries they ruled. Napoleon’s brother Louis, for instance, would not allow conscription in the Netherlands because the Dutch had never had compulsory military service. When Napoleon tried to introduce an economic policy banning trade with Great Britain, Louis’s lax enforcement prompted the frustrated emperor to complain that “Holland is an English province.” In 1810, Napoleon annexed the satellite kingdom because his brother had become too sympathetic to Dutch interests.

Pressure for Reform in Prussia and Russia.

Napoleon’s victories forced defeated rulers to rethink their political and cultural assumptions. After the crushing defeat of Prussia in 1806 left his country greatly reduced in territory, Frederick William III (r. 1797–1840) appointed a reform commission, and on its recommendation he abolished serfdom and allowed non-nobles to buy and enclose land. Peasants gained their personal independence from their noble landlords, who could no longer sell them to pay gambling debts, for example, or refuse them permission to marry. Yet the lives of the former serfs remained bleak; they were left without land, and their landlords no longer had to care for them in hard times. The king’s advisers also overhauled the army to make the high command more efficient and to open the way to the appointment of middle-class officers. Prussia instituted these reforms to try to compete with the French, not to promote democracy. As one reformer wrote to Frederick William, “We must do from above what the French have done from below.”

Reform received lip service in Russia. Tsar Alexander I had gained his throne after an aristocratic coup deposed and killed his autocratic and capricious father, Paul (r. 1796–1801), and in the early years of his reign the remorseful young ruler created Western-style ministries, lifted restrictions on importing foreign books, and founded six new

universities; reform commissions studied abuses; nobles were encouraged voluntarily to free their serfs (a few actually did so); and there was even talk of drafting a constitution. But none of these efforts reached beneath the surface of Russian life, and by the second decade of his reign Alexander began to reject the Enlightenment spirit that his grandmother Catherine the Great had instilled in him.

The Continental System. The one power always standing between Napoleon and total dominance of Europe was Great Britain. The British ruled the seas and financed anyone who would oppose Napoleon. In an effort to bankrupt this “nation of shopkeepers” by choking its trade, Napoleon inaugurated the **Continental System** in 1806. It prohibited all commerce between Great Britain and France or France’s dependent states and allies. At first, the system worked: British exports dropped by 20 percent in 1807–1808, and manufacturing declined by 10 percent; unemployment and a strike of sixty thousand workers in northern England resulted. The British retaliated by confiscating merchandise on ships, even those of powers neutral in the wars, that sailed into or out of ports from which the British were excluded by the Continental System.

In the midst of continuing wars, moreover, the system proved impossible to enforce, and widespread smuggling brought British goods into the European market. British growth continued, despite some setbacks; calico-printing works, for example, quadrupled their production, and imports of raw cotton increased by 40 percent. At the same time, French and other continental industries benefited from the temporary protection from British competition.

Resistance to French Rule, 1807–1812. Smuggling British goods was only one way of opposing the French. Almost everywhere in Europe, resistance began as local opposition to French demands for money or draftees, but it eventually prompted a more nationalistic patriotic defense. In southern Italy, gangs of bandits harassed the French army and local officials; thirty-three thousand Italian bandits were arrested in 1809 alone. But resistance continued via a network of secret societies, called the *carbonari* (“charcoal burners”), which got its name from the practice of marking each new member’s forehead with a charcoal mark.

Continental System: The boycott of British goods in France and its satellites ordered by Napoleon in 1806; it had success but was later undermined by smuggling.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the carbonari played a leading role in Italian nationalism. In the German states, intellectuals wrote passionate defenses of the virtues of the German nation and of the superiority of German literature.

No nations bucked under Napoleon's reins more than Spain and Portugal. In 1807, Napoleon sent 100,000 troops through Spain to invade Portugal, Great Britain's ally. The royal family fled

to the Portuguese colony of Brazil, but fighting continued, aided by a British army. When Napoleon got his brother Joseph named king of Spain in place of the senile Charles IV (r. 1788–1808), the Spanish clergy and nobles raised bands of peasants to fight the French occupiers. Even Napoleon's taking personal command of the French forces failed to quell the Spanish, who for six years fought a war of national independence that pinned down thousands of French soldiers. Germaine de Staël commented that Napoleon “never under-

stood that a war might be a crusade. . . . He never reckoned with the one power that no arms could overcome—the enthusiasm of a whole people.”

More than a new feeling of nationalism was aroused in Spain. Peasants hated French requisitioning of their food supplies and sought to defend their priests against French anticlericalism. Spanish nobles feared revolutionary reforms and were willing to defend the old monarchy in the person of the young Ferdinand VII, heir to Charles IV, even while Ferdinand himself was congratulating Napoleon on his victories. The Spanish Catholic church spread anti-French propaganda that equated Napoleon with heresy. As the former archbishop of Seville wrote to the archbishop of Granada in 1808, “You realize that we must not recognize as king a freemason, heretic, Lutheran, as are all the Bonapartes and the French nation.” In this tense atmosphere, the Spanish peasant rebels, assisted by the British, countered every French massacre with atrocities of their own. They tortured their French prisoners (boiling one general alive) and lynched collaborators.

From Russian Winter to Final Defeat, 1812–1815

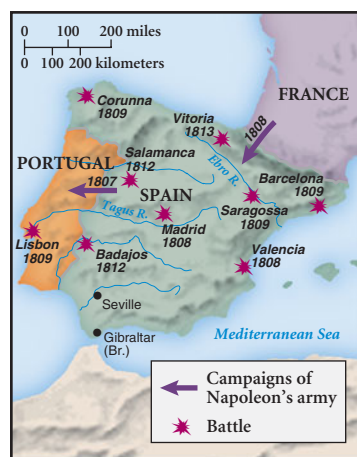
Despite opposition, Napoleon ruled over an extensive empire by 1812. He controlled more territory

than any European ruler had since Roman times. Only two major European states remained fully independent—Great Britain and Russia—but once allied they would successfully challenge his dominion and draw many other states to their side. Britain sent aid to the Portuguese and Spanish rebels, while Russia once again prepared for war. Tsar Alexander I made peace with Turkey and allied himself with Great Britain and Sweden. In 1812, Napoleon invaded Russia with 250,000 horses and 600,000 men, including contingents of Italians, Poles, Swiss, Dutch, and Germans. This daring move proved to be his undoing.

Invasion of Russia, 1812. Napoleon followed his usual strategy of trying to strike quickly, but the Russian generals avoided confrontation and retreated eastward, destroying anything that might be useful to the invaders. In September, on the road to Moscow, Napoleon finally engaged the main Russian force in the gigantic battle of Borodino (see Map 20.1, page 628). French casualties numbered 30,000 men, including 47 generals; the Russians lost 45,000. The French soldiers had nothing to celebrate around their campfires: as one soldier wrote, “Everyone . . . wept for some dead friend.” Once again the Russians retreated, leaving Moscow undefended. Napoleon entered the deserted city, but the victory turned hollow because the departing Russians had set the wooden city on fire. Within a week, three-fourths of it had burned to the ground. Still Alexander refused to negotiate, and French morale plunged with worsening problems of supply. Weeks of constant marching in the dirt and heat had worn down the foot soldiers, who were dying of disease or deserting in large numbers (see Document, “An Ordinary Soldier on Campaign with Napoleon,” page 633).

In October, Napoleon began his retreat; in November came the cold. A German soldier in the Grand Army described trying to cook fistfuls of raw bran with snow to make something like bread. For him, the retreat was “the indescribable horror of all possible plagues.” Within a week the Grand Army lost 30,000 horses and had to abandon most of its artillery and food supplies. Russian forces harassed the retreating army, now more pathetic than grand. By December only 100,000 troops remained, one-sixth the original number, and the retreat had turned into a rout: the Russians had captured 200,000 soldiers, including 48 generals and 3,000 other officers.

Napoleon had made a classic military mistake that would be repeated by Adolf Hitler in World War II: fighting a war on two distant fronts simultaneously. The Spanish war tied down 250,000



The Spanish War for Independence, 1807–1813

DOCUMENT

An Ordinary Soldier on Campaign with Napoleon

Jakob Walter (1788–1864) recorded his experience as a soldier in the Napoleonic armies marching to Moscow in 1812. He wrote his account sometime after the events took place, though exactly when is not known. Walter was a German conscripted into military service from one of the many west German states controlled by Napoleon. The selection here describes the Napoleonic armies still on the offensive moving toward Moscow. But the seeds of future problems are already germinating.

On August 19, the entire army moved forward, and pursued the Russians with all speed. Four or five hours’ farther up the river another battle started, but the enemy did not hold out long, and the march now led to Moshaisk [near Borodino], the so-called “Holy Valley.” From Smolensk to

Moshaisk the war displayed its horrible work of destruction: all the roads, fields, and woods lay as though sown with people, horses, wagons, burned villages and cities; everything looked like the complete ruin of all that lived. In particular, we saw ten dead Russians to one of our men, although every day our numbers fell off considerably. In order to pass through woods, swamps, and narrow trails, trees which formed barriers in the woods had to be removed, and wagon barricades of the enemy had to be cleared away. . . . The march up to there, as far as it was a march, is indescribable and inconceivable for people who have not seen anything of it. The very great heat, the dust which was like a thick fog, the closed line of march in columns, and the putrid water from holes filled with dead people and cattle

brought everyone close to death; and eye pains, fatigue, thirst, and hunger tormented everybody. God! How often I remembered the bread and beer which I had enjoyed at home with such an indifferent pleasure! Now, however, I must struggle, half wild, with the dead and living. How gladly would I renounce for my whole life the warm food so common at home if I only did not lack good bread and beer now! I would not wish for more all my life. But these were empty, helpless thoughts. Yes, the thought of my brothers and sisters so far away added to my pain! Wherever I looked, I saw the soldiers with dead, half-desperate faces.

Source: Marc Raeff, ed., *Jakob Walter: The Diary of a Napoleonic Foot Soldier* (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 52–53.

French troops and forced Napoleon to bully Prussia and Austria into supplying soldiers of dubious loyalty for the Moscow campaign. They deserted at the first opportunity. The fighting in Spain and Portugal also exacerbated the already substantial logistical and communications problems involved in marching to Moscow.

The End of Napoleon’s Empire. Napoleon’s humiliation might have been temporary if the British and Russians had not successfully organized a coalition to complete the job. Napoleon still had resources at his command; by the spring of 1813, he had replenished his army with another 250,000 men. With British financial support, Russian, Austrian, Prussian, and Swedish armies met the French outside Leipzig in October 1813 and defeated Napoleon in the Battle of the Nations. One by one, Napoleon’s German allies deserted him to join the German nationalist “war of liberation.” The Confederation of the Rhine dissolved, and the Dutch revolted and restored the prince of Orange. Joseph Bonaparte fled Spain, and a combined Spanish-Portuguese army under British command invaded France. In only a few months, the allied powers crossed the Rhine and marched toward Paris. In March 1814, the French Senate deposed Napoleon,

who abdicated when his remaining generals refused to fight. Napoleon went into exile on the island of Elba off the Italian coast. His wife, Marie-Louise, refused to accompany him. The allies restored to the throne Louis XVIII (r. 1814–1824), the brother of Louis XVI, beheaded during the Revolution. (Louis XVI’s son was known as Louis XVII even though he died in prison in 1795 without ever ruling.)

Napoleon had one last chance to regain power because Louis XVIII lacked a solid base of support. The new king tried to steer a middle course through a charter that established a British-style monarchy with a two-house legislature and guaranteed civil rights. But he was caught between nobles returning from exile who demanded a complete restoration of their lands and powers, and the vast majority of ordinary people who had supported either the republic or Napoleon during the previous twenty-five years. Sensing an opportunity, Napoleon escaped from Elba in early 1815 and, landing in southern France, made swift and unimpeded progress to Paris. Although he had left in ignominy, now crowds cheered him and former soldiers volunteered to serve him. The period eventually known as the Hundred Days (the length of time between

CONTRASTING VIEWS

Napoleon: For and Against

After his final exile, Napoleon presented himself as a martyr to the cause of liberty whose goal was to create a European “federation of free people.” Few were convinced by this “gospel according to St. Helena” (Document 1). Followers such as Emmanuel de Las Cases burnished the Napoleonic legend, but detractors such as Benjamin Constant viewed him as a tyrant (Document 2). For all his defects, Napoleon fascinated even those who were too young to understand his rise and fall. The French romantic poet Victor Hugo celebrated both the glory and the tragedy of Napoleonic ambitions (Document 3).

1. Napoleon’s Own View from Exile

As might be expected, Napoleon put the most positive possible construction on his plans for France. In exile he wrote letters and talked at length to Emmanuel de Las Cases (1766–1842), an aristocratic officer in the royal navy who rallied to Napoleon in 1802, served in the Council of State, and later accompanied him to St. Helena. Much of what we know about Napoleon’s views comes from a book published by Las Cases in 1821.

March 3, 1817:

In spite of all the libels, I have no fear whatever about my fame. Posterity will do me justice. The truth will be known; and the good I have done will be compared with the faults I have committed. I am not uneasy as to the result. Had I succeeded, I would have died with the reputation of the greatest man that ever existed. As it is, although I have failed, I shall be considered as an extraordinary man: my elevation was unparalleled, because unaccompanied by crime. I have fought fifty pitched battles, almost all of which I have won. I have framed and carried into effect a code of laws that will bear my name to the most distant posterity. I raised myself from nothing to be the most powerful monarch in the world. Europe was at my feet. I have always been of the opinion that the sovereignty lay in the people. In fact, the imperial government was a kind of republic. Called to the head of it by the voice of the nation, my maxim was, *la carrière est*

ouverte aux talents [“careers open to talent”] without distinction of birth or fortune, and this system of equality is the reason that your oligarchy hates me so much.

Source: R. M. Johnston, *The Corsican: A Diary of Napoleon’s Life in His Own Words* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1921), 492.

2. Benjamin Constant, Spokesman for the Liberal Opposition to Napoleon

Benjamin Constant (1767–1830) came from an old French Calvinist family that had fled to Switzerland to escape persecution. Constant spent the early years of the French Revolution in a minor post at a minor German court. He moved to Paris in 1795 and became active in French politics during the Directory. Under Napoleon he went into exile, where he published a romantic novel, *Adolphe* (1806), and pamphlets like this one attacking Napoleon. He reconciled to Napoleon during the Hundred Days and then opposed the restored Bourbon monarchy. In this selection, written during his exile, he expresses his hostility to Napoleon as a usurper dependent on war to maintain himself in power.

Surely, Bonaparte is a thousand times more guilty than those barbarous conquerors who, ruling over barbarians, were by no means at odds with their age. Unlike them, he has chosen barbarism; he has preferred it. In the midst of enlightenment, he has sought to bring back the night. He has chosen to transform into greedy and bloodthirsty nomads a mild and polite people: his crime lies in this premeditated intention, in his obstinate effort to rob us of the heritage of all the enlightened generations who have preceded us on this earth. But why have we given him the right to conceive such a project?

When he first arrived here, alone, out of poverty and obscurity, and until he was twenty-four, his greedy gaze wandering over the country around him, why did we show him a country in which any religious idea was the object of irony? [Constant refers here to de-Christianization during the French Revolution.]

Napoleon’s escape and his final defeat) had begun. Louis XVIII fled across the border, waiting for help from France’s enemies.

Napoleon quickly moved his reconstituted army of 74,000 men into present-day Belgium. At first, it seemed that he might succeed in separately fighting the two armies arrayed against him—a Prussian army of some 60,000 men and a joint force of 68,000 Belgian, Dutch, German, and

British troops led by British general Sir Arthur Wellesley (1769–1852), duke of Wellington. The decisive battle took place on June 18, 1815, at Waterloo, less than ten miles from Brussels. Napoleon’s forces attacked Wellington’s men first with infantry and then with cavalry, but the French failed to dislodge their opponents. Late in the afternoon, the Prussians arrived and the rout was complete. Napoleon had no choice but to abdicate

When he listened to what was professed in our circles, why did serious thinkers tell him that man had no other motivation than his own interest? . . .

Because immediate usurpation was easy, he believed it could be durable, and once he became a usurper, he did all that usurpation condemns a usurper to do in our century.

It was necessary to stifle inside the country all intellectual life: he banished discussion and proscribed the freedom of the press.

The nation might have been stunned by that silence: he provided, extorted or paid for acclamation which sounded like the national voice. . . . War flung onto distant shores that part of the French nation that still had some real energy. It prompted the police harassment of the timid, whom it could not force abroad. It struck terror into men’s hearts, and left there a certain hope that chance would take responsibility for their deliverance: a hope agreeable to fear and convenient to inertia. How many times have I heard men who were pressed to resist tyranny postponing this, during wartime till the coming of peace, and in peacetime until war commences!

I am right therefore in claiming that a usurper’s sole resource is uninterrupted war. Some object: what if Bonaparte had been pacific? Had he been pacific, he would never have lasted for twelve years. Peace would have re-established communication among the different countries of Europe. These communications would have restored to thought its means of expression. Works published abroad would have been smuggled into the country. The French would have seen that they did not enjoy the approval of the majority of Europe.

Source: Benjamin Constant, “Further Reflections on Usurpation,” in *Political Writings*, trans. Biancamaria Fontana (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 161–63.

3. Victor Hugo, “The Two Islands” (1825)

Victor Hugo (1802–1885) was France’s greatest romantic poet and novelist, author of The Hunchback of Notre Dame and Les Misérables. His father was a Napoleonic general, but his mother was an equally ardent royalist. In this early poem, Hugo compares Napoleon to one of Napoleon’s favorite icons, the eagle, symbol of empire. The two islands of the title are Corsica, Napoleon’s birthplace, and St. Helena, his place of final exile and death.

These Isles, where Ocean’s shattered spray
Upon the ruthless rocks is cast,
Seem like two treacherous ships of prey,
Made by eternal anchors fast.
The hand that settled bleak and black
Those shores on their unpeopled rack,
And clad in fear and mystery,
Perchance thus made them tempest-torn,
That Bonaparte might there be born,
And that Napoleon there might die. . . .
He his imperial nest hath built so far and high,
He seems to us to dwell within that tranquil sky,
Where you shall never see the angry tempest break.
’Tis but beneath his feet the growling storms are sped,
And thunders to assault his head
Must to their highest source go back.
The bolt flew upwards: from his eyrie [nest] riven,
Blazing he falls beneath the stroke of heaven;
Then kings their tyrant foe reward —
They chain him, living, on that lonely shore;
And earth captive giant handed o’er
To ocean’s more resistless guard. . . .
Shame, hate, misfortune, vengeance, curses sore,
On him let heaven and earth together pour:
Now, see we dashed the vast Colossus low.
May he forever rue, alive and dead,
All tears he caused mankind to shed,
And all the blood he caused to flow.

Source: Henry Carrington, *Translations from the Poems of Victor Hugo* (London: Walter Scott, 1885), 34–41.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. Which of these views of Napoleon has the most lasting value as opposed to immediate dramatic effect?
2. According to these selections, what was Napoleon’s greatest accomplishment? His greatest failure?
3. Victor Hugo called Napoleon “the vast Colossus.” Why did he pick this larger-than-life metaphor even when writing lines critical of Napoleon’s legacy of tears and bloodshed?

again. This time the victorious allies banished him permanently to the remote island of St. Helena, far off the coast of West Africa, where he died in 1821 at the age of fifty-two.

The cost of Napoleon’s rule was high: 750,000 French soldiers and 400,000 others from annexed and satellite states died between 1800 and 1815. Yet his impact on world history was undeniable. (See “Contrasting Views,” above.) Napoleon’s plans

for a united Europe, his insistence on spreading the legal reforms of the French Revolution, his social welfare programs, and even his inadvertent awakening of national sentiment set the agenda for European history in the modern era.

REVIEW: Why was Napoleon able to gain control over so much of Europe’s territory?

The “Restoration” of Europe

Even while Napoleon was making his last desperate bid for power, his enemies were meeting in the Congress of Vienna (1814–1815) to decide the fate of postrevolutionary, post-Napoleonic Europe. Although interrupted by the Hundred Days, the **Congress of Vienna** settled the boundaries of European states, determined who would rule each nation, and established a new framework for international relations based on periodic meetings, or congresses, between the major powers. The doctrine of conservatism bolstered this post-Napoleonic order and in some places went hand in hand with a revival of religion.

The Congress of Vienna, 1814–1815

The Vienna settlement established a new equilibrium that relied on cooperation among the major powers while guaranteeing the status of smaller states. The revolutionary and Napoleonic wars had produced a host of potentially divisive issues. In addition to determining the boundaries of France,

the congress had to decide the fate of Napoleon’s duchy of Warsaw, the German province of Saxony, the Netherlands, the states once part of the Confederation of the Rhine, and various Italian territories. All had either changed hands or been created during the wars. These issues were resolved by face-to-face negotiations among representatives of the five major powers: Austria, Russia, Prussia, Britain, and France. With its aim to establish a long-lasting, negotiated peace endorsed by all parties, both winners and losers, the Congress of Vienna provided a model for the twentieth-century League of Nations and United Nations. The congress system, or “concert of Europe,” helped prevent another major war until the 1850s, and no conflict comparable to the Napoleonic wars would occur again until 1914.

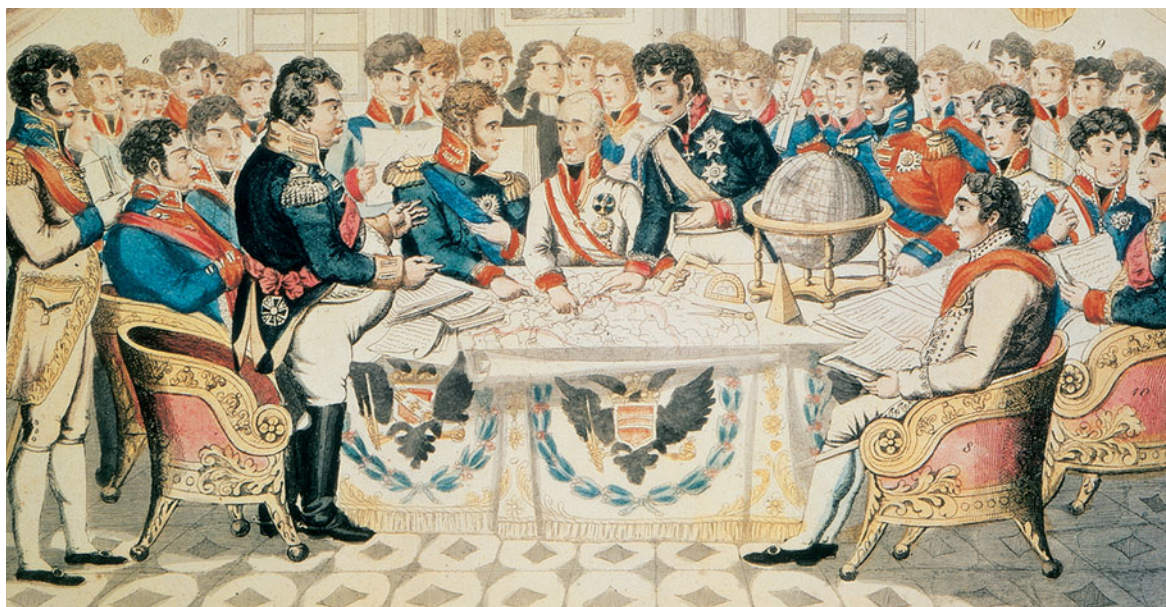
Austria’s chief negotiator, Prince **Klemens von Metternich** (1773–1859), took the lead in devising the settlement and shaping the post-Napoleonic order. A well-educated nobleman who spoke five languages, Metternich served as a minister in the Austrian cabinet from 1809 to 1848. Although his penchant for womanizing made him a security risk in the eyes of the British Foreign Office (he even had an affair with Napoleon’s younger

Congress of Vienna: Face-to-face negotiations (1814–1815) between the great powers to settle the boundaries of European states and determine who would rule each nation after the defeat of Napoleon.

Klemens von Metternich (KLAY mehnts fawn MEH tur nihk): An Austrian prince (1773–1859) who took the lead in devising the settlement arranged by the Congress of Vienna.

Congress of Vienna

An unknown French engraver caricatured the efforts of the diplomats at the Congress of Vienna, complaining that they used the occasion to divide the spoils of European territory. What elements in this engraving make it a caricature? (Copyright Wien Museum.)





MAP 20.2 Europe after the Congress of Vienna, 1815

The Congress of Vienna forced France to return to its 1789 borders. The Austrian Netherlands and the Dutch Republic were united in a new kingdom of the Netherlands, the German states were joined in a German Confederation that built on Napoleon's Confederation of the Rhine, and Napoleon's duchy of Warsaw became the kingdom of Poland with the tsar of Russia as king. To compensate for its losses in Poland, Prussia gained territory in Saxony and on the left bank of the Rhine. Austria reclaimed the Italian provinces of Lombardy and Venetia and the Dalmatian coast.

sister), he worked with the British prime minister Robert Castlereagh (1769–1822) to ensure a moderate agreement that would check French aggression yet maintain France's great-power status. Metternich and Castlereagh believed that French aggression must be contained because it had threatened the European peace since the days of Louis XIV but at the same time that France must remain a major player to prevent any one European power from dominating the others. In this way, France could help Austria and Britain counter the ambitions of Prussia and Russia. Castlereagh hoped to make Britain the arbiter of European affairs, but he knew this could be accomplished only through adroit diplomacy because the British constitutional monarchy had little in common with most of its more absolutist continental counterparts.

The task of ensuring France's status at the congress fell to Prince Charles Maurice de Talleyrand (1754–1838), an aristocrat and former bishop who had embraced the French Revolution, served as Napoleon's foreign minister, and ended as foreign minister to Louis XVIII after helping to arrange the emperor's overthrow. Informed of Talleyrand's betrayal, Napoleon called him “excrement in silk stockings.” When the French army failed to oppose Napoleon's return to power in the Hundred Days, the allies took away all territory conquered since 1790 and required France to pay an indemnity and support an army of occupation until it had paid.

The goal of the Congress of Vienna was to achieve postwar stability by establishing secure states with guaranteed borders (Map 20.2). Because the congress aimed to “restore” as many regimes as possible to their former rulers, this

epoch is sometimes labeled the **restoration**. But simple restoration was not always feasible, and in those cases the congress rearranged territory to balance the competing interests of the great powers. Thus, the congress turned the duchy of Warsaw into a new Polish kingdom but made the tsar of Russia its king. (Poland would not regain its independence until 1918.) The former Dutch Republic and the Austrian Netherlands, both annexed to France, now united as the new kingdom of the Netherlands under the restored stadholder. Austria took charge of the German Confederation, which replaced the defunct Holy Roman Empire and also included Prussia.

The lesser powers were not forgotten. The kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia took Genoa, Nice, and part of Savoy. Sweden obtained Norway from Denmark but had to accept Russia's conquest of Finland. Finally, various international trade issues were also resolved. At the urging of Great Britain, the congress agreed to condemn in principle the slave trade, abolished by Great Britain in 1807. In reality, however, the slave trade continued in many places until the 1840s.

To impart spiritual substance to this very calculated settlement of political affairs, Tsar Alexander proposed a Holy Alliance calling upon divine assistance in upholding religion, peace, and justice. Prussia and Austria signed the agreement, but Great Britain refused to accede to what Castlereagh called "a piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense." Despite the reassertion of traditional religious principle, the congress had in fact given birth to a new diplomatic order: in the future, the legitimacy of states depended on the treaty system, not on divine right.

The Emergence of Conservatism

The French Revolution and Napoleonic domination of Europe had shown contemporaries that government could be changed overnight, that the old hierarchies could be overthrown in the name of reason, and that even Christianity could be written off or at least profoundly altered with the stroke of a pen. The potential for rapid change raised many questions about the proper sources of authority. Kings and churches could be restored and former revolutionaries locked up or silenced, but the old order no longer commanded automatic obedience. The old order was now merely *old*, no

longer "natural" and "timeless." It had been ousted once and therefore might fall again. People insisted on having reasons to believe in their "restored" governments. The political doctrine that justified the restoration was **conservatism**.

Conservatives benefited from the disillusionment that permeated Europe after 1815. In the eyes of most Europeans, Napoleon had become a tyrant who ruled in his own interests. Conservatives saw a logical progression in recent history: the Enlightenment, based on reason, led to the French Revolution, with its bloody guillotine and horrifying Terror, which in turn spawned the authoritarian and militaristic Napoleon. Therefore, those who espoused conservatism rejected both the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. They favored monarchies over republics, tradition over revolution, and established religion over Enlightenment skepticism.

The original British critic of the French Revolution, Edmund Burke (1729–1799), inspired many of the conservatives that followed. He had argued that the revolutionaries erred in thinking they could construct an entirely new government based on reason. Government, Burke said, had to be rooted in long experience, which evolved over generations. All change must be gradual and must respect national and historical traditions. Like Burke, later conservatives believed that religious and other major traditions were an essential foundation for any society. Most of them took their resistance to change even further, however, and tried to restore the pre-1789 social order.

Conservatives blamed the French Revolution's attack on religion on the skepticism and anticlericalism of such Enlightenment thinkers as Voltaire, and they defended both hereditary monarchy and the authority of the church, whether Catholic or Protestant. Louis de Bonald, an official under the restored French monarchy, insisted that "the revolution began with the declaration of the rights of man and will only finish when the rights of God are declared." The declaration of rights, he asserted, represented the evil influence of Enlightenment philosophy and with it atheism, Protestantism, and freemasonry, which he lumped together. An enduring social order could only be constructed, in this view, on the foundations provided by the church, the state, and the patriarchal family. Faith, sentiment, history, and tradition

restoration: The epoch after the fall of Napoleon, in which the Congress of Vienna aimed to "restore" as many regimes as possible to their former rulers.

conservatism: A political doctrine that emerged after 1789 and rejected much of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, preferring monarchies over republics, tradition over revolution, and established religion over Enlightenment skepticism.

must fill the vacuum left by the failures of reason and excessive belief in individual rights. Across Europe, these views were taken up and elaborated by government advisers, professors, and writers. Not surprisingly, they had their strongest appeal in ruling circles and guided the politics of men such as Metternich in Austria, Alexander I in Russia, and the restored Bourbons in France.

The restored French monarchy provided a major test for conservatism because the returning Bourbons had to confront the legacy of twenty-five years of upheaval. Louis XVIII tried to ensure a measure of continuity by maintaining Napoleon's Civil Code. He also guaranteed the rights of ownership to church lands sold during the revolutionary period and created a parliament composed of a Chamber of Peers nominated by the king and a Chamber of Deputies elected by very restricted suffrage (fewer than 100,000 voters in a population of 30 million). In making these concessions, the king tried to follow a moderate course of compromise, but the Ultras (ultraroyalists) pushed for complete repudiation of the revolutionary past. When Louis returned to power after Napoleon's final defeat, armed royalist bands attacked and murdered hundreds of Bonapartists and former revolutionaries. In 1816, the Ultras insisted on abolishing divorce and set up special courts to punish opponents of the regime. When an assassin killed Louis XVIII's nephew in 1820, the Ultras demanded even more extreme measures.

The Revival of Religion

The experience of revolutionary upheaval and nearly constant warfare prompted many to renew their religious faith once peace returned. In France, the Catholic church sent missionaries to hold open-air “ceremonies of reparation” to express repentance for the outrages of revolution. In Rome, the papacy reestablished the Jesuit order, which had been disbanded during the Enlightenment. In the Italian states and Spain, governments used religious societies of laypeople to combat the influence of reformers and nationalists such as the Italian carbonari.

Revivalist movements, especially in Protestant countries, could on occasion challenge the status quo rather than supporting it. In parts of Protestant Germany and Britain, religious revival had begun in the eighteenth century with the rise of Pietism and Methodism, movements that stressed individual religious experience rather than reason as the true path to moral and social reform.

The English Methodists followed John Wesley (1703–1791), who had preached an emotional, morally austere, and very personal “method” of gaining salvation. The Methodists, or Wesleyans, gradually separated from the Church of England and in the early decades of the nineteenth century attracted thousands of members in huge revival meetings that lasted for days.

Shopkeepers, artisans, agricultural laborers, miners, and workers in cottage industry, both male and female, flocked to the new denomination, even though at first Methodism seemed to emphasize conservative political views: Methodist statutes of 1792 had insisted that “none of us shall either in writing or in conversation speak lightly or irrever-

A Protestant Missionary in India

This colored engraving shows the English Baptist missionary William Carey (1761–1834) baptizing his first Hindu convert. Carey went to India in 1793 and spent forty years there as a teacher and a preacher. He led efforts to get the British governor general to outlaw the Hindu rite of sati, the burning of widows with their husbands. He became professor of Indian languages at Fort William College, established in Calcutta for training British officials and supervised the translation of the Bible into more than forty local languages. (*The Granger Collection, New York.*)



ently of the government.” In their hostility to rigid doctrine and elaborate ritual and their encouragement of popular preaching, however, the Methodists fostered a sense of democratic community and even a rudimentary sexual equality. From the beginning, women preachers traveled on horseback to preach in barns, town halls, and textile dye houses. The Methodist Sunday schools that taught thousands of poor children to read and write eventually helped create greater demands for working-class political participation.

The religious revival was not limited to Europe. In the United States, the second Great Awakening began around 1790 with huge camp meetings that brought together thousands of worshippers and scores of evangelical preachers, many of them Methodist. (The original Great Awakening took place in the 1730s and 1740s, sparked by the preaching of George Whitefield, a young English evangelist and follower of John Wesley.) Men and women danced to exhaustion, fell into trances, and spoke in tongues. During this period, Protestant sects began systematic missionary activity in other parts of the world, with British and American missionary societies taking the lead in the 1790s and early 1800s. In the British colony of India, for example, Protestant missionaries argued for the reform of Hindu customs. *Sati*—the burning of widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands—was abolished by the British administration of India in 1829. Missionary activity by Protestants and Catholics would become one of the arms of European imperialism and cultural influence in the nineteenth century.

REVIEW: To what extent was the old order restored by the Congress of Vienna?

Challenges to the Conservative Order

Conservatives hoped to clamp a lid on European affairs, but the lid kept threatening to fly off. Drawing on the turmoil in society and politics was romanticism, the burgeoning international movement in the arts and literature that dominated artistic expression in the first half of the nineteenth century. Although romantics shared with conservatives a distrust of the Enlightenment’s emphasis on reason, romanticism did not translate into a unified political position. It did, however, heighten the general discontent with the conservative

Vienna settlement. Isolated revolts threatened the hold of some conservative governments in the 1820s, but most of these rebellions were quickly bottled up. Then in 1830, successive uprisings briefly overwhelmed the established order. Across Europe, angry protesters sought constitutional guarantees of individual liberties and national unity and autonomy. The revolutionary legacy came back to life again.

Romanticism

An artistic movement that encompassed poetry, music, painting, history, and literature, romanticism glorified nature, emotion, genius, and imagination. (See Chapter 18 for the origins of romanticism.) It proclaimed these as antidotes to the Enlightenment and to classicism in the arts, challenging the reliance on reason, symmetry, and cool geometric spaces. Classicism idealized models from Roman history; romanticism turned to folklore and medieval legends. Classicism celebrated orderly, crisp lines; romantics sought out all that was wild, fevered, and disorderly. Chief among the arts of romanticism were poetry, music, and painting, which captured the deep-seated emotion characteristic of romantic expression. Romantics might take any political position, but they exerted the most political influence when they expressed nationalist feelings.

Romantic Poetry. Romantic poetry celebrated overwhelming emotion and creative imagination. George Gordon, Lord Byron (1788–1824), explained his aims in writing poetry:

For what is Poesy but to create
From overfeeling, Good and Ill, and aim
At an external life beyond our fate,
And be the new Prometheus of new man.

Prometheus was the mythological figure who brought fire from the Greek gods to human beings. Byron did not seek the new Prometheus among political leaders or manufacturers of new wealth; he sought him within his own “overfeeling,” his own intense emotions. Byron became a romantic hero himself when he rushed off to act on his emotions by fighting and dying in the Greek war for independence from the Turks. An English aristocrat, Byron nonetheless claimed, “I have simplified my politics into a detestation of all existing governments.”

Romantic poetry elevated the wonders of nature almost to the supernatural. In a poem that became one of the most beloved exemplars of

Lord Byron

George Gordon, Lord Byron (1788–1824), lived a short, tumultuous life; wrote enduring romantic poetry; loved both women and young men; and died struggling for Greek independence. During the Napoleonic wars, he took a two-year trip through southern Europe. He visited Greece and Albania and collected souvenir costumes, such as the one he is wearing in this portrait by Thomas Phillips (1813). As a result of this trip, he became passionately involved in things Greek; when the Greek rebellion broke out, he promptly joined the British Committee, which gathered aid for the Greeks. He died of a fever in Greece, where he had gone to distribute funds. How would viewers have reacted to the costume Byron is wearing? (*National Portrait Gallery, London.*)



romanticism, “Tintern Abbey” (1798), the English poet William Wordsworth (1770–1850) compared himself to a deer even while making nature seem filled with human emotions (see Document, “Wordsworth’s Poetry,” page 642). Like many poets of his time, Wordsworth greeted the French Revolution with joy; in his poem “French Revolution” (1809), he remembered his early enthusiasm: “Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive.” But gradually he became disenchanted with the revolutionary experiment and celebrated British nationalism instead; in 1816, he published a poem to commemorate the “intrepid sons of Albion [England]” who died at the battle of Waterloo.

Their emphasis on authentic self-expression at times drew romantics to exotic, mystical, or even reckless experiences. Such transports drove one leading German poet to the madhouse and another to suicide. Some romantics depicted the artist as possessed by demons and obsessed with hallucinations. This more nightmarish side was captured, and perhaps criticized, by Mary Shelley in *Frankenstein*. The aged German poet Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) likewise denounced the extremes of romanticism, calling it “everything that is sick.” In his epic poem *Faust* (1832), he seemed to warn of the same dangers Shelley portrayed in her novel. In Goethe’s retelling of a sixteenth-century legend, Faust offers his soul to the devil in return for a chance to taste all human experience — from passionate love

to the heights of power — in his effort to reshape nature for humanity’s benefit. Faust’s striving, like Frankenstein’s, leaves a wake of suffering and destruction.

Romantic Painting and Music. Romanticism in painting similarly idealized nature and the individual of deep feelings. The German romantic painter Caspar David Friedrich (1774–1840) depicted scenes — often far away in the mountains — that captured the romantic fascination with the sublime power of nature (see page 643). His melancholy individual figures looked lost in the vastness of an overpowering nature. Friedrich hated the modern world. His landscapes often had religious meaning as well, as in his controversial painting *The Cross in the Mountains* (1808), which showed a Christian cross standing alone in a mountain scene. It symbolized the steadfastness of faith but seemed to separate religion from the churches and attach it to mystical experience.

Many other artists developed similar themes. The English painter Joseph M. W. Turner (1775–1851) depicted his vision of nature in mysterious, misty seascapes, anticipating later artists by blurring the outlines of objects. The French painter Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863) chose contemporary as well as medieval scenes of great turbulence to emphasize light and color and break away from what he saw as “the servile copies repeated *ad nauseum* in academies of art.” Critics

DOCUMENT

Wordsworth's Poetry

The son of a lawyer, William Wordsworth (1770–1850) studied at Cambridge University and then traveled to France during the early years of the French Revolution. He returned to England and began publishing the poetry that for many scholars marks the beginning of romanticism with its emphasis on the sublime beauties of nature. This excerpt from “Lines Composed a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey” (1798) shows the influence of his extensive walking tours through the English countryside. But the passage also captures the melancholy and nostalgia that characterized much of romantic poetry.

And now, with gleams of half-extinguished thought,
With many recognitions dim and faint,

And somewhat of a sad perplexity,
The picture of the mind revives again:
While here I stand, not only with the sense
Of present pleasure, but with pleasing thoughts
That in this moment there is life and food
For future years. And so I dare to hope,
Though changed, no doubt, from what I was when first
I came among these hills; when like a roe
I bounded o’er the mountains, by the sides
Of the deep rivers, and the lonely streams,
Wherever nature led: more like a man
Flying from something that he dreads,
than one
Who sought the thing he loved. For nature then
(The coarser pleasures of my boyish days,

And their glad animal movements all gone by)
To me was all in all. — I cannot paint
What then I was. The sounding cataract
Haunted me like a passion: the tall rock,
The mountain, and the deep and gloomy wood,
Their colours and their forms, were then to me
An appetite; a feeling and a love,
That had no need of a remoter charm,
By thought supplied, nor any interest
Unborrowed from the eye. — That time is past.

Source: Paul Davis, ed., *Bedford Anthology of World Literature*. Book 5: *The Nineteenth Century, 1800–1900* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2003), 246–47.

denounced his techniques as “painting with a drunken broom.” To broaden his experience of light and color, Delacroix traveled in the 1830s to North Africa and painted many exotic scenes in Morocco and Algeria.

The towering presence of the German composer **Ludwig van Beethoven** (1770–1827) in early-nineteenth-century music helped establish the direction for musical romanticism. His music, according to one leading German romantic, “sets in motion the lever of fear, of awe, of horror, of suffering, and awakens just that infinite longing which is the essence of Romanticism.” Beethoven transformed the symphony into a connected work with recurring and evolving musical themes. Romantic symphonies conveyed the impression of growth, a metaphor for the organic process with an emphasis on the natural that was dear to the romantics. For example, Beethoven's Sixth Symphony, the *Pastoral* (1808), used a variety of instruments to represent sounds heard in the country. Beethoven's work—ranging from reli-

gious works to symphonies, sonatas, and concertos—showed remarkable diversity. Some of his work was explicitly political; his Ninth Symphony (1824) employed a chorus to sing the German poet Friedrich Schiller's verses in praise of universal human solidarity. Beethoven had been an admirer of Napoleon and even dedicated his Third Symphony, the *Eroica* (1804), to him, but when he learned of Napoleon's decision to name himself emperor, he tore up the dedication in disgust.

Romantic Nationalism. If romantics had any common political thread, it was the support of nationalist aspirations, especially through the search for the historical origins of national identity. In the German states, the Austrian Empire, Russia and other Slavic lands, and Scandinavia, romantic poets and writers collected old legends and folktales that expressed a shared cultural and linguistic heritage stretching back to the Middle Ages. These collections showed that Germany, for example, had always existed even if it did not currently take the form of a single unified state. Romantic nationalism permeated *The Betrothed* (1825–1827), a novel by Alessandro Manzoni (1785–1873) that constituted a kind of bible for Italian nationalists. Manzoni, the grandson of the

Ludwig van Beethoven: The German composer (1770–1827) who helped set the direction of musical romanticism; his music used recurring and evolving themes to convey the impression of natural growth.



William Blake, *The Circle of the Lustful* (1824)

An English romantic poet, painter, engraver, and printmaker, Blake always sought his own way. Self-taught, he began writing poetry at age twelve and apprenticed himself to an engraver at fourteen. His works incorporate many otherworldly attributes; they are quite literally visionary—imagining other worlds. In this engraving of hell, the twisting, turning figures are caught up in a kind of spiritual ether. Can you find elements in this engraving that reflect a criticism of Enlightenment ideals? (*Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery.*)

Italian Enlightenment hero Cesare Beccaria, set his novel in the seventeenth century, when Spain controlled Italy's destiny, but his readers understood that he intended to attack the Austrians who controlled northern Italy in his own day. By writing this book (the first historical novel in Italian literature) in the Tuscan dialect, Manzoni achieved two aims: he helped create a standard national language and popularized Italian history for a people long divided by different dialects and competing rulers.

Manzoni had been inspired to write his novel by the most influential of all historical novelists, **Sir Walter Scott** (1771–1832). While working as a lawyer and then judge in Scotland, Scott first collected and published traditional Scottish ballads that he heard as a child. After achieving immediate success with his own poetry, especially *The Lady of the Lake* (1810), he switched to historical novels. His novels are almost all renditions of historical events, from *Rob Roy* (1817), with its account of Scottish resistance to the English in the early eighteenth century, to *Ivanhoe* (1819), with its tales of medieval England. One contemporary critic claimed that *Ivanhoe* was more historically true than any scholarly work: "There is more history in the novels of Walter Scott than in half of the historians."

Sir Walter Scott: A prolific author (1771–1832) of popular historical novels; he also collected and published traditional Scottish ballads and wrote poetry.

Caspar David Friedrich, *Wanderer above the Sea of Fog* (1818)

Friedrich, a German romantic painter, captured many of the themes most dear to romanticism: melancholy, isolation, and individual communion with nature. He painted trees reaching for the sky and mountains stretching into the distance. Nature to him seemed awesome, powerful, and overshadowing of human perspectives. The French sculptor David d'Angers said of Friedrich, "Here is a man who has discovered the tragedy of landscape." (© *Hamburg Kunsthalle, Hamburg, Germany/The Bridgeman Art Library.*)



Political Revolts in the 1820s

The restoration of regimes after Napoleon's fall disappointed those who dreamed of constitutional freedoms and national independence. Membership grew in secret societies such as the carbonari, attracting tens of thousands of members, including physicians, lawyers, officers, and students. Revolts broke out in the 1820s in Spain, Italy, Russia, and Greece (Map 20.3), as well as across the Atlantic in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies of Latin America. Most revolts failed, but those in Greece and Latin America succeeded, largely because they did not threaten the conservative order in Europe.

Uprisings in Spain and Italy. When Ferdinand VII regained the Spanish crown in 1814, he quickly restored the prerevolutionary nobility, church, and monarchy. He had foreign books and newspapers confiscated at the frontier and allowed the publication of only two newspapers. Not surprisingly, such repressive policies disturbed the middle class, especially the army officers who had encountered French ideas. Many responded by joining secret societies. In 1820, disgruntled soldiers demanded

that Ferdinand proclaim his adherence to the constitution of 1812, which he had abolished in 1814. When the revolt spread, Ferdinand convened the *cortes* (parliament), which could agree on virtually nothing. Ferdinand bided his time, and in 1823 a French army invaded and restored him to absolute power. The French acted with the consent of the other great powers. The restored Spanish government tortured and executed hundreds of rebels; thousands were imprisoned or forced into exile.

Hearing of the Spanish uprising, rebellious soldiers in the kingdom of Naples joined forces with the carbonari and demanded a constitution. When a new parliament met, it too broke down over internal disagreements. The promise of reform sparked rebellion in the northern Italian kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia, where rebels urged Charles Albert, the young heir to the Piedmont throne, to fight the Austrians for Italian unification. He vacillated; but in 1821, after the rulers of Austria, Prussia, and Russia met and agreed on intervention, the Austrians defeated the rebels in Naples and Piedmont. Liberals were arrested in many Italian states, and the pope condemned the secret societies as “devouring wolves.” Despite the opposition of Great Britain, which condemned the indiscriminate suppression of revolutionary

MAP 20.3 Revolutionary Movements of the 1820s

The revolts of the 1820s took place on the periphery of Europe, in Spain, Italy, Greece, Russia, and in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies of Latin America. Rebels in Spain and Russia wanted constitutional reforms. Although the Italian revolts failed, as did the uprisings in Spain and Russia, the Greek and Latin American independence movements eventually succeeded.



movements, Metternich convinced the other powers to agree to his muffling of the Italian opposition to Austrian rule.

Metternich never let discontent closer to home turn into revolt. The only sign of resistance within the new German Confederation came from university students, who formed nationalist student societies, or *Burschenschaften*. In 1817, they held a mass rally at which they burned books they did not like, including Napoleon's Civil Code. Their leader was Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, who hoped to create a nationally unified Germany through education. He advocated gymnastics (he invented the parallel bars, the balance beam, gymnastics rings, the vaulting horse, and the horizontal bar) and study of all things German in order to create a stronger German "breed." Jahn favored the formation of a huge, racially pure German nation encompassing Switzerland, the Low Countries, Denmark, Prussia, and Austria. He also spouted such xenophobic (antiforeign) slogans as "If you let your daughter learn French, you might just as well train her to become a whore." Metternich did not mind the anti-French slant, but he was convinced—incorrectly—that the *Burschenschaften* in the German states and the carbonari in Italy were linked in an international conspiracy. In 1819, when a student assassinated the playwright August Kotzebue because he had ridiculed the student movement, Metternich convinced the leaders of the biggest German states to pass the Karlsbad Decrees dissolving the student societies and more strictly censoring the press.

The Decembrist Revolt in Russia. Aspirations for constitutional government surfaced in Russia when Alexander I died suddenly in 1825. On a day in December when the troops assembled in St. Petersburg to take an oath of loyalty to Alexander's brother Nicholas as the new tsar, rebel officers insisted that the crown belonged to another brother, Constantine, whom they hoped would be more favorable to constitutional reform. Constantine, though next in the line of succession after Alexander, had refused the crown. The soldiers nonetheless raised the cry "Long live Constantine, long live the Constitution!" (Some troops apparently thought that "the Constitution" was Constantine's wife.) Soldiers loyal to Nicholas easily suppressed the Decembrists (so called after the month of their uprising), who were so outnumbered that they had no realistic chance to succeed. The subsequent trial, however, made the rebels into legendary heroes. Of their imprisonment at hard labor, the Russian poet Alexander Pushkin

(1799–1837) wrote:

The heavy-hanging chains will fall,
The walls will crumble at a word,
And Freedom greet you in the light,
And brothers give you back the sword.

Pushkin would not live to see this freedom. For the next thirty years, Nicholas I (r. 1825–1855) used a new political police, the Third Section, to spy on potential opponents and stamp out rebelliousness.

Greek Independence from the Turks. The Ottoman Turks faced growing nationalist challenges in the Balkans, but the European powers feared that supporting such opposition would encourage a rebellious spirit at home. The Serbs revolted against Turkish rule and won virtual independence by 1817. A Greek general in the Russian army, Prince Alexander Ypsilanti, tried to lead a revolt against the Turks in 1820 but failed when the tsar, urged on by Metternich, disavowed him. Metternich feared rebellion even by Christians against their Turkish rulers. A second revolt, this time by Greek peasants, sparked a wave of atrocities in 1821 and 1822. The Greeks killed every Turk who did not escape; in retaliation, the Turks hanged the Greek patriarch of Constantinople, and in the areas they still controlled they pillaged churches, massacred thousands of men, and sold the women into slavery.

Western opinion turned against the Turks; Greece, after all, was the birthplace of Western civilization. While the great powers negotiated, Greeks and pro-Greece committees around the world sent food and military supplies; like the English poet Byron, a few enthusiastic European and American volunteers joined the Greeks. The Greeks held on until the great powers were willing to intervene. In 1827, a combined force of British, French, and Russian ships destroyed the Turkish fleet at Navarino Bay; and in 1828, Russia declared war on Turkey and advanced close to Constantinople. The Treaty of Adrianople of 1829 gave Russia a protectorate over the Danubian principalities in the Balkans and provided for a conference among representatives of Britain, Russia, and France, all of whom had broken with Austria in support of



Nationalistic Movements in the Balkans, 1815–1830



Greek Independence

From 1836 to 1839, the Greek painter Panagiotis Zographos worked with his two sons on a series of scenes from the Greek struggle for independence from the Turks. Response was so favorable that one Greek general ordered lithographic reproductions for popular distribution. Nationalistic feeling could be thus encouraged even among those who were not directly touched by the struggle. Here Turkish sultan Mehmet the Conqueror, exulting over the fall of Constantinople in 1453, views a row of Greeks under the yoke, a sign of submission. (*The Visual Connection.*)

the Greeks. In 1830, Greece was declared an independent kingdom under the guarantee of the three powers; in 1833, the son of King Ludwig of Bavaria became Otto I of Greece. Nationalism, with the support of European public opinion, had made its first breach in Metternich's system.

Wars of Independence in Latin America. Across the Atlantic, national revolts also succeeded after a series of bloody wars of independence. Taking advantage of the upheavals in Spain and Portugal that began under Napoleon, restive colonists from Mexico to Argentina rebelled. One leader who stood out was **Simon Bolívar** (1783–1830), the son of a slave owner educated in Europe on the works of Voltaire and Rousseau. Although Bolívar fancied himself a Latin American Napoleon, he had to acquiesce to the formation of a series of independent republics between 1821 and 1823, even

in Bolivia, which is named after him. At the same time, Brazil (then still a monarchy) separated from Portugal (Map 20.4). The United States recognized the new states, and in 1823 President James Monroe announced his Monroe Doctrine, closing the Americas to European intervention — a prohibition that depended on British naval power and British willingness to declare neutrality. Great Britain dominated the Latin American economies, which had suffered great losses during the wars for independence.

Revolution and Reform, 1830–1832

In 1830, a new wave of liberal and nationalist revolts broke against the bulwark of conservatism. The revolts of the 1820s had served as warning shots but had been largely confined to the peripheries of Europe. Now revolution once again threatened the established order in western Europe.

The French Revolution of 1830. Louis XVIII's younger brother and successor, Charles X

Simon Bolívar (1783–1830): The European-educated son of a slave owner who became one of the leaders of the Latin American independence movement in the 1820s. Bolivia is named after him.



Simon Bolívar

Known as “the Liberator,” Simon Bolívar (1783–1830) is shown riding a white horse in this lithograph near the end of his life. Bolívar led the armies that gained independence from Spain in Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. He had dreamed of creating a United States of Latin America but died of tuberculosis as factional fighting kept the various states separate from each other. (*akg-images.*)

(r. 1824–1830), brought about his own downfall by steering the monarchy in an increasingly repressive direction. In 1825, a Law of Indemnity compensated nobles who had emigrated during the French Revolution for the loss of their estates, and a Law of Sacrilege in the same year imposed the death penalty for such offenses as stealing religious objects from churches. Charles enraged liberals when he dissolved the legislature, removed many wealthy and powerful voters from the rolls, and imposed strict censorship. Spontaneous demonstrations in Paris led to fighting on July 26, 1830. After three days of street battles in which 500 citizens and 150 soldiers died, a group of moderate liberal leaders, fearing the reestablishment of a republic, agreed to give the crown to Charles X’s cousin Louis-Philippe, duke of Orléans.

Charles X went into exile in England, and the new king extended political liberties and voting rights. Although the number of voting men nearly doubled, it remained minuscule—approximately 170,000 in a country of 30 million. Such reforms did little for the poor and working classes, who had manned the barricades in July. Dissatisfaction



MAP 20.4 Latin American Independence, 1804–1830

Napoleon’s occupation of Spain and Portugal seriously weakened those countries’ hold on their Latin American colonies. Despite the restoration of the Spanish and Portuguese rulers in 1814, most of their colonies successfully broke away in a wave of rebellions between 1811 and 1830.

with the 1830 settlement boiled over in Lyon in 1831, when a silk-workers' strike over wages turned into a rebellion that died down only when the army arrived. Revolution had broken the hold of those who wanted to restore the pre-1789 monarchy and nobility, but it had gone no further this time than installing a more liberal, constitutional monarchy.

Belgian Independence from the Dutch. News of the July revolution in Paris ignited the Belgians, whose country had been annexed to the kingdom of the Netherlands in 1815. Differences in traditions, language, and religion separated the largely Catholic Belgians from the Dutch. An opera about a seventeenth-century insurrection in Naples provided the spark, and students in Brussels rioted, shouting "Down with the Dutch!"

The riot turned into revolt. King William of the Netherlands appealed to the great powers to intervene; after all, the Congress of Vienna had established his kingdom. But Great Britain and France opposed intervention and invited Russia, Austria, and Prussia to a conference that guaranteed Belgium independence in exchange for its neutrality in international affairs. Belgian neutrality would remain a cornerstone of European diplomacy for a century. After much maneuvering, the crown of the new kingdom of Belgium was offered to a German prince, Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, in 1831. Belgium, like France and Britain, now had a constitutional monarchy.

Revolts in Italy and Poland. The Austrian emperor and the Russian tsar would have supported intervention in Belgium had they not been preoccupied with their own revolts. Anti-Austrian uprisings erupted in a handful of Italian states, but they fizzled without the hoped-for French aid. The Polish revolt was more serious. When set up in 1815, the "congress kingdom" (so called because the Congress of Vienna had created it) was given a constitution that provided for an elected parliament, a national army, and guarantees of free speech and a free press. But by 1818, its ruler, the Russian tsar Alexander I, had begun retracting these concessions. Polish students and military officers responded by forming secret nationalist societies to plot for change by illegal means. The government then cracked down, arresting student leaders and dismissing professors who promoted reforms. In 1830, in response to news of revolution in France, students raised the banner of rebellion. Polish aristocrats formed a provisional government, but it got no support from Britain

or France and was defeated by the Russian army. In reprisal, Tsar Nicholas abolished the Polish constitution that his brother Alexander had granted and ordered thousands of Poles executed or banished.

The British Reform Bill of 1832. The British had long been preoccupied with two subjects: the royal family and elections for control of Parliament. In 1820, the domestic quarrels between the new king, George IV (r. 1820–1830), and his German wife, Caroline, seemed to threaten the future of the monarchy. When George IV came to the throne, he tried to divorce Caroline, and he refused to have her crowned queen. He hoped to use rumors of her love affairs on the continent to win his case, but the divorce trial provoked massive demonstrations in support of Caroline. Women's groups gathered thousands of signatures on petitions supporting her, and popular songs and satires portrayed George as a fat, drunken libertine. Caroline's death a few months after George's coronation ended the Queen Caroline Affair. The monarchy survived, but with a tarnished reputation.

The demonstrations in the Queen Caroline Affair followed on the heels of a huge political rally held just the year before. In August 1819, sixty thousand people attended an illegal political meeting held in St. Peter's Fields in Manchester. They wanted reform of Parliamentary elections, which had long been controlled by aristocratic landowners. When the local authorities sent the cavalry to arrest the speaker, panic resulted; eleven people were killed and many hundreds injured. Punsters called it the battle of Peterloo or the Peterloo massacre. An alarmed government passed the Six Acts, which forbade large political meetings and restricted press criticism.

In the 1820s, however, new men came into government. Sir Robert Peel (1788–1850), the secretary for home affairs, revised the criminal code to reduce the number of crimes punishable by death and introduced a municipal police force in London, called the Bobbies after him. In 1824, the laws prohibiting labor unions were repealed, and though restrictions on strikes remained, workers could now organize themselves legally to confront their employers collectively. In 1828, the appointment of the duke of Wellington, the hero of Waterloo, as prime minister kept the Tories in power, and his government pushed through a bill in 1829 allowing Catholics to sit in Parliament and hold most public offices.

When in 1830, and again in 1831, the Whigs in Parliament proposed an extension of the right

to vote, Tory diehards, principally in the House of Lords, dug in their heels and predicted that even the most modest proposals would doom civilization itself. Even though the proposed law would not grant universal male suffrage, mass demonstrations in favor of it took place in many cities. One supporter of reform described the scene: “Meetings of almost every description of persons were held in cities, towns, and parishes; by journeymen tradesmen in their clubs, and by common workmen who had no trade clubs or associations of any kind.” In this “state of diseased and feverish excitement” (according to its opponents), the **Reform Bill of 1832** passed, after the king threatened to create enough new peers to obtain its passage in the House of Lords.

Although the Reform Bill altered Britain’s political structure in significant ways, the gains were not revolutionary. One of the bill’s foremost backers, historian and member of Parliament Thomas Macaulay, explained, “I am opposed to Universal Suffrage, because I think that it would produce a destructive revolution. I support this plan, because I am sure that it is our best security against a revolution.” Although the number of male voters increased by about 50 percent, only one in five Britons could now vote, and voting still depended on holding property. Nevertheless, the bill gave representation to new cities in the north for the first time and set a precedent for further widening suffrage. Exclusive aristocratic politics now gave way to a mixed middle-class and aristocratic structure that would prove more responsive to the problems of a fast-growing society. Those disappointed with the outcome would organize with renewed vigor in the 1830s and 1840s.

REVIEW: Why were Austria and Russia able to thwart independence movements in Italy and Poland but not in Greece, Belgium, and Latin America?

Reform Bill of 1832: A measure passed by the British Parliament to increase the number of male voters by about 50 percent and give representation to new cities in the north; it set a precedent for widening suffrage.

Conclusion

The agitations and uprisings of the 1820s and early 1830s showed that the revolutionary legacy still smoldered and might erupt into flames again at any moment. Napoleon Bonaparte had kept the legacy alive by insisting on fundamental reforms wherever his armies triumphed. His imperial rule galvanized supporters and opponents alike; no one could be indifferent to his impact on European and even world affairs. He reshaped French institutions and left a lasting imprint in many European countries. Moreover, like Frankenstein’s monster, he seemed to bounce back from every reversal; between the French retreat from Moscow in 1812 and his final defeat at Waterloo in 1815, Napoleon lost many battles and yet managed to raise an army again and again.

The French emperor’s attempt to colonize much of Europe ultimately failed. Germans, Italians, Russians, and Spaniards all resisted and in the process discovered new national feelings that would have an impact throughout modern times. Unlike Frankenstein’s monster, Napoleon could not hide from his enemies and was forced into exile until his death. The powers who eventually defeated Napoleon tried to maintain the European peace by shoring up monarchical governments and damping down aspirations for constitutional freedoms and national autonomy. They sometimes fell short. Belgium separated from the Netherlands, Greece achieved independence from the Turks, Latin American countries shook off the rule of Spain and Portugal, and the French installed a more liberal monarchy than the one envisioned by the Congress of Vienna. Yet Metternich’s vision of a conservative Europe still held, and most efforts at revolt failed. In the next two decades, however, dramatic social changes would raise the stakes of political contests and prompt a new and much more deadly round of revolutions.

FOR FURTHER EXPLORATION

- For suggested references, including Web sites, for topics in this chapter, see page SR-1 at the end of the book.
- For additional primary-source material from this period, see Chapter 20 in *Sources of THE MAKING OF THE WEST*, Third Edition.
- For Web sites and documents related to topics in this chapter, see *Make History* at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

MAPPING THE WEST

**Europe in 1830**

By 1830, the fragilities of the Congress of Vienna settlement had become apparent. Rebellion in Poland failed, but Belgium won its independence from the kingdom of the Netherlands, and a French revolution in July chased out the Bourbon ruler and installed Louis-Philippe, who promised constitutional reform. Most European rulers held on to their positions in this period of ferment, but they had to accommodate new desires for constitutional guarantees of rights and growing nationalist sentiment.

CHAPTER REVIEW

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Napoleon Bonaparte (620)	restoration (638)
First Consul (622)	conservatism (638)
Civil Code (625)	Ludwig van Beethoven (642)
Continental System (631)	Sir Walter Scott (643)
Congress of Vienna (636)	Simon Bolívar (646)
Klemens von Metternich (636)	Reform Bill of 1832 (649)

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. In what ways did Napoleon continue the French Revolution, and in what ways did he break with it?
2. Why was Napoleon able to gain control over so much of Europe's territory?
3. To what extent was the old order restored by the Congress of Vienna?
4. Why were Austria and Russia able to thwart independence movements in Italy and Poland but not in Greece, Belgium, and Latin America?

MAKING CONNECTIONS

1. What was the long-term significance of Napoleon for Europe?
2. In what ways did Metternich succeed in holding back the revolutionary legacy? In what ways did he fail?

For practice quizzes, a customized study plan, and other study tools, see the Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

IMPORTANT EVENTS

1799	Coup against Directory government in France; Napoleon Bonaparte named First Consul	1818	Mary Shelley, <i>Frankenstein</i>
1801	Napoleon signs a concordat with the pope	1820	Revolt of liberal army officers against the Spanish crown
1804	Napoleon crowned as emperor of France; issues new Civil Code	1824	Ludwig van Beethoven, Ninth Symphony
1805	British naval forces defeat the French at the battle of Trafalgar; Napoleon wins his greatest victory at the battle of Austerlitz	1825	Russian army officers demand constitutional reform in the Decembrist Revolt
1812	Napoleon invades Russia	1830	Greece gains its independence from Ottoman Turks; rebels overthrow Charles X of France and install Louis-Philippe; rebellion in Poland against Russia fails
1814–1815	Congress of Vienna	1832	English Parliament passes Reform Bill; Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, <i>Faust</i>
1815	Napoleon defeated at Waterloo and exiled to island of St. Helena, where he dies in 1821		



Industrialization and Social Ferment

1830–1850

In 1830, the Liverpool and Manchester Railway Line opened to the cheers of crowds and the congratulations of government officials, including the duke of Wellington, the hero of Waterloo and now the British prime minister. In the excitement, some of the dignitaries gathered on a parallel track. Another engine, George Stephenson's *Rocket*, approached at high speed—the engine could go as fast as twenty-seven miles per hour. Most of the gentlemen scattered to safety, but former cabinet minister William Huskisson fell and was hit. A few hours later he died, the first official casualty of the new-fangled railroad.

Dramatic and expensive, railroads were the most striking symbol of the new industrial age. Industrialization and its by-product of rapid urban growth fundamentally changed political conflicts, social relations, cultural concerns, and even the landscape. So great were the changes that they are collectively labeled the Industrial Revolution. Although this revolution did not take place in a single decade like the French Revolution, the introduction of steam-driven machinery, large factories, and a new working class transformed life in the Western world. Peasants and workers streamed into the cities. The population of London grew by 130,000 people in the 1830s alone. Berlin more than doubled between 1819 and 1849, and Paris expanded by 120,000 just between 1841 and 1846. To many observers, overcrowding, disease, prostitution, crime, and alcohol consumption all seemed to be on the increase as a result.

The shock of industrial and urban growth generated an outpouring of commentary on the need for social reforms. Painters, poets, and especially novelists joined in the chorus warning about rising tensions.

The New Railroad

This engraving by H. Pyall from 1831 shows the entrance of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway line at Edge Hill in Liverpool. The engines seem quaint to us now, but at the time they impressed everyone with their size and speed. Railroads immediately became the symbol as well as the driving force of the industrial age. The engraving shows that even upper-class men and women flocked to see the new engines in operation. (Getty Images.)

The Industrial Revolution 654

- Roots of Industrialization
- Engines of Change
- Urbanization and Its Consequences
- Agricultural Perils and Prosperity

Reforming the Social Order 664

- Cultural Responses to the Social Question
- The Varieties of Social Reform
- Abuses and Reforms Overseas

Ideologies and Political Movements 671

- The Spell of Nationalism
- Liberalism in Economics and Politics
- Socialism and the Early Labor Movement

The Revolutions of 1848 678

- The Hungry Forties
- Another French Revolution
- Nationalist Revolution in Italy
- Revolt and Reaction in Central Europe
- Aftermath to 1848

Many who wrote on social issues expected middle-class women to organize their homes as a domestic haven from the heartless process of upheaval. Yet despite the emphasis on domesticity, middle-class women participated in public issues too: they set up reform societies that fought prostitution and helped poor mothers, and they agitated for temperance (abstinence from alcohol), and joined the campaigns to abolish slavery. Middle-class men and women frequently denounced the lower classes' appetites for drink, tobacco, and cockfighting, but they remained largely silent when British traders received government support in forcing the Chinese to accept imports of opium, an addictive drug.

Social ferment set the ideological pots to a boil. A word coined during the French Revolution, **ideology** refers to a coherent set of beliefs about the way the social and political order should be organized. The dual revolution of the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution prompted the development of a whole spectrum of ideologies to explain the meaning of the changes taking place. Nationalists, liberals, socialists, and communists offered competing visions of the social order they desired: they all agreed that change was necessary, but they disagreed about both the means and the ends of change. Their contest came to a head in 1848 when the rapid transformation of European society led to a new set of revolutionary outbreaks, more consuming than any since 1789. As in 1789, food shortages and constitutional crises fueled rebellions, but now class tensions and nationalist impulses fanned the flames in capitals across Europe, not only in Paris. Because of internal quarrels and conflicts, however, the revolutionaries of 1848 eventually went down to defeat.

ideology: A word coined during the French Revolution to refer to a coherent set of beliefs about the way the social and political order should be organized.

FOCUS QUESTION: How did the Industrial Revolution create new social and political conflicts?

The Industrial Revolution

French and English writers of the 1820s invented the term **Industrial Revolution** to capture the drama of contemporary change and to draw a parallel with the French Revolution. The chief components of the Industrial Revolution, industrialization and urbanization, are long-term processes that have continued to the present; unlike the French upheaval, they do not have precise beginning and ending dates. The Industrial Revolution began in England in the 1770s and 1780s in textile manufacturing and spread from there across the continent. In the 1830s and 1840s, industrialization and urbanization both accelerated quite suddenly, as governments across Europe encouraged railroad construction and the mechanization of manufacturing. States exercised little control over the consequences of industrial and urban growth, however, and many officials, preachers, and intellectuals worried that unchecked growth would destroy traditional social relationships and create disorder. Some held out the constancy of rural life as an antidote to the ravages of industrialization and urbanization, but population growth produced new tensions in the countryside too.

Roots of Industrialization

British inventors had been steadily perfecting steam engines for five decades before George

Industrial Revolution: The transformation of life in the Western world over several decades in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as a result of the introduction of steam-driven machinery, large factories, and a new working class.

1830	■ 1830–1832 Cholera epidemic	1835	■ 1835 Belgium opens first continental railway	1840
	■ 1830 France invades Algeria		■ 1831 British and Foreign Temperance Society established	
1830	■ 1832 George Sand, <i>Indiana</i>	1835	■ 1839 Opium War begins; invention of photography	1840
	■ 1833 British Factory Act; abolition of slavery		■ 1841 Dickens, <i>The Old Curiosity Shop</i>	
	■ 1834 Zollverein established			

Stephenson built his *Rocket*. A key breakthrough took place in 1776 when James Watt developed an efficient steam engine that could be used to pump water from coal mines or drive machinery in textile factories. Since coal fired the steam engines which drove new textile machinery, innovations tended to reinforce each other. This kind of synergy built on previous changes in the textile industry. In 1733, the Englishman John Kay had patented the flying shuttle, which enabled weavers to “throw” yarn across the loom rather than draw it back and forth by hand. When the flying shuttle came into widespread use in the 1760s, weavers began producing cloth more quickly than spinners could produce the thread. The resulting shortage of spun thread propelled the invention of the spinning jenny and the water frame, a power-driven spinning machine. In the following decades, water frames replaced thousands of women spinners working at home by hand. Using the engines produced by James Watt and his partner Matthew Boulton, Edmund Cartwright designed a mechanized loom in the 1780s that, when perfected, could be run by a small boy and yet yield fifteen times the output of a skilled adult working a handloom. By the end of the century, new power machinery was being assembled in large factories that hired semiskilled men, women, and children to replace skilled weavers.

Several factors interacted to make England the first site of the Industrial Revolution. Because population increased by more than 50 percent in England in the second half of the eighteenth century, manufacturers had an incentive to produce more and cheaper cotton cloth. England had a good supply of private investment capital from overseas trade and commercial profits, ready access to raw cotton from the plantations of its Caribbean colonies and the southern United States, and the necessary natural resources at home such as coal and iron. Good opportunities

for social mobility and relative political stability in the eighteenth century provided an environment that fostered the pragmatism of the English and Scottish inventors who designed the machinery. These early industrialists shared a culture of informal scientific education through learned societies and popular lectures (one of the prominent forms of the Enlightenment in Britain). Manufacturers proved eager to introduce steam-driven machinery to increase output and gradually established factories to house the new machines and concentrate the labor of their workers. The agricultural revolution of the eighteenth century had enabled England to produce food more efficiently, freeing some agricultural workers to move to the new sites of manufacturing. Cotton textile production skyrocketed.

Elsewhere in Europe, textile manufacturing—long a linchpin in the European economy—expanded even without the introduction of new machines and factories because of the spread of the “putting-out,” or “domestic,” system. Under the putting-out system, manufacturers supplied the raw materials, such as woolen or cotton fibers, to families working at home. The mother and her children washed, carded, and combed the fibers. Then the mother and oldest daughters spun them into thread. The father, assisted by the children, wove the cloth. The cloth was then finished (bleached, dyed, smoothed, and so on) under the supervision of the manufacturer in a large workshop, located either in town or in the countryside. This system had existed in the textile industry for hundreds of years, but in the eighteenth century it grew dramatically, and the manufacture of other products, such as glassware, baskets, nails, and guns, followed suit. The spread of the domestic system of manufacturing is sometimes called proto-industrialization to signify that the process helped pave the way for the full-scale Industrial Revolution. Because of the increase in textile production,

■ 1848 Last Chartist demonstrations;
Marx and Engels, *Communist Manifesto*;
revolutions throughout Europe;
French abolish slavery in remaining colonies;
end of serfdom in Austrian Empire

1845

■ 1846 Famine in Ireland;
Corn Laws repealed;
insurrection in Galicia

1850

■ 1851 Crystal Palace exhibition

1855

ordinary people began to wear underclothes and nightclothes, both rare in the past. White, red, blue, yellow, green, and even pastel shades of cotton now replaced the black, gray, or brown of traditional woolen dress.

Workers in the textile industry, whether in the putting-out system or in factories, enjoyed few protections against fluctuations in the market. Whenever demand for cloth declined, manufacturers simply did not buy from the families producing it. Hundreds of thousands of families might be reduced to bankruptcy in periods of food shortage or overproduction. Handloom weavers sometimes violently resisted the establishment of factory power looms that would force them out of work. In England in 1811 and 1812, for example, bands of handloom weavers wrecked factory machinery and burned mills in the Midlands, Yorkshire, and Lancashire. To restore order and protect industry, the government sent in an army of twelve thousand regular soldiers and made machine wrecking punishable by death. The rioters were called Luddites after the fictitious figure Ned Ludd, whose signature appeared on their manifestos. (The term is still used to describe those who resist new technology.)

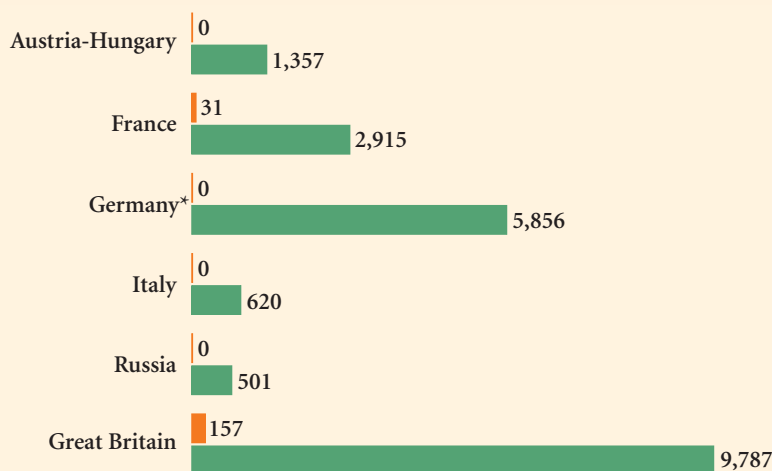
Engines of Change

Steam-driven engines took on a dramatic new form in the 1820s when the English engineer

George Stephenson perfected an engine to pull wagons along rail tracks. In the 1830s and 1840s, every major country in Europe hurried to set up a railroad system, pushing industrialization from west to east across Europe (see “Taking Measure,” below). Although the new industries employed only a small percentage of workers, the working class that took shape in them immediately attracted the attention of social commentators and government officials. Rulers could not afford to ignore the social problems that came from industrialization.

The Rise of the Railroad. The idea of a railroad was not new: iron tracks had been used since the seventeenth century to haul coal from mines in wagons pulled by horses. A railroad system as a mode of transport, however, developed only after Stephenson’s invention of a steam-powered locomotive. Placed on the new tracks, steam-driven carriages could transport people and goods to the cities and link coal and iron deposits to the new factories. In the 1840s alone, railroad track mileage more than doubled in Great Britain, and British investment in railways jumped tenfold. The British also began to build railroads in India. Canal building waned in the 1840s: the railroad had won out. Britain’s success with rail transportation led other countries to develop their own projects. Railroads grew spectacularly in the United States in the 1830s and 1840s, reaching

TAKING MEASURE



Railroad Lines (in kilometers)

1830 1850

Railroad Lines, 1830–1850

Great Britain quickly extended its lead in the building of railroads. The extension of commerce and, before long, the ability to wage war would depend on the development of effective railroad networks. These statistics might be taken as predicting a realignment of power within Europe after 1850. What do the numbers say about the relative positions of Germany (the German states, including Prussia but excluding Austria), the Austrian Empire, and France? (From B. R. Mitchell, *European Historical Statistics 1750–1970* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), F1.)



MAP 21.1 Industrialization in Europe, c. 1850

Industrialization (mainly mechanized textile production) first spread in a band across northern Europe that included Great Britain, northern France, Belgium, the northern German states, the region around Milan in northern Italy, and Bohemia. Although railroads were not the only factor in promoting industrialization, the map makes clear the interrelationship between railroad building and the development of new industrial sites of coal mining and textile production.

9,000 miles of track by midcentury. Belgium, newly independent in 1830, opened the first continental European railroad with state bonds backed by British capital in 1835. In all, the world had 23,500 miles of track by 1850, most of it in western Europe.

Railroad building spurred both industrial development and state power (Map 21.1). Governments everywhere participated in the construction of railroads, which depended on private and state funds to pay for the massive amounts of iron, coal, heavy machinery, and human labor required to build and run them. Demand for iron products accelerated industrial development. Until the 1840s, cotton had led industrial production; between 1816 and 1840, cotton output more than quadrupled in Great Britain. But from 1830 to 1850, Britain's output of iron and coal doubled (Table

21.1). Similarly, Austrian output of iron doubled between the 1820s and the 1840s. One-third of all investment in the German states in the 1840s went into railroads.

Steam-powered engines made Britain the world leader in manufacturing. By midcentury, more than half of Britain's national income came from manufacturing and trade. The number of steamboats in Great Britain rose from two in 1812 to six hundred in 1840. Between 1840 and 1850, steam-engine power doubled in Great Britain and increased even more rapidly elsewhere in Europe, as those adopting British inventions strove to catch up. The power applied in German manufacturing, for example, grew sixfold during the 1840s but still amounted to only a little more than a quarter of the British figure. German coal and iron outputs were only 6 or 7 percent of the British outputs.

TABLE 21.1 Coal Output, 1830–1850*

Like the numbers for railroad mileage, these figures for coal production show the economic dominance of Great Britain throughout the period 1830–1850. As long as coal remained the essential fuel of industrialization, Britain enjoyed a clear advantage.

	AUSTRIA	BELGIUM	FRANCE	GERMAN STATES (INCLUDING PRUSSIA)	GREAT BRITAIN
1830	214	**	1,863	1,800	22,800
1835	251	2,639	2,506	2,100	28,100
1840	473	3,930	3,003	3,200	34,200
1845	689	4,919	4,202	4,400	46,600
1850	877	5,821	4,434	5,100	50,200

*In thousands of metric tons.

**Data not available.

Source: B. R. Mitchell, *European Historical Statistics, 1750–1970* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), D2.

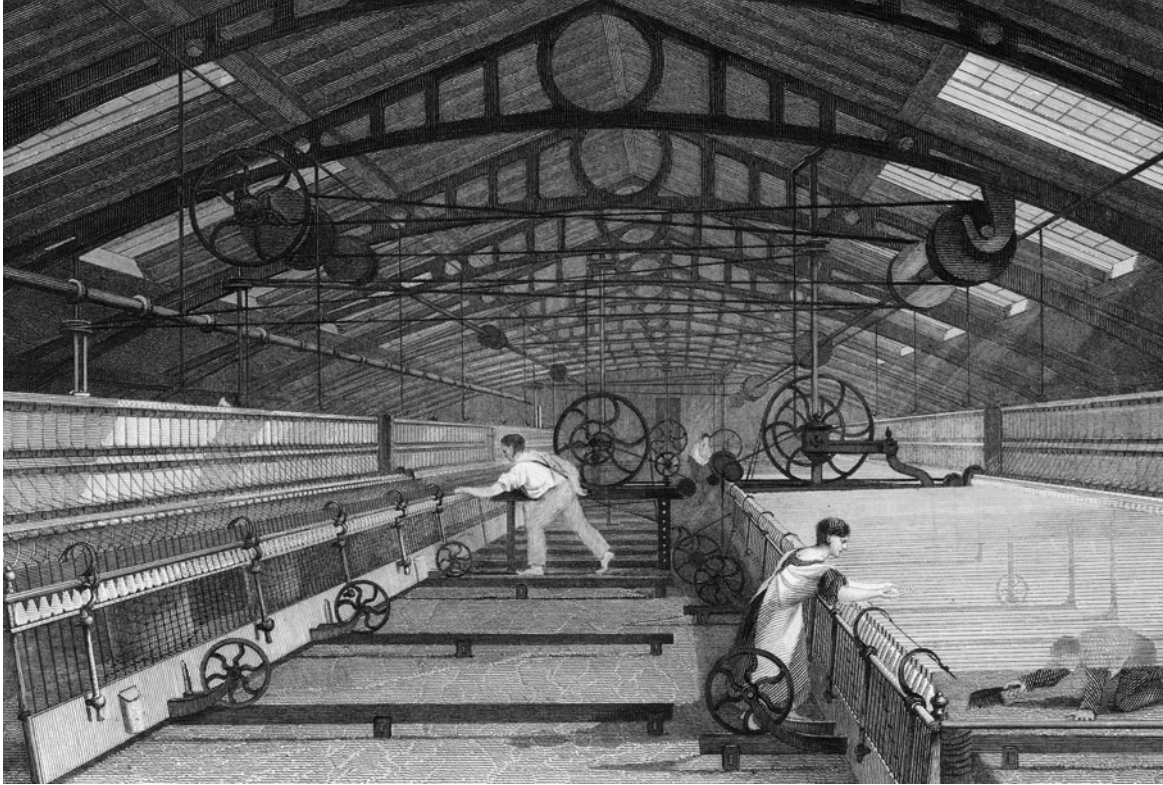
Industrialization Moves Eastward. Although Great Britain consciously strove to protect its industrial supremacy, thousands of British engineers defied laws against the export of machinery or the emigration of artisans. Only slowly, thanks to the pirating of British methods and to new technical schools, did most continental countries begin closing the gap. Belgium became the fastest-growing industrial power on the continent: between 1830 and 1844, the number of steam engines in Belgium quadrupled, and Belgians exported seven times as many steam engines as they imported.

Industrialization spread slowly east from key areas in Prussia (near Berlin), Saxony, and Bohemia. Cotton production in the Austrian Empire tripled between 1831 and 1845, and coal production increased fourfold from 1827 to 1847. Both activities were centered in Bohemia, which was more productive than Prussia or Saxony. Even so, by 1850, continental Europe still lagged almost twenty years behind Great Britain in industrial development.

The advance of industrialization in eastern Europe was slow, in large part because serfdom still survived there, hindering labor mobility and tying up investment capital: as long as peasants were legally tied to the land as serfs, they could not migrate to the new factory towns and landlords felt little incentive to invest their income in manufacturing. The problem was worst in Russia, where industrialization would not take off until the end of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, even in Russia signs of industrialization could be detected: raw cotton imports (a sign of a growing textile industry) increased sevenfold between 1831 and 1848, and the number of factories doubled along with the size of the industrial workforce.

Factories and Workers. Despite the spread of industrialization, factory workers remained a minority everywhere. In the 1840s, factories in England employed only 5 percent of the workers; in France, 3 percent; in Prussia, 2 percent. The putting-out system remained strong, employing two-thirds of the manufacturing workers in Prussia and Saxony, for example, in the 1840s. Many peasants kept their options open by combining factory work or putting-out work with agricultural labor. From Switzerland to Russia, people worked in agriculture during the spring and summer and in manufacturing in the fall and winter. Unstable industrial wages made such arrangements essential. In addition, some new industries idled periodically: for example, iron forges stopped for several months when the water level in streams dropped, and blast furnaces shut down for repairs several weeks every year.

Even though factories employed only a small percentage of the population, they attracted much attention. Already by 1830, more than a million people in Britain depended on the cotton industry for employment, and cotton cloth constituted 50 percent of the country's exports. Factories sprang up in urban areas, where the growing population provided a ready source of labor. The rapid expansion of the British textile industry had a colonial corollary: the destruction of the hand manufacture of textiles in India. The British put high import duties on Indian cloth entering Britain and kept such duties very low for British cloth entering India. The figures are dramatic: in 1813, the Indian city of Calcutta exported to England £2,000,000 of cotton cloth; by 1830, Calcutta was importing from England £2,000,000 of cotton cloth. When Britain abolished slavery in its



Factory Work

This 1836 depiction of mechanized spinning of cotton in England captures the dangers of child labor. The child is sweeping even while the machine works. The print does not portray the churning noise and swirling dust of the workplace, but it does show how machines could produce thread much more efficiently than individuals working on their own. Do you think the artist aimed to provide a positive or negative picture of factory work? (Mary Evans Picture Library.)

Caribbean colonies in 1833, British manufacturers began to buy raw cotton in the southern United States, where slavery still flourished.

Factories drew workers from the urban population surge, which had begun in the eighteenth century and now accelerated. The number of agricultural laborers also increased during industrialization in Britain, suggesting that a growing birthrate created a larger population and fed workers into the new factory system. The new workers came from several sources: families of farmers who could not provide land for all their children, artisans displaced by the new machinery, and children of the earliest workers who had moved to the factory towns. Factory employment resembled family labor on farms or in the putting-out system: entire families came to toil for a single wage, although family members performed different tasks. Workdays of twelve to seventeen hours were typical, even for children, and the work was grueling.

As urban factories grew, their workers gradually came to constitute a new socioeconomic class

with a distinctive culture and traditions. The term *working class*, like *middle class*, came into use for the first time in the early nineteenth century. It referred to the laborers in the new factories. In the past, urban workers had labored in isolated trades: water and wood carrying, gardening, laundry, and building. In contrast, factories brought working people together with machines, under close supervision by their employers. They soon developed a sense of common interests and organized societies for mutual help and political reform. From these would come the first labor unions.

Factories produced wealth without regard to the pollution they caused or the exhausted state of their workers; industry created unheard-of riches and new forms of poverty all at once. “From this foul drain the greatest stream of human industry flows out to fertilize the whole world,” wrote the French aristocrat Alexis de Tocqueville after visiting the new English industrial city of Manchester in the 1830s. “From this filthy sewer pure gold flows. Here humanity attains its most complete

NEW SOURCES, NEW PERSPECTIVES

Statistics and the Standard of Living of the Working Class

From the very beginning of industrialization, experts argued about whether industrialization improved or worsened the standard of living of the working class. For every claim, there was a counterclaim, and most often these claims came in the form of statistics. Some experts argued that factories offered higher-paying jobs to workers; others countered that factories took work away from artisans such as handloom weavers and left them on the verge of starvation. Supporters of industrialization maintained that factories gave women paying work; opponents insisted that factories destroyed the family by taking women away from the home. Through mass production, industrialization made goods cheaper and therefore more available; by polluting the air, it destroyed health, lowered life expectancy, and ruined the environment. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels would give the debate even more of an edge by tying it to the ideology of communism. In 1844, Engels described to Marx his aim in writing *The Condition of the Working Class in England*: “I shall present the English

with a fine bill of indictment. At the bar of world opinion I charge the English middle classes with mass murder, wholesale robbery and all the other crimes in the calendar.” The stakes of the argument were not small.

The controversy about the benefits and costs of industrialization has continued right down to the present, in part because it is an argument directly inspired by the ideologies—liberalism, socialism, communism—that emerged as explanations of and blueprints for economic and social change. In the 1830s and 1840s, liberals insisted that industrialization would promote greater prosperity for everyone, whereas conservatives complained that it destroyed traditional ways of life and socialists warned that it exaggerated inequality and class division. In the 1950s and 1960s, defenders of capitalist free enterprise still advanced the argument about prosperity, but now they were opposed by communists who argued that state control of production could sidestep the horrors of early capitalist exploitation. Newly developing countries looked

to the history of the 1830s and 1840s for lessons about the likely impact of industrialization on their countries in the 1950s and beyond. The scholarly debates therefore attracted worldwide attention, and all sides called on statistics to make their competing cases.

Unfortunately, the statistics can be interpreted in many different ways. Did it matter more that wages for factory workers went up or that life expectancy went down? If an increase in sugar consumption in Great Britain from 207,000 tons in 1844 to 290,000 tons in 1847 meant an overall increase in the standard of living, how does that square with the hundreds of thousands of deaths in Ireland at the same time or the increasing disparity throughout Great Britain between rich and poor? Some convergence of opinion has taken place, however. Most now agree that by sometime between 1820 and 1845 (the exact date depending on the scholar), conditions in Great Britain had become better than before the Industrial Revolution. And there is no doubt that the debate itself has had one major positive

development and its most brutish, here civilization works its miracles and civilized man is turned almost into a savage.” Studies by physicians set the life expectancy of workers in Manchester at just seventeen years (partly because of high rates of infant mortality), whereas the average life expectancy in England was forty years in 1840. (See “New Sources, New Perspectives,” above.) One American visitor in Britain in the late 1840s described how “in the manufacturing town, the fine soot or *blacks* darken the day, give white sheep the color of black sheep, discolor the human saliva, contaminate the air, poison many plants, and corrode monuments and buildings.” In some parts of Europe, city leaders banned factories, hoping to insulate their towns from the effects of industrial growth.

As factory production expanded, local and national governments collected information about the workers. Investigators detailed their pitiful condition. A French physician in the eastern town of Mulhouse described the “pale, emaciated women who walk barefooted through the dirt” to reach the factory. The young children who worked in the factory appeared “clothed in rags which are greasy with the oil from the looms and frames.” A report to the city government in Lille, France, in 1832 described “dark cellars” where the cotton workers lived: “the air is never renewed, it is infected; the walls are plastered with garbage.”

Government inquiries often focused on women and children. In Great Britain, the Factory Act of 1833 outlawed the employment of children under the age of nine in textile mills (except in the lace

effect: since making one's point depends on having statistics to prove it, the debate itself has encouraged a staggering amount of research into quantitative measures of just about everything imaginable, from measures of wages and prices to rates of mortality and even average heights (height being correlated, it is thought, to economic well-being). British soldiers in the nineteenth century were taller on average than those in any other country except the United States, and people who believe that industrialization improved the standard of living are happy to seize on this as evidence for their case.

One example of a recently developed statistic shows both how powerful and how debatable such sources can be. The table shown at right, adapted from a recent study by Jeffrey G. Williamson, provides a simple measure—based on complex calculations—of the gap in wages between British farm and nonfarm laborers for the period 1797 to 1851. The index measures the attractiveness of nonfarm (basically city, mining, and factory) work. It shows that nonfarm wages rose faster than farm wages, but only after 1820 or so. By 1851, nonfarm wages had far outstripped those on the farm. What can we conclude? Although these data seem to support the view that the standard of living of workers improved some-

time in the 1820s and continued to do so afterward, Williamson does not conclude that factory workers were better off than farmers; instead, he argues that the gap indicates that farm people did not migrate quickly enough to the city to satisfy urban labor demands. In short, he seems to consider the gap between farm and nonfarm wages to be a problem of “labor-market disequilibrium.” The lesson to be learned is that all historians' conclusions depend on the questions they ask and the sources they use—and few other sources are as open to different interpretations as statistics.

Trends in the British Nominal-Wage Gap, 1797–1851

YEAR	INDEX	YEAR	INDEX
1797	100.0	1827	132.4
1805	86.6	1835	134.7
1810	96.7	1851	148.3
1815	105.1		

Source: Jeffrey G. Williamson, “Leaving the Farm to Go to the City: Did They Leave Quickly Enough?” in John A. James and Mark Thomas, *Capitalism in Context: Essays on Economic Development and Cultural Change in Honor of R. M. Hartwell* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 159–83; table on page 182.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. What is a good measure of the standard of living in the first half of the nineteenth century? How would you measure the standard of living today?
2. How do you explain the initial decline in nonfarm wages relative to farm wages and the subsequent rise?
3. What are the virtues of using statistical measures to determine the standard of living? What are the defects?

FURTHER READING

Thompson, Noel W. *The Real Rights of Man: Political Economies for the Working Class, 1775–1850*. 1998.

Williams, Chris., ed. *Companion to Nineteenth-Century Britain*. 2004.

The gap is calculated as the difference between the weighted average of nonfarm unskilled earnings (common laborers, porters, police, guards, watchmen, coal miners, and so on) and the farm-earnings rate, divided by the farm-earnings rate. Thus, it is the percentage differential by which nonfarm unskilled wages exceeded farm wages: below 100 = farm earnings exceed those of nonfarm earnings, whereas above 100 = nonfarm earnings exceed those of farm earnings.

and silk industries); it also limited the workdays for those aged nine to thirteen to nine hours a day, and those aged thirteen to eighteen to twelve hours. Adults worked even longer hours. Investigating commissions showed that women and young children, sometimes under age six, hauled coal trucks through low, cramped passageways in coal mines. One nine-year-old girl, Margaret Gomley, described her typical day in the mines as beginning at 7:00 a.m. and ending at 6:00 p.m.: “I get my dinner at 12 o’clock, which is a dry muffin, and sometimes butter on, but have no time allowed to stop to eat it, I eat it while I am thrusting the load. . . . They flog us down in the pit, sometimes with their hand upon my bottom, which hurts me very much.” In response to the investigations, the British Parliament passed a Mines Act

in 1842 prohibiting the employment of women and girls underground. In 1847, the Central Short Time Committee, one of Britain's many social reform organizations, successfully pressured Parliament to limit the workday of women and children to ten hours. The continental countries followed the British lead, but since most did not insist on government inspection, enforcement was lax.

Urbanization and Its Consequences

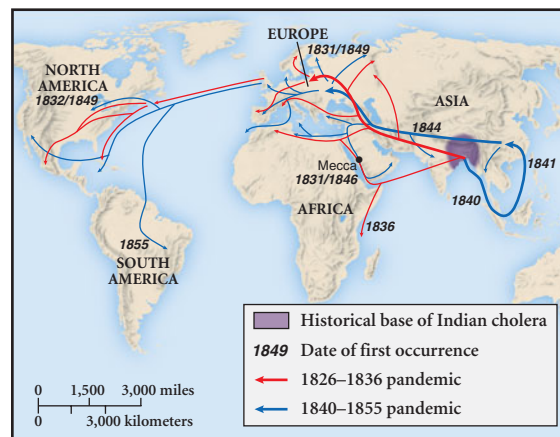
Industrial development spurred urban growth, yet even cities with little industry grew as well. Here, too, Great Britain led the way: half the population of England and Wales was living in towns by 1850, while in France and the German states only about a quarter of the total population was urban. Both

old and new cities teemed with rising numbers in the 1830s and 1840s; the population of Vienna ballooned by 125,000 between 1827 and 1847, and the new industrial city of Manchester grew by 70,000 just in the 1830s.

Massive rural emigration, rather than births to women already living in cities, accounted for this remarkable increase. Agricultural improvements had increased the food supply and hence the rural population, but the land could no longer support the people living on it. City life and new factories beckoned those faced with hunger and poverty, including emigrants from other lands: thousands of Irish emigrated to English cities, Italians went to French cities, and Poles flocked to German cities. Settlements sprang up outside the old city limits but gradually became part of the urban area. Cities incorporated parks, cemeteries, zoos, and greenways—all imitations of the countryside, which itself was being industrialized by railroads and factories. “One can’t even go to one’s land for the slightest bit of gardening,” grumbled a French citizen, annoyed by new factories in town, “without being covered with a black powder that spoils every plant that it touches.”

Overcrowding and Disease. The rapid influx of people caused serious overcrowding in the cities because the housing stock expanded much more slowly than population growth. In Paris, thirty thousand workers lived in lodging houses, eight or nine to a room, with no separation of the sexes. In 1847 in St. Giles, the Irish quarter of London, 461 people lived in just twelve houses. Men, women, and children huddled together on piles of filthy rotting straw or potato peels because they had no money for fuel to keep warm.

Severe crowding worsened already dire sanitation conditions. Residents dumped refuse into streets or courtyards, and human excrement collected in cesspools under apartment houses. At midcentury, London’s approximately 250,000 cesspools were emptied only once or twice a year. Water was scarce and had to be fetched daily from nearby fountains. Despite the diversion of water from provincial rivers to Paris and a tripling of the number of public fountains, Parisians had enough water for only two baths annually per person (the upper classes enjoyed more baths, of course; the lower classes, fewer). In London, private companies that supplied water turned on pumps in the poorer sections for only a few hours three days a week. In rapidly growing British industrial cities such as Manchester, one-third of the houses contained no latrines. Human waste ended up in the



MAP 21.2 The Spread of Cholera, 1826–1855

Contemporaries did not understand the causes of the cholera epidemics in the 1830s and the 1840s in Europe. Western Europeans knew only that the disease marched progressively from east to west across Europe. Nothing seemed able to stop it. It appeared and died out for reasons that could not be grasped at the time. Nevertheless, the cholera epidemics prompted authorities in most European countries to set up public health agencies to coordinate the response and study sanitation conditions in the cities.

rivers that supplied drinking water. The horses that provided transportation inside the cities left droppings everywhere, and city dwellers often kept chickens, ducks, goats, pigs, geese, and even cattle, as well as dogs and cats, in their houses. The result was a “universal atmosphere of filth and stink,” as one observer recounted.

Such conditions made cities prime breeding grounds for disease. In 1830–1832 and again in 1847–1851, devastating outbreaks of **cholera** swept across Asia and Europe, touching the United States as well in 1849–1850 (Map 21.2). Today we know that a waterborne bacterium causes cholera, but at the time no one understood the disease and everyone feared it. The usually fatal illness induced violent vomiting and diarrhea and left the skin blue, eyes sunken and dull, and hands and feet ice cold. While cholera particularly ravaged the crowded, filthy neighborhoods of rapidly growing cities, it also claimed many rural and some well-to-do victims. In Paris, 18,000 people died in the 1832 epidemic and 20,000 in that of 1849; in

cholera: An epidemic, usually fatal disease caused by a waterborne bacterium that induces violent vomiting and diarrhea; devastating outbreaks swept across Europe in 1830–1832 and 1847–1851.

London, 7,000 died in each epidemic; and in Russia, the epidemic was catastrophic, claiming 250,000 victims in 1831–1832 and 1 million in 1847–1851.

Rumors and panic followed in the wake of each cholera epidemic. Everywhere the downtrodden imagined conspiracies: in Paris in April 1832, a crowd of workers attacked a central hospital, believing the doctors were poisoning the poor but using cholera as a hoax to cover up the conspiracy. Eastern European peasants burned estates and killed physicians and officials. Although devastating, cholera did not kill as many people as tuberculosis, Europe's number-one deadly disease. But tuberculosis took its victims gradually, one by one, and therefore had less impact on social relations.

Middle-Class Fears. Epidemics revealed the social tensions lying just beneath the surface of urban life. The middle and upper classes lived in large, well-appointed apartments or houses with more light, more air, and more water than in lower-class dwellings. But the lower classes lived nearby, sometimes in the cramped upper floors of the same apartment houses. Middle-class reformers often considered the poor to be morally degenerate because of the circumstances of urban life. In their view, overcrowding led to sexual promiscuity and illegitimacy. They depicted the lower classes as dangerously lacking in sexual self-control. A physician visiting Lille, France, in 1835 wrote of “individuals of both sexes and of very different ages lying together, most of them without nightshirts and repulsively dirty. . . . The reader will complete the picture. . . . His imagination must not recoil before any of the disgusting mysteries performed on these impure beds, in the midst of obscurity and drunkenness.”

Officials collected statistics on illegitimacy that seemed to bear out these fears: one-quarter to one-half of the babies born in the big European cities in the 1830s and 1840s were illegitimate, and alarmed medical men wrote about thousands of infanticides. Between 1815 and the mid-1830s in France, thirty-three thousand babies were abandoned at foundling hospitals every year; 27 percent of births in Paris in 1850 were illegitimate, compared with only 4 percent of rural births. By collecting such statistics, physicians and administrators in the new public health movement hoped to promote legislation to better the living conditions for workers, but at the same time they helped stereotype workers as immoral and out of control.

Sexual disorder seemed to go hand in hand with drinking and crime. Beer halls and pubs dot-

ted the urban landscape. By the 1830s, Hungary's twin cities of Buda and Pest had eight hundred beer and wine houses for the working classes. One London street boasted twenty-three pubs in three hundred yards. Police officials estimated that London had seventy thousand thieves and eighty thousand prostitutes. In many cities, nearly half the population lived at the level of bare subsistence, and increasing numbers depended on public welfare, charity, or criminality to make ends meet.

Everywhere reformers warned of a widening separation between rich and poor and a growing sense of hostility between the classes. The French poet Amédée Pommier wrote of “These leagues of laborers who have no work, / These far too many arms, these starving mobs.” Clergy joined the chorus of physicians and humanitarians in making dire predictions. A Swiss pastor noted: “A new spirit has arisen among the workers. Their hearts seethe with hatred of the well-to-do; their eyes lust for a share of the wealth about them; their mouths speak unblushingly of a coming day of retribution.” In 1848, it would seem that that day of retribution had arrived.

Agricultural Perils and Prosperity

Rising population created increased demand for food and spurred changes in the countryside too. Peasants and farmers planted fallow land, chopped down forests, and drained marshes to increase their farming capacity. Still, Europe's ability to feed its expanding population remained questionable: although agricultural yields increased by 30 to 50 percent in the first half of the nineteenth century, population grew by nearly 100 percent. Railroads and canals improved food distribution, but much of Europe—particularly in the east—remained isolated from markets and vulnerable to famines.

Most people still lived on the land, and the upper classes still dominated rural society. Successful businessmen bought land avidly, seeing it not only as the ticket to respectability but also as a hedge against hard times. Hardworking, crafty, or lucky commoners sometimes saved enough to purchase holdings that they had formerly rented or slowly acquired slivers of land from less fortunate neighbors. In France at midcentury, almost two million economically independent peasants tended their own small properties. But in England, southern Italy, Prussia, and eastern Europe, large landowners, usually noblemen, consolidated and expanded their estates by buying up the land of less successful nobles or peasants. As agricultural prices rose, the big landowners pushed for legislation to allow

them to continue converting common land to private property.

Wringing a living from the soil under such conditions put pressure on traditional family life. For example, men often migrated seasonally to earn cash in factories or as village artisans, while their wives, sisters, and daughters did the traditional “men’s work” of tending crops. In France, Napoleon’s Civil Code provided for an equal distribution of inheritance among all heirs; as a result, land was divided over generations into such small parcels that less than 25 percent of all French landowners could support themselves. In the past, population growth had been contained by postponing marriage (leaving fewer years for childbearing) and by high rates of death in childbirth as well as infant mortality. Now, as child mortality declined outside the industrial cities and people without property began marrying earlier, Europeans became more aware of birth control methods. Contraceptive techniques improved; for example, the vulcanization of rubber in the 1840s improved the reliability of condoms. When such methods failed and population increase left no options open at home, people emigrated, often to the United States. Some 800,000 Germans had moved out of central Europe by 1850, while in the 1840s famine drove hundreds of thousands of Irish abroad. Between 1816 and 1850, five million Europeans left their home countries for new lives overseas. When France colonized Algeria in the 1830s and 1840s, officials tried to attract settlers by emphasizing the fertility of the land; they offered the prospect of agricultural prosperity in the colony as an alternative to the rigors of industrialization and urbanization at home.

Despite all the challenges to established ways of life, rural political power remained in the hands of traditional elites. The biggest property owners dominated their tenants and sharecroppers, often demanding a greater yield without making improvements that would enhance productivity. They controlled the political assemblies as well and often personally selected local officials. Such power provoked resentment. One Italian critic wrote, “Great landowner is often the synonym for great ignoramus.” Nowhere did the old rural social order seem more impregnable than in Russia. Most Russian serfs remained tied to the land, and troops easily suppressed serfs’ uprisings in 1831 and 1842. By midcentury, peasant emancipation remained Russia’s great unresolved problem.

REVIEW: What dangers did the Industrial Revolution pose to both urban and rural life?

Reforming the Social Order

In the 1830s and 1840s, Europeans organized to reform the social evils created by industrialization and urbanization. They acted in response to the outpouring of government reports, medical accounts, and literary and artistic depictions of new social problems. Middle-class women often took the lead in establishing new charitable organizations that tried to bring religious faith, educational uplift, and the reform of manners to the lower classes. Middle-class men, and middle-class women too, expected women to soften the rigors of a rapidly changing society, but this expectation led to some confusion about women’s proper role: should they devote themselves to social reform in the world or to their own domestic spaces? Many hoped to apply the same zeal for reform to the colonial peoples living in places administered by Europeans.

Cultural Responses to the Social Question

The *social question*, an expression reflecting the widely shared concern about social changes arising from industrialization and urbanization, pervaded all forms of art and literature. The dominant artistic movement of the time, romanticism, generally took a dim view of industrialization. The English-born painter Thomas Cole (1801–1848) complained in 1836: “In this age . . . a meager utilitarianism seems ready to absorb every feeling and sentiment, and what is sometimes called improvement in its march makes us fear that the bright and tender flowers of the imagination shall all be crushed beneath its iron tramp.” Yet culture itself underwent important changes as the growing capitals of Europe attracted flocks of aspiring painters and playwrights; the 1830s and 1840s witnessed an explosion in culture as the number of would-be artists increased dramatically and new technologies such as photography and lithography (see illustration, page 666) brought art to the masses. Many of these new intellectuals would support the revolutions of 1848.

Romantic Concerns about Industrial Life. Because romanticism tended to glorify nature and reject industrial and urban growth, romantics often gave vivid expression to the problems created by rapid economic and social transformation. The English poet Elizabeth Barrett Browning, best known for her love poems, denounced child labor

in “The Cry of the Children” (1843). Architects of the period sometimes sought to recapture a preindustrial world. When the British Houses of Parliament were rebuilt after they burned down in 1834, the architect Sir Charles Barry constructed them in a Gothic style reminiscent of the Middle Ages. This medievalism was taken even further by A. W. N. Pugin, who contributed some of the designs for the Houses of Parliament. In his polemical book *Contrasts* (1836), Pugin denounced modern conditions and compared them unfavorably with those in the 1400s. To underline his view, Pugin wore medieval clothes at home.

Romantic painters specialized in landscape as a way of calling attention to the sublime wonders of nature, but sometimes even landscapes showed the power of new technologies. In *Rain, Steam, and Speed: The Great Western Railway* (1844), the leading English romantic painter, Joseph M. W. Turner

(1775–1851), portrayed the struggle between the forces of nature and the means of economic growth. Turner was fascinated by steamboats: in *The Fighting “Téméraire” Tugged to Her Last Berth to Be Broken Up* (1838; see illustration below), he featured the victory of steam power over more conventional sailing ships. An admirer described it as an “almost prophetic idea of smoke, soot, iron, and steam, coming to the front in all naval matters.”

The Depiction of Social Conditions in Novels. Increased literacy, the spread of reading rooms and lending libraries, and serialization in newspapers and journals gave novels a large reading public. Unlike the fiction of the eighteenth century, which had focused on individual personalities, the great novels of the 1830s and 1840s specialized in the portrayal of social life in all its varieties. Manufacturers, financiers, starving students, workers, bu-



Joseph M. W. Turner, *The Fighting “Téméraire” Tugged to Her Last Berth to Be Broken Up* (1838)

In this painting a steamer belching smoke tows a wooden sailing ship to its last berth, where it will be destroyed. Turner muses about the passing of old ways but also displays his mastery of color in the final blaze of sunset, itself another sign of the passing of time. Turner was an avid reader of the romantic poets, especially Byron. British opinion polls have rated this painting the best of all British paintings. How does the painting capture the clash of old and new? (© The National Gallery, London.)

■ **For more help in analyzing this image**, see the visual activity for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

reacrats, prostitutes, underworld figures, thieves, and aristocratic men and women filled the pages of works by popular writers. Hoping to get out of debt, the French writer Honoré de Balzac (1799–1850) pushed himself to exhaustion and a premature death by cranking out ninety-five novels and many short stories. He aimed to catalog the social types that could be found in French society. Many of his characters, like himself, were driven by the desire to climb higher in the social order.

The English fiction writer Charles Dickens (1812–1870) worked with a similar frenetic energy and for much the same reason. When his father was imprisoned for debt in 1824, the young Dickens took a job in a shoe-polish factory. In 1836, he published a series of literary sketches of daily life in London to accompany a volume of caricatures by the artist George Cruikshank. Dickens then produced a series of novels that appeared in monthly installments and attracted thousands of readers. In them, he paid close attention to the distressing effects of industrialization and urbanization. In *The Old Curiosity Shop* (1841), for example, he depicts the Black Country, the manufacturing region west and northwest of Birmingham, as a “cheerless region,” a “mournful place,” in which tall chimneys “made foul the melancholy air.” In addition to publishing such enduring favorites as *Oliver Twist* (1838) and *A Christmas Carol* (1843), he ran charitable organizations and pressed for social reforms. For Dickens, the ability to portray the problems of the poor went hand in hand with a personal commitment to reform.

Novels by women often revealed the bleaker side of women’s situations. Charlotte Brontë’s *Jane Eyre* (1847) describes the difficult life of an orphaned girl who becomes a governess, the only occupation open to most single middle-class women. The French novelist **George Sand** (Amandine-Aurore Dupin, 1804–1876) took her social criticism a step further. She announced her independence in the 1830s by dressing like a man and smoking cigars. Like many other women writers of the time, she published her work under a male pseudonym while creating female characters who prevail in difficult circumstances through romantic love and moral idealism. Sand’s novel *Indiana* (1832), about an unhappily married woman, was read all over Europe. Her notoriety—she be-

came the lover of the Polish pianist and composer Frédéric Chopin, among others, and threw herself into socialist politics—made the term *George-Sandism* a common expression of disdain for independent women.

The Explosion of Culture. As artists became more interested in society and social relations, ordinary citizens crowded cultural events. Museums opened to the public across Europe, and the middle classes began collecting art. Popular theaters in big cities drew thousands from the lower and middle classes every night; in London, for example, some twenty-four thousand people attended eighty “penny theaters” nightly. The audience for print culture also multiplied. In the German states, for example, the production of new literary works doubled between 1830 and 1843, as did the number of periodicals and newspapers and the number of booksellers. Thirty or forty private lending libraries offered books in Berlin in the 1830s, and reading rooms



George Sand

In this lithograph by Alcide Lorentz of 1842, George Sand is shown in one of her notorious male costumes. Sand published numerous works, including novels, plays, essays, travel writing, and an autobiography. She actively participated in the revolution of 1848 in France, writing pamphlets in support of the new republic. Disillusioned by the rise to power of Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte, she withdrew to her country estate and devoted herself exclusively to her writing. (*The Granger Collection, New York.*)

George Sand: The pen name of French novelist Amandine-Aurore Dupin (1804–1876), who showed her independence in the 1830s by dressing like a man and smoking cigars. The term *George-Sandism* became an expression of disdain for independent women.

in pastry shops stocked political newspapers and satirical journals. Young children and ragpickers sold cheap prints and books door-to-door or in taverns.

The advent of photography in 1839 provided an amazing new medium for artists. The daguerreotype, named after its inventor, French painter Jacques Daguerre (1787–1851), prompted one artist to claim that “from today, painting is dead.” Although this prediction was highly exaggerated, photography did open up new ways of portraying reality. Visual images, whether in painting, on the stage, or in photography, heightened the public’s awareness of the effects of industrialization and urbanization.

The number of artists and writers swelled. Estimates suggest that the number of painters and sculptors in France, the undisputed center of European art at the time, grew sixfold between 1789 and 1838. Not everyone could succeed in this hot-house atmosphere, in which writers and artists furiously competed for public attention. Their own troubles made some of them more keenly aware of the hardships faced by the poor. A satirical article in one of the many biting critical journals and booklets published in Berlin proclaimed: “In Ipswich in England a mechanical genius has invented a stomach, whose extraordinary efficient construction is remarkable. This artificial stomach is intended for factory workers there and is adjusted so that it is fully satisfied with three lentils or peas; one potato is enough for an entire week.”

The Varieties of Social Reform

Lithographs, novels, and even joke booklets helped drive home the need for social reform, but religious conviction also inspired efforts to help the poor. Moral reform societies, Bible groups, Sunday schools, and temperance groups aimed to turn the poor into respectable people. In 1844, for example, 450 different relief organizations operated in London alone. States supported these efforts by encouraging education and enforcing laws against the vagrant poor.

The Religious Impulse for Social Reform. Religiously motivated reformers first had to overcome the perceived indifference of the working classes. Protestant and Catholic clergy complained that workers had no interest in religion; less than 10 percent of the workers in the cities attended religious services. In a report on the state of religion in England and Wales in 1851, the head of the census, Horace Mann, commented that “the masses of our working population . . . are *unconscious secularists*. . . . These are never, or but seldom seen in our religious congregations.” To combat such indifference, British religious groups launched the Sunday school movement, which reached its zenith in the 1840s. By 1851, more than half of all working-class children ages five to fifteen were attending Sunday school, even though very few of their parents regularly went to religious services.



The First Daguerreotype

Daguerre experimented extensively with producing an image on a metal plate before he came up with a viable photographic process in 1837. He called this first daguerreotype “Still Life,” a common title for paintings. In 1839, the French government bought the rights and made the process freely available. (*Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images.*)

The Sunday schools taught children how to read at a time when few working-class children could go to school during the week.

Women took a more prominent role than ever before in charitable work. Catholic religious orders, which by 1850 enrolled many more women than men, ran schools, hospitals, leper colonies, insane asylums, and old-age homes. The Catholic church established new orders, especially for women, and increased missionary activity overseas. Protestant women in Great Britain and the United States established Bible, missionary, and female reform societies by the hundreds. Chief among their concerns was prostitution, and many societies dedicated themselves to reforming “fallen women” and castigating men who visited prostitutes. As a pamphlet of the Boston Female Moral Reform Society explained, “Our mothers, our sisters, our daughters are sacrificed by the thousands every year on the altar of sin, and who are the agents in this work of destruction: Why, our fathers, our brothers, and our sons.”

Catholics and Protestants alike promoted the temperance movement. In Ireland, England, the German states, and the United States, temperance societies organized to fight the “pestilence of hard liquor.” The first societies had appeared in the United States as early as 1813, and by 1835 the American Temperance Society claimed 1.5 million members. The London-based British and Foreign Temperance Society, established in 1831, matched its American counterpart in its opposition to all alcohol. In the northern German states, temperance societies drew in the middle and working classes, Catholic as well as Protestant. Temperance advocates saw drunkenness as a sign of moral weakness and a threat to social order. Industrialists pointed to the loss of worker productivity, and efforts to promote temperance often reflected middle- and upper-class fears of the lower classes’ lack of discipline. One German temperance advocate insisted, “One need not be a prophet to know that all efforts to combat the widespread and rapidly spreading pauperism will be unsuccessful as long as the common man fails to realize that the principal source of his degradation and misery is his fondness of drink.” Yet temperance societies also attracted working-class people who shared the desire for respectability.

Education and Reform of the Poor. Social reformers saw education as one of the main prospects for uplifting the poor and the working class. In addition to setting up Sunday schools, British churches founded organizations such as the National Society for the Education of the Poor in the

Principles of the Established Church and the British and Foreign School Society. Most of these emphasized Bible reading. More secular in intent were the Mechanics Institutes, which provided education for workers in the big cities.

In 1833, the French government passed an education law that required every town to maintain a primary school, pay a teacher, and provide free education to poor boys. As the law’s author, François Guizot, argued, “Ignorance renders the masses turbulent and ferocious.” Girls’ schools were optional, although hundreds of women taught at the primary level, most of them in private, often religious schools. Despite these efforts, only one out of every thirty children went to school in France, many fewer than in Protestant states such as Prussia, where 75 percent of children were in primary school by 1835. Popular education remained woefully undeveloped in most of eastern Europe. Peasants were specifically excluded from the few primary schools in Russia, where Tsar Nicholas I blamed the Decembrist Revolt of 1825 on education.

Above all else, the elite sought to impose discipline and order on working people. Popular sports, especially blood sports such as cockfighting and bearbaiting, suggested a lack of control, and long-standing efforts in Great Britain to eliminate these recreations now gained momentum through organizations such as the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. By the end of the 1830s, bullbaiting had been abandoned in Great Britain. “This useful animal,” rejoiced one reformer in 1839, “is no longer tortured amidst the exulting yells of those who are a disgrace to our common form and nature.” The other blood sports died out more slowly, and efforts in other countries generally lagged behind those of the British.

When private charities failed to meet the needs of the poor, governments often intervened. Great Britain sought to control the costs of public welfare by passing a new poor law in 1834, called by its critics the “Starvation Act.” The law required that all able-bodied persons receiving relief be housed together in workhouses, with husbands separated from wives and parents from children. Workhouse life was designed to be as unpleasant as possible so that poor people would move on to regions of higher employment. British women from all social classes organized anti-poor law societies to protest the separation of mothers from their children in the workhouses.

Domesticity and the Subordination of Women. Many women viewed charitable work as the extension of their domestic roles: they promoted virtu-



The Limits of Charity

In this lithograph from 1844, the French artist Honoré Daumier shows a middle-class philanthropist refusing to give aid to a poor mother and her children. The caption below explains his refusal: “I’m sorry, my good woman, I cannot do anything for you. I am a member of the Society of Philanthropists of the Nord [a region in northern France]. . . . I only give to the poor of Kamchatka!” (that is, the faraway poor rather than those at home). Daumier spared no one in his satires, and in the early 1830s, the artist’s political cartoons landed him in prison for six months. (Robert D. Farber Archives and Special Collections Department, Brandeis University Libraries. Donated by Benjamin A. and Julia M. Trustman, 1959. Forms part of the Trustman Daumier Collection.)

ous behavior and morality in their efforts to improve society. In one widely read advice book, Englishwoman Sarah Lewis suggested in 1839 that “women may be the prime agents in the regeneration of mankind.” But women’s social reform activities concealed a paradox. According to the ideology that historians call **domesticity**, women were to live their lives entirely within the domestic sphere, devoting themselves to their families and the home. The English poet Alfred, Lord Tennyson, captured this view in a popular poem published in 1847: “Man for the field and woman for the hearth; / Man for the sword and for the needle she. . . . All else confusion.” Many believed that

domesticity: An ideology prevailing in the nineteenth century that women should devote themselves to their families and the home.

maintaining proper and distinct roles for men and women was critically important to maintaining social order in general.

Most women had little hope of economic independence. The notion of a separate, domestic sphere for women prevented them from pursuing higher education, work in professional careers, or participation in politics through voting or holding office—all activities deemed appropriate only to men. Laws everywhere codified the subordination of women. Many countries followed the model of Napoleon’s Civil Code, which classified married women as legal incompetents along with children, the insane, and criminals. In Great Britain, which had no national law code, the courts upheld the legality of a husband’s complete control. For example, a court ruled in 1840 that “there can be no doubt of the general dominion which the law of England attributes to the husband over the wife.” In some countries, such as France and Austria, unmarried women enjoyed some rights over property, but elsewhere laws explicitly defined them as perpetual minors under paternal control.

Distinctions between men and women were most noticeable in the privileged classes. Whereas boys attended secondary schools, most middle- and upper-class girls still received their education at home or in church schools, where they were taught to be religious, obedient, and accomplished in music and languages. As men’s fashions turned practical—long trousers and short jackets of solid, often dark colors; no makeup (previously common for aristocratic men), and simply cut hair—women continued to dress for decorative effect, now with tightly corseted waists that emphasized the differences between female and male bodies. Middle- and upper-class women favored long hair that required hours of brushing and pinning up, and they wore long, cumbersome skirts. Advice books written by women detailed the tasks that such women undertook in the home: maintaining household accounts, supervising servants, and organizing social events.

Scientists reinforced stereotypes. Once considered sexually insatiable, women were now described as incapacitated by menstruation and largely uninterested in sex, an attitude that many equated with moral superiority. Thus was born the “Victorian” woman (the epoch gets its name from England’s Queen Victoria—see page 684), a figment of the largely male medical imagination. Physicians and scholars considered women mentally inferior. In 1839, Auguste Comte, an influential early French sociologist, wrote, “As for any functions of government, the radical inaptitude of

the female sex is there yet more marked . . . and limited to the guidance of the mere family.”

Some women denounced the ideology of domesticity; according to the English writer Ann Lamb, for example, “the duty of a wife *means* the obedience of a Turkish slave.” Middle-class women who did not marry, however, had few options for earning a living; they often worked as governesses or ladies’ companions for the well-to-do. Most lower-class women worked because of financial necessity; as the wives of peasants, laborers, or shopkeepers, they had to supplement the family’s meager income by working on the farm, in a factory, or in a shop. Domesticity might have been an ideal for them, but rarely was it a reality. Families crammed into small spaces had no time or energy for separate spheres.

Abuses and Reforms Overseas

Like the ideal of domesticity, the ideal of colonialism often conflicted with the reality of economic interests. In the first half of the nineteenth century, those economic interests changed as European colonialism underwent a subtle but momentous transformation. Colonialism became **imperialism**—a word coined only in the mid-nineteenth century—as Europeans turned their interest away from the plantation colonies of the Caribbean and toward new colonies in Asia and Africa. Whereas colonialism most often led to the establishment of settler colonies, direct rule by Europeans, the introduction of slave labor from Africa, and the wholesale destruction of indigenous peoples, imperialism usually meant more indirect forms of economic exploitation and political rule. Europeans still profited from their colonies, but now they also aimed to re-form colonial peoples in their own image—when it did not conflict too much with their economic interests to do so.

Abolition of Slavery. Colonialism—as opposed to imperialism—rose and fell with the enslavement of black Africans. British religious groups, especially the Quakers, had taken the lead in forming antislavery societies. The contradiction between calling for more liberty at home and maintaining slavery in the West Indies seemed intolerable to them. One English abolitionist put the

matter in these terms: “[God] has given to us an unexampled portion of civil liberty; and we in return drag his rational creatures into a most severe and perpetual bondage.” Agitation by such groups as the London Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade succeeded in gaining a first victory in 1807 when the British House of Lords voted to abolish the slave trade. The new Latin American republics abolished slavery in the 1820s and 1830s after they defeated the Spanish with armies that included many slaves. British missionary and evangelical groups continued to condemn the conquest, enslavement, and exploitation of native African populations and successfully blocked British annexations in central and southern Africa in the 1830s.

British reformers finally obtained the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1833. Antislavery petitions to Parliament bore 1.5 million signatures, including those of 350,000 women on one petition alone. In France, the new government of Louis-Philippe took strong measures against clandestine slave traffic, virtually ending French participation during the 1830s. Slavery was abolished in the remaining French Caribbean colonies in 1848.

Slavery did not disappear immediately just because the major European powers had given it up. The transatlantic trade in slaves actually reached its peak in the early 1840s. Human bondage continued unabated in Brazil, Cuba (still a Spanish colony), and the United States. Some American reformers supported abolition, but they remained a minority. Like serfdom in Russia, slavery in the Americas involved a quagmire of economic, political, and moral problems that worsened as the nineteenth century wore on.

Economic and Political Imperialism. Despite the abolition of slavery, Britain and France had not lost interest in overseas colonies. Using the pretext of an insult to its envoy, France invaded Algeria in 1830 and, after a long military campaign, established political control over most of the country in the next two decades. By 1848, more than seventy thousand French, Italian, and Maltese colonists had settled there with government encouragement, often confiscating the lands of native peoples. In that year, the French government officially incorporated Algeria as part of France. Eventually, the French embarked on a policy of assimilating the native population into French culture, but their efforts proved less than completely successful. France also imposed a protectorate government over the South Pacific island of Tahiti.

imperialism: European dominance of the non-West through economic exploitation and political rule; the word (as distinct from *colonialism*, which usually implied establishment of settler colonies, often with slavery) was coined in the mid-nineteenth century.

Although the British granted Canada greater self-determination in 1839, they extended their dominion elsewhere by annexing Singapore (1819), an island off the Malay peninsula, and New Zealand (1840). They also increased their control in India through the administration of the East India Company, a private group of merchants chartered by the British crown. The British educated a native elite to take over much of the day-to-day business of administering the country, and they used native soldiers to augment their military control. By 1850, only one in six soldiers serving Britain in India was European.

The East India Company also tried to establish a regular trade with China in opium, a drug long known for its medicinal uses but increasingly bought in China as a recreational drug. The Chinese government forbade Western merchants to

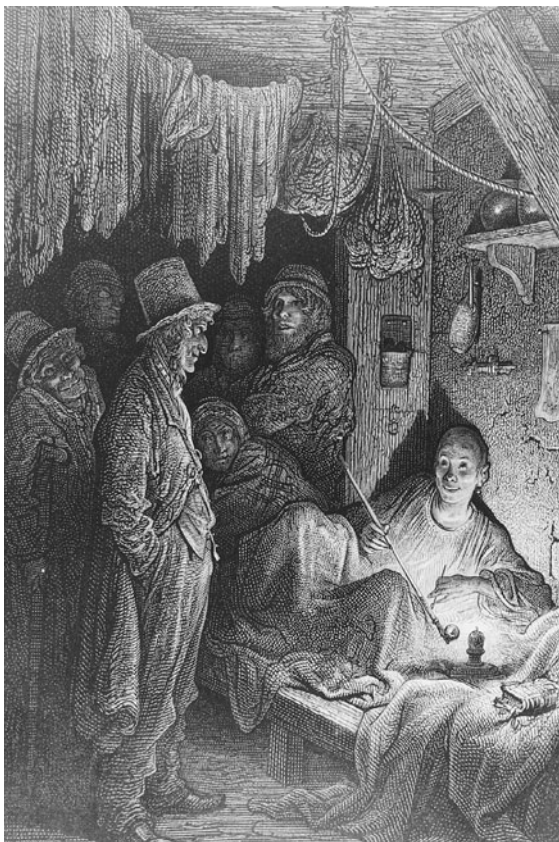
venture outside the southern city of Guangzhou (Canton) and banned the import of opium, but these measures failed. Through smuggling Indian opium into China and bribing local officials, British traders built up a flourishing market, and by the mid-1830s they were pressuring the British government to force an expanded opium trade on the Chinese. When the Chinese authorities expelled British merchants from southern China in 1839, Britain retaliated by bombarding Chinese coastal cities. The **Opium War** ended in 1842, when Britain dictated to a defeated China the Treaty of Nanking, by which four more Chinese ports were opened to Europeans and the British took sovereignty over the island of Hong Kong, received a substantial war indemnity, and were assured of a continuation of the opium trade. In this case, reform took a backseat to economic interest, despite the complaints of religious groups in Britain.



The Opium War, 1839–1842

Opium Den in London (c. 1870)

This woodcut by Gustave Doré shows that opium smoking persisted in Britain at least to the 1870s. Doré was a French book illustrator who came to London in 1869–1871 and produced illustrations of the poorer neighborhoods in the city. His taste for the grotesque is apparent in the figures watching the smokers. (*The New York Public Library/Art Resource, NY*)



REVIEW: How did reformers try to address the social problems created by industrialization and urbanization? In which areas did they succeed, and in which did they fail?

Ideologies and Political Movements

Although reform organizations grew rapidly in the 1830s and 1840s, many Europeans found them insufficient to answer the questions raised by industrialization and urbanization. How did the new social order differ from the earlier one, which was less urban and less driven by commercial concerns? Who should control this new order? Should governments try to moderate or accelerate the pace of change? New ideologies such as liberalism and socialism offered competing answers to these questions and provided the platform for new political movements. Established governments faced challenges not only from liberals and socialists but

Opium War: War between China and Great Britain (1839–1842) that resulted in the opening of four Chinese ports to Europeans and British sovereignty over Hong Kong.

also from the most potent of the new doctrines, nationalism. Nationalists looked past social problems to concentrate on achieving political autonomy and self-determination for groups identified by ethnicity rather than by class.

The Spell of Nationalism

According to the doctrine of **nationalism**, all peoples derive their identities from their nations, which are defined by common language, shared cultural traditions, and sometimes religion. When such nations do not coincide with state boundaries, nationalism can produce violence and warfare as different national groups compete for control over territory (Map 21.3).

Nationalist aspirations were especially explosive for the Austrian Empire, which included a variety of peoples united only by their enforced allegiance to the Habsburg emperor. The empire included three main national groups: the Germans, who made up one-fourth of the population; the Magyars of Hungary (which included Transylvania and Croatia); and the Slavs, who together formed the largest group in the population but were divided into different ethnic groups such as Poles, Czechs, Croats, and Serbs. The Austrian Empire also included Italians in Lombardy and Venetia, and Romanians in Transylvania. Efforts to govern such diverse peoples preoccupied Prince Klemens von Metternich, chief minister to the weak Habsburg emperor Francis I (r. 1792–1835). Metternich's domestic policy aimed to restrain nationalist impulses, and it largely succeeded until the 1840s. He set up a secret police organization on the Napoleonic model that opened letters of even the highest officials. Censorship in the Italian provinces was so strict that even the works of Dante were expurgated. Metternich announced that "the Lombards must forget that they are Italians."

Metternich's policies forced the leading Italian nationalist, **Giuseppe Mazzini** (1805–1872), into exile in France in 1831. There Mazzini founded Young Italy, a secret society that attracted thousands with its message that Italy would touch off a European-wide revolutionary movement. The conservative order throughout Europe felt threat-

ened by Mazzini's charismatic leadership and conspiratorial scheming, but he lacked both European allies against Austria and widespread support among the Italian masses.

Since so many different ethnic groups lived within the borders of the Austrian Empire, neither the emperor nor Metternich favored aspirations for German unification. Economic unification in the German states nonetheless took a step forward with the foundation in 1834, under Prussian leadership, of the *Zollverein*, or "customs union." Austria was not part of the *Zollverein*. German nationalists sought a government uniting German-speaking peoples, but they could not agree on its boundaries: Would the unified German state include both Prussia and the Austrian Empire? If it included Austria, what about the non-German territories of the Austrian Empire? And could the powerful, conservative kingdom of Prussia coexist in a unified German state with other, more liberal but smaller states? These questions would vex German history for decades to come.

Polish nationalism became more self-conscious after the collapse of the revolt in 1830 against Russian domination. Ten thousand Poles, mostly noble army officers and intellectuals, fled Poland in 1830 and 1831. Most of them took up residence in western European capitals, especially Paris, where they mounted a successful public relations campaign for worldwide support. Their intellectual hero was the poet Adam Mickiewicz (1798–1855), whose mystical writings portrayed the Polish exiles as martyrs of a crucified nation with an international Christian mission: "Your endeavors are for all men, not only for yourselves. You will achieve a new Christian civilization."

Mickiewicz formed the Polish Legion to fight for national restoration, but rivalries and divisions among the Polish nationalists prevented united action until 1846, when Polish exiles in Paris tried to launch a coordinated insurrection for Polish independence. Plans for an uprising in the Polish province of Galicia in the Austrian Empire collapsed when peasants instead revolted against their noble Polish masters. Slaughtering some two thousand aristocrats, a desperate rural population served the Austrian government's end by defusing the nationalist challenge. Class interests and national identity were not always the same.

In Russia, nationalism took the form of opposition to Western ideas. Russian nationalists, or Slavophiles (lovers of the Slavs), opposed the Westernizers, who wanted Russia to follow Western models of industrial development and constitutional government. The Slavophiles favored main-

nationalism: An ideology that arose in the nineteenth century and that holds that all peoples derive their identities from their nations, which are defined by common language, shared cultural traditions, and sometimes religion.

Giuseppe Mazzini: An Italian nationalist (1805–1872) who founded Young Italy, a secret society to promote Italian unity. He believed that a popular uprising would create a unified Italy.



MAP 21.3 Languages of Nineteenth-Century Europe

Even this detailed map of linguistic diversity understates the number of different languages and dialects spoken in Europe. In Italy, for example, few people spoke Italian as their first language. Instead, they spoke local dialects such as Piedmontese or Ligurian, and some might speak better French than Italian if they came from the regions bordering France. ■ How does the map underline the inherent contradictions of nationalism in Europe? What were consequences of linguistic diversity within national borders? Keep in mind that even in Spain, France, and Great Britain, linguistic diversity continued right up to the beginning of the 1900s.

taining rural traditions infused by the values of the Russian Orthodox church. Only a return to Russia's basic historical principles, they argued, could protect the country against the corrosion of rationalism and materialism. Slavophiles sometimes criticized the regime, however, because they believed the state exerted too much power over the church. The conflict between Slavophiles and Westernizers has continued to shape Russian cultural and intellectual life to the present day.

The most significant nationalist movement in western Europe could be found in Ireland. The Irish had struggled for centuries against English occupation, but Irish nationalists developed strong

organizations only in the 1840s. In 1842, a group of writers founded the Young Ireland movement, which aimed to recover Irish traditions and preserve the Gaelic language (spoken by at least one-third of the peasantry). Daniel O'Connell (1775–1847), a Catholic lawyer and landowner who sat in the British House of Commons, hoped to force the British Parliament to repeal the Act of Union of 1801, which had made Ireland part of Great Britain. In 1843, London newspapers reported “monster meetings” that drew crowds of as many as 300,000 people in support of repeal of the union. In response, the British government arrested O'Connell and convicted him of conspiracy.

Although his sentence was overturned, O’Connell withdrew from politics, partly because of a terminal brain disease. More radical leaders, who preached insurrection against the English, replaced him.

Liberalism in Economics and Politics

As an ideology, **liberalism** traced its origins to the writings of John Locke in the seventeenth century and the Enlightenment philosophy in the eighteenth. The adherents of liberalism defined themselves in opposition to conservatives on one end of the political spectrum and revolutionaries on the other. Unlike conservatives, liberals supported the Enlightenment ideals of constitutional guarantees of personal liberty and free trade in economics, believing that greater liberty in politics and economic matters would promote social improvement and economic growth. For that reason, they also generally applauded the social and economic changes produced by the Industrial Revolution, while opposing the violence and excessive state power promoted by the French Revolution. The leaders of the rapidly expanding middle class composed of manufacturers, merchants, and professionals favored liberalism.

British Liberalism. The rapid industrialization and urbanization of Great Britain created a receptive environment for liberalism. Its foremost proponent in the early nineteenth century was the philosopher and jurist Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832). He called his brand of liberalism utilitarianism because he held that the best policy is the one that produces “the greatest good for the greatest number” and is thus the most useful, or utilitarian. Bentham’s criticisms spared no institution; he railed against the injustices of the British parliamentary process, the abuses of the prisons and the penal code, and the educational system. In his zeal for social engineering, Bentham proposed elaborate schemes for managing the poor and model prisons that would emphasize rehabilitation through close supervision rather than corporal punishment. British liberals like Bentham wanted government involvement, including deregulation of trade, but they shied away from any association with revolutionary violence.

British liberals wanted government to limit its economic role to maintaining the currency, en-

forcing contracts, and financing major enterprises like the military and the railroads. As historian and member of Parliament Thomas Macaulay (1800–1859) explained in 1830:

Our rulers will best promote the improvement of the nation by strictly confining themselves to their own legitimate duties, by leaving capital to find its most lucrative course, commodities their fair price, industry and intelligence their natural reward, idleness and folly their natural punishment, by maintaining peace, by defending property, by diminishing the price of law, and by observing strict economy in every department of the State.

British liberals sought to lower or eliminate British tariffs, especially through repeal of the **Corn Laws**, which benefited landowners by preventing the import of cheap foreign grain. When landholders in the House of Commons thwarted efforts to lower grain tariffs, two Manchester cotton manufacturers set up the Anti-Corn Law League. The league appealed to the middle class against the landlords, who were labeled “a bread-taxing oligarchy” and “blood-sucking vampires,” and attracted working-class backing by promising lower food prices. League members established local branches, published newspapers and the journal *The Economist* (founded in 1843 and now one of the world’s most influential periodicals), and campaigned in elections. They eventually won the support of the Tory prime minister Sir Robert Peel, whose government repealed the Corn Laws in 1846.

Liberalism on the Continent. Free trade had less appeal in continental Europe than in England because continental industries needed protection against British industrial dominance. As a consequence, liberals on the continent focused on constitutional reform. French liberals, for example, agitated for greater press freedoms and a broadening of the vote. Louis-Philippe’s government brutally repressed working-class and republican insurrections in Lyon and Paris in the early 1830s and forced the republican opposition underground. The French king’s increasingly restrictive governments also thwarted liberals’ hopes for reforms by suppressing many political organizations and reestablishing censorship.

Repression muted criticism in most other European states as well. Nevertheless, liberal reform movements grew up in pockets of industrializa-

liberalism: An economic and political ideology that emphasized free trade and the constitutional guarantees of individual rights such as freedom of speech and religion.

Corn Laws: Tariffs on grain in Great Britain that benefited landowners by preventing the import of cheap foreign grain; they were repealed by the British government in 1846.

tion in Prussia, the smaller German states, and the Austrian Empire. Some state bureaucrats, especially university-trained middle-class officials, favored economic liberalism. Hungarian count Stephen Széchenyi (1791–1860) personally campaigned for the introduction of British-style changes. He introduced British agricultural techniques on his own lands, helped start up steamboat traffic on the Danube, encouraged the importation of machinery and technicians for steam-driven textile factories, and pushed the construction of Hungary's first railway line, from Budapest to Vienna.

In the 1840s, however, Széchenyi's efforts paled before those of the flamboyant Magyar nationalist Lajos Kossuth (1802–1894). After spending four years in prison for sedition, Kossuth grabbed every opportunity to publicize American democracy and British political liberalism, all in a fervent nationalist spirit. In 1844, he founded the Protective Association, whose members bought only Hungarian products; to Kossuth, boycotting Austrian goods was crucial to ending “colonial dependence” on Austria. Born of a lesser landowning family without a noble title, Kossuth did not hesitate to attack “the cowardly selfishness of the landowner class.”

Even in Russia, signs of liberal opposition appeared in the 1830s and 1840s. Small circles of young noblemen serving in the army or bureaucracy met in cities, especially Moscow, to discuss the latest Western ideas and to criticize the Russian state: “The world is undergoing a transformation, while we vegetate in our hovels of wood and clay,” wrote one. Out of these groups came such future revolutionaries as Alexander Herzen (1812–1870), described by the police as “a daring free-thinker, extremely dangerous to society.” Tsar Nicholas I (r. 1825–1855) banned Western liberal writings as well as all books about the United States. He sent nearly ten thousand people a year into exile in Siberia as punishment for their political activities.

Socialism and the Early Labor Movement

The newest ideology, **socialism**, took up where liberalism left off: socialists believed that the liberties advocated by liberals benefited only the middle

class—the owners of factories and businesses—not the workers. They sought to reorganize society totally rather than to reform it piecemeal through political measures. They envisioned a future society in which workers would share a harmonious, cooperative, and prosperous life. Building on the theoretical and practical ideas laid out in the early nineteenth century by thinkers and reformers such as Count Henri de Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier, and Robert Owen, the socialists of the 1830s and 1840s hoped that economic planning and working-class organization would solve the problems caused by industrial growth, including the threat of increasingly mechanical, unfeeling social relations.

Origins of Socialism. Early socialists criticized the emerging Industrial Revolution for dividing society into two classes: the new middle class, or capitalists (who owned the wealth), and the working class, their downtrodden and impoverished employees. As their name suggests, the socialists aimed to restore harmony and cooperation through social reorganization. Robert Owen (1771–1858), a successful Welsh-born manufacturer, founded British socialism. In 1800, he bought a cotton mill in New Lanark, Scotland, and began to set up a model factory town, where workers labored only ten hours a day (instead of seventeen, as was common) and children between the ages of five and ten attended school rather than working. To put his principles once more into action, Owen moved to the United States in the 1820s and founded a community named New Harmony in Indiana. The experiment collapsed after three years, a victim of internal squabbling. But out of Owen's experiments and writings, such as *The Book of the New Moral World* (1820), would come the movement for producer cooperatives (businesses owned and controlled by their workers), consumers' cooperatives (stores in which consumers owned shares), and a national trade union.

Claude Henri de Saint-Simon (1760–1825) and Charles Fourier (1772–1837) were Owen's counterparts in France. Saint-Simon was a noble who had served as an officer in the War of American Independence and lost a fortune speculating in national property during the French Revolution. Fourier traveled as a salesman for a Lyon cloth merchant. Both shared Owen's alarm about the effects of industrialization on social relations. Saint-Simon—who coined the terms *industrialism* and *industrialist* to define the new economic order and its chief animators—believed that work was the central element in the new society and that

socialism: A social and political ideology that advocated the reorganization of society to overcome the new tensions created by industrialization and restore social harmony through communities based on cooperation.

it should be controlled not by politicians but by scientists, engineers, artists, and industrialists themselves. To correct the abuses of the new industrial order, Fourier urged the establishment of communities that were part garden city and part agricultural commune; all jobs would be rotated to maximize happiness. Fourier hoped that a network of small, decentralized communities would replace the state.

Socialism and Women. The emancipation of women was essential to Fourier's vision of a harmonious community: "The extension of the privileges of women is the fundamental cause of all social progress." After Saint-Simon's death in 1825, some of his followers established a quasi-religious cult with elaborate rituals and a "he-pope" and "she-pope," or ruling father and mother. Saint-Simonians lived and worked together in cooperative arrangements and scandalized some by advocating free love. They set up branches in the United States and Egypt. In 1832, some Saint-Simonian women founded a feminist newspaper, *The Free Woman*, asserting that "with the emancipation of woman will come the emancipation of the worker."

In Great Britain, many women joined the Owenites and helped form cooperative societies and unions. They defended women's working-class organizations against the complaints of men in the new societies and trade unions. As one woman wrote, "Do not say the unions are only for men. . . . 'Tis a wrong impression, forced on our minds to keep us slaves!" As women became more active, Owenites agitated for women's rights, marriage reform, and popular education. The French activist Flora Tristan (1801–1844) devoted herself to reconciling the interests of male and female workers. She had seen the "frightful reality" of London's poverty and made a reputation reporting on British working conditions. Tristan published a stream of books and pamphlets urging male workers to address women's unequal status, arguing that "the emancipation of male workers is *impossible* so long as women remain in a degraded state."

Collectivists and Communists. Even though most male socialists ignored Tristan's plea for women's participation, they did strive to create working-class associations. The French socialist Louis Blanc (1811–1882) explained the importance of working-class associations in his book *Organization of Labor* (1840), which deeply influenced the French labor movement. Similarly, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865) urged workers to form producers' associations so that the

workers could control the work process and eliminate profits made by capitalists. His 1840 book *What Is Property?* argues that property is theft: labor alone is productive, and rent, interest, and profit unjust.

After 1840, some socialists began to call themselves **communists**, emphasizing their desire to replace private property by communal, collective ownership. The Frenchman Étienne Cabet (1788–1856) was the first to use the word *communist*. In 1840, he published *Travels in Icaria*, a novel describing a communist utopia in which a popularly elected dictatorship efficiently organized work, reduced the workday to seven hours, and made work tasks "short, easy, and attractive."

Out of the churning of socialist ideas of the 1840s emerged two men whose collaboration would change the definition of socialism and remake it into an ideology that would shake the world for the next 150 years. Karl Marx (1818–1883) had studied philosophy at the University of Berlin, edited a liberal newspaper until the Prussian government suppressed it, and then left for Paris, where he met Friedrich Engels (1820–1895). While working in the offices of his wealthy family's cotton manufacturing interests in Manchester, England, Engels had been shocked into writing *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844* (1845), a sympathetic depiction of industrial workers' dismal lives. In Paris, where German and eastern European intellectuals could pursue their political interests more freely than at home, Marx and Engels organized the Communist League, in whose name they published *The Communist Manifesto* in 1848 (see Document, "Marx and Engels," page 677). It eventually became the touchstone of Marxist and communist revolution all over the world. Communists, the *Manifesto* declared, must aim for "the downfall of the bourgeoisie [capitalist class] and the ascendancy of the proletariat [working class], the abolition of the old society based on class conflicts and the foundation of a new society without classes and without private property." Marx and Engels embraced industrialization because they believed it would eventually bring on the proletarian revolution and thus lead inevitably to the abolition of exploitation, private property, and class society.

Working-Class Organization. Socialism accompanied, and in some places incited, an upsurge in

communists: Those socialists who after 1840 (when the word was first used) advocated the abolition of private property in favor of communal, collective ownership.

DOCUMENT

Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*

Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820–1895) were both sons of prosperous German-Jewish families that had converted to Christianity. In the manifesto for the Communist League, they laid out many of the central principles that would guide Marxist revolution in the future: they insisted that all history is shaped by class struggle and that in future revolutions the working class would overthrow the bourgeoisie, or middle class, and replace capitalism and private property with a communist state in which all property is collectively rather than individually owned. As this selection shows, Marx and Engels always placed more emphasis on class struggle than on the state that would result from the ensuing revolution.

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to

one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes. . . .

The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: It has simplified the class antagonisms: Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie [middle class] and Proletariat [working class]. . . .

The weapons with which the bourgeoisie felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself.

But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the

men who are to wield those weapons—the modern working class—the proletarians. . . .

The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the bourgeois class, is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labour. Wage-labour rests exclusively on competition between labourers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the labourers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces, above all, is its own gravediggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

Source: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*. Translated by Samuel Moore (New York: Penguin, 1985), 79–80, 87, 93–94.

working-class organization in western Europe. British workers founded cooperative societies, local trade unions, and so-called friendly societies for mutual aid—all of which frightened the middle classes. A newspaper exclaimed in 1834, “The trade unions are, we have no doubt, the most dangerous institutions that were ever permitted to take root.”

Many British workers joined in **Chartism**, which aimed to transform Britain into a democracy. In 1838, political radicals drew up the People’s Charter, which demanded universal manhood suffrage, vote by secret ballot, equal electoral districts, annual elections, and the elimination of property qualifications for and the payment of stipends to members of Parliament. Chartists denounced their opponents as seeking “to keep the

people in social slavery and political degradation.” Many women took part by founding female political unions, setting up Chartist Sunday schools, organizing boycotts of unsympathetic shopkeepers, and joining Chartist temperance associations. Nevertheless, the People’s Charter refrained from calling for woman suffrage because the movement’s leaders feared that doing so would alienate potential supporters.

The Chartists organized a massive campaign during 1838 and 1839, with large public meetings, fiery speeches, and torchlight parades. Presented with petitions for the People’s Charter signed by more than a million people, the House of Commons refused to act. In response to this rebuff from middle-class liberals, the Chartists allied themselves in the 1840s with working-class strike movements in the manufacturing districts and associated with various European revolutionary movements. But at the same time they—like their British and continental allies—distanced themselves from women workers.

Chartism: The British movement of supporters of the People’s Charter (1838), which demanded universal manhood suffrage, vote by secret ballot, equal electoral districts, and other reforms.

Continental workers were less well organized because trade unions and strikes were illegal everywhere except Great Britain. Nevertheless, artisans and skilled workers in France formed mutual aid societies that provided insurance, death benefits, and education. Workers in new factories rarely organized, but artisans in the old trades, such as the silk workers of Lyon, France, created societies to resist mechanization and wage cuts. In eastern and central Europe socialism and labor organization—like liberalism—had less impact than in western Europe. Cooperative societies and workers' newspapers did not appear in the German states until 1848.

REVIEW: Why did ideologies have such a powerful appeal in the 1830s and 1840s?

The Revolutions of 1848

Food shortages, overpopulation, and unemployment helped turn ideological turmoil into revolution. In 1848, demonstrations and uprisings toppled governments, forced rulers and ministers to flee, and offered revolutionaries an opportunity to put liberal, socialist, and nationalist ideals into practice (Map 21.4). In the end, however, all the revolutions failed because the various ideological movements quarreled, leaving an opening for rulers and their armies to return to power.

The Hungry Forties

Beginning in 1845, crop failures across Europe caused food prices to shoot skyward. In the best of times, urban workers paid 50 to 80 percent of their income for a diet consisting largely of bread; now even bread was beyond their means. Overpopulation hastened famine in some places, especially Ireland, where blight destroyed the staple crop, potatoes, first in 1846 and again in 1848 and 1851. Irish peasants had planted potatoes because a family of four might live off one acre of potatoes but would require at least two acres of grain. The Irish often sought security in large families, trusting that their children might help work the land and care for them in old age. By the 1840s, Ireland was especially vulnerable to the potato blight. Out of a population of eight million, as many as one million people died of starvation or disease. Corpses lay unburied on the sides of roads, and whole families were found dead in their cottages, half-eaten by dogs. Hundreds of thousands emigrated to England, the United States, and Canada.



The Irish Famine

Contemporary depictions such as this one from 1847 drew attention to the plight of the Irish peasants when a blight infected potato plants, destroying the single most important staple crop. In this illustration, a girl turns up the ground looking for potatoes while a starving boy looks dazed. The artist reported seeing six dead bodies nearby. (*The Granger Collection, New York.*)

Throughout Europe, famine jeopardized social peace. In age-old fashion, rumors circulated about large farmers hoarding grain to drive up prices. Believing that governments should ensure fair prices, crowds took to the streets to protest, often attacking markets or bakeries. They threatened officials with retribution. “If the grain merchants do not cease to take away grains . . . we will go to your homes and cut your throats and those of the three bakers . . . and burn the whole place down.” So went one threat from French villagers in the hungry winter of 1847. Although harvests improved in 1848, by then many people had lost their land or become hopelessly indebted.

High food prices also drove down the demand for manufactured goods, resulting in increased unemployment. Industrial workers' wages had been rising—in the German states, for example, wages rose an average of 5.5 percent in the 1830s and 10.5 percent in the 1840s—but the cost of living rose about 16 percent each decade, canceling out wage increases. Seasonal work and regular unemployment were already the norm when the crisis of the late 1840s exacerbated the uncertainties of urban life. “The most miserable class that ever sneaked

its way into history” is how Friedrich Engels described underemployed and starving workers in 1847.

Another French Revolution

The specter of hunger amplified the voices criticizing established rulers. A Parisian demonstration in favor of reform turned violent on February 23, 1848, when panicky soldiers opened fire on the crowd, killing forty or fifty demonstrators. The next day, faced with fifteen hundred barricades and a furious populace, King Louis-Philippe abdicated and fled to England. A hastily formed provisional government declared France a republic once again.

The new republican government issued liberal reforms—an end to the death penalty for political crimes, the abolition of slavery in the colonies, and freedom of the press—and agreed to introduce universal adult male suffrage despite misgivings about political participation by peasants and unemployed workers. The government allowed Paris officials to organize a system of “national workshops” to provide the unemployed with construction work. When women protested their exclusion, the city set up a few workshops for women workers, albeit with wages lower than men’s. To meet a mounting deficit, the provisional government then levied a 45 percent surtax on property taxes, alienating peasants and landowners.

While peasants grumbled, scores of newspapers and political clubs inspired grassroots democratic fervor in Paris and other cities; meeting in concert halls, theaters, and government auditoriums, clubs became a regular evening attraction for the citizenry. Women also formed clubs, published women’s newspapers, and demanded representation in national politics.

This street-corner activism alarmed middle-class liberals and conservatives. To ensure its control, the republican government paid some unemployed youths to join a mobile guard with its own uniforms and barracks. Tension between the government and the workers in the national workshops rose. Faced with rising radicalism in Paris and other big cities, the voters elected a largely conservative National Assembly in April 1848; most of the deputies chosen were middle-class professionals or landowners, who favored either a restoration

of the monarchy or a moderate republic. The Assembly immediately appointed a five-man executive committee to run the government and pointedly excluded known supporters of workers’ rights. Suspicious of all demands for rapid change, the deputies dismissed a petition to restore divorce and voted down women’s suffrage, 899 to 1. When the numbers enrolled in the national workshops in Paris rocketed from a predicted 10,000 to 110,000, the government ordered the workshops closed to new workers, and on June 21 it directed that those already enrolled move to the provinces or join the army.

The workers exploded in anger. In the June Days, as the following week came to be called, the government summoned the army, the National Guard, and the newly recruited mobile guard to fight the workers. Alexis de Tocqueville (see Document, “Alexis de Tocqueville Describes the June Days in Paris (1848),” page 681) breathed a sigh of relief: “The Red Republic [red being associated



MAP 21.4 The Revolutions of 1848

The attempts of rulers to hold back the forces of change collapsed suddenly in 1848 when once again the French staged a revolution that inspired many others in Europe. This time, cities all over central and eastern Europe joined in as the spirit of revolt inflamed one capital after another. Although all of these revolutions eventually failed because of social and political divisions, the sheer scale of rebellion forced rulers to reconsider their policies.



The Vésuviennes, 1848

This lithograph satirizes women's political ambitions, referring to a women's club named the Vésuviennes. The artist implies that women have left their children at home in the care of their hapless husbands so that they can actively participate in politics. Meetings of feminist clubs were often disrupted by men hostile to their aims. Can you compare the depiction of women in this lithograph to earlier depictions of women in the French Revolution of 1789 in Chapter 19? (*Bibliothèque nationale de France.*)

with demands for socialism] is lost forever; all France has joined against it. The National Guard, citizens, and peasants from the remotest parts of the country have come pouring in." The government forces crushed the workers; more than 10,000, most of them workers, were killed or injured, 12,000 were arrested, and 4,000 eventually were convicted and deported.

After the National Assembly adopted a new constitution calling for a presidential election in which all adult men could vote, the electorate chose **Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte** (1808–1873), nephew of the dead emperor. Bonaparte got more than 5.5 million votes out of some 7.4

million cast. He had lived most of his life outside of France, and the leaders of the republic expected him to follow their tune. In uncertain times, the Bonaparte name promised something to everyone. Even many workers supported him because he had no connection with the blood-drenched June Days.

In reality, Bonaparte's election spelled the end of the Second Republic, just as his uncle had dismantled the first one established in 1792. In 1852, on the forty-eighth anniversary of Napoleon I's coronation as emperor, Louis-Napoleon declared himself Emperor Napoleon III, thus inaugurating the Second Empire. (Napoleon I's son died and never became Napoleon II, but Napoleon III wanted to create a sense of legitimacy and so used the Roman numeral III.) Political division and class conflict had proved fatal to the Second Republic. Although the revolution of 1848 never had a period of terror like that in 1793–1794, it nonetheless ended in similar fashion, with an authoritarian government that tried to play monarchists and republicans off against each other.

Nationalist Revolution in Italy

In January 1848, a revolt broke out in Palermo, Sicily, against the Bourbon ruler. Then came the electrifying news of the February revolution in Paris. In Milan, a huge nationalist demonstration quickly degenerated into battles between Austrian forces and armed demonstrators. In Venice, an uprising drove out the Austrians. Peasants in the south occupied large landowners' estates. Across central Italy, revolts mobilized the poor and unemployed against local rulers. Peasants demanded more land, and artisans and workers called for higher wages, restrictions on the use of machinery, and unemployment relief.

But class divisions and regional differences stood in the way of national unity. Property owners, businessmen, and professionals wanted liberal reforms and national unification under a conservative regime; intellectuals, workers, and artisans dreamed of democracy and social reforms. Some nationalists favored a loose federation; others wanted a monarchy under



The Divisions of Italy, 1848

Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte (1808–1873): Nephew of Napoleon I; he was elected president of France in 1848, declared himself Emperor Napoleon III in 1852, and ruled until 1870.

Charles Albert of Piedmont-Sardinia; still others urged rule by the pope; a few shared Mazzini's vision of a republic with a strong central govern-

DOCUMENT

Alexis de Tocqueville Describes the June Days in Paris (1848)

Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–1859) was a noble landowner, well-known writer, and deputy in the National Assembly elected in April 1848. As a political liberal, he supported the new republican government against the uprising of workers in the National Workshops. His description of the June Days comes from a memoir he wrote in 1850 about the events of the 1848 revolution. Although a fierce opponent of socialism, Tocqueville detected class struggle in the insurrection.

Now at last I have come to that insurrection in June which was the greatest and the strangest that had ever taken place in our history, or perhaps in that of any other nation: the greatest because for four days more than a hundred thousand men took part in it, and there were five generals killed; the strangest, because the insurgents were fighting without a battle cry, leaders, or flag, and yet they showed wonderful powers of co-ordination and a military expertise that astonished the most experienced officers.

Another point that distinguished it from all other events of the same type during the last sixty years was that its object was not to change the form of the government, but to alter the organization of so-

ciety. In truth it was not a political struggle (in the sense in which we have used the word “political” up to now), but a class struggle, a sort of “Servile War.” It stood in the same relation to the facts of the February Revolution as the theory of socialism stood to its ideas; or rather it sprang naturally from those ideas, as a son from his mother; and one should not see it only as a brutal and blind, but as a powerful effort of the workers to escape from the necessities of their condition, which had been depicted to them as an illegitimate depression, and by the sword to open up a road towards that imaginary well-being that had been shown to them in the distance as a right. It was this mixture of greedy desires and false theories that engendered the insurrection and made it so formidable. These poor people had been assured that the goods of the wealthy were in some way the result of a theft committed against themselves. They had been assured that inequalities of fortune were as much opposed to morality and the interests of society, as to nature. This obscure and mistaken conception of right, combined with brute force, imparted to it an energy, tenacity and strength it would never have had on its own.

One should note, too, that this terrible insurrection was not the work of a certain number of conspirators, but was the revolt of one whole section of the population against another. The women took as much part in it as the men. While the men fought, the women got the ammunition ready and brought it up. And when in the end they had to surrender, the women were the last to yield. . . .

Down all the roads not held by the insurgents, thousands of men were pouring in from all parts of France to aid us. Thanks to the railways, those from fifty leagues [150 miles] off were already arriving, although the fighting had begun only in the evening of the previous day. The next day and the days following, they were to arrive from one and two hundred leagues [300–600 miles] away. These men were drawn without distinction from all classes of society; among them there were great numbers of peasants, bourgeois, large landowners and nobles, all jumbled up together in the same ranks.

Source: Alexis de Tocqueville, *Recollections*, ed. J. P. Mayer and A. P. Kerr, trans. George Lawrence (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970), 136–137, 152.

ment. Many leaders of national unification spoke standard Italian only as a second language; most Italians spoke regional dialects.

As king of the most powerful Italian state, Charles Albert (r. 1831–1849) inevitably played a central role. After some hesitation caused by fears of French intervention, he led a military campaign against Austria. It soon failed, partly because of dissension over goals and tactics among the nationalists. Although Austrian troops defeated Charles Albert in the north in the summer of 1848, democratic and nationalist forces prevailed at first in the south. In the fall, the Romans drove the pope from the city and declared Rome a republic. For the next few months, republican leaders, such as Giuseppe Mazzini and Giuseppe Garibaldi

(1807–1882), congregated in Rome to organize the new republic. These efforts eventually faltered when foreign powers intervened. The new president of republican France, Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte, sent an expeditionary force to secure the papal throne for Pius IX. Mazzini and Garibaldi fled. Although revolution had been defeated in Italy, the memory of the Roman republic and the commitment to unification remained, and they would soon emerge again with new force.

Revolt and Reaction in Central Europe

News of the revolution in Paris also provoked popular demonstrations in central and eastern Europe. When the Prussian army tried to push back a

Uprising in Milan, 1848

In this painting by an unknown artist, *Fighting at the Tosa Gate*, the Milanese are setting up barricades to oppose their Austrian rulers. Whole families are involved. The flag of green, white, and red is the flag of the Cisalpine Republic of the Napoleonic period, whose capital was Milan. The three colors would be incorporated into the national flag of Italy after unification. (Scala/Art Resource, NY)



crowd gathered in front of Berlin's royal palace on March 18, 1848, their actions provoked panic and street fighting. The next day the crowd paraded wagons loaded with dead bodies under King Frederick William IV's window, forcing him to salute the victims killed by his own army. In a state of near collapse, the king promised to call an assembly to draft a constitution and adopted the German nationalist flag of black, red, and gold.

The goal of German unification soon took precedence over social reform or constitutional changes within the separate states. In March and April, most of the German states agreed to elect delegates to a federal parliament at Frankfurt that would attempt to unite Germany. Local princes and even the more powerful kings of Prussia and Bavaria seemed to totter. Yet the revolutionaries' weaknesses soon became apparent. The eight hundred delegates to the Frankfurt parliament had little practical political experience and no access to an army. Unemployed artisans and workers smashed machines; peasants burned landlords' records and occasionally attacked Jewish moneylenders; women set up clubs and newspapers to demand their emancipation from "perfumed slavery."

The advantage lay with the princes, who bided their time. While the Frankfurt parliament laboriously prepared a liberal constitution for a united Germany—one that denied self-determination to

Czechs, Poles, and Danes within its proposed German borders—the Prussian king Frederick William IV (r. 1840–1860) recovered his confidence. First, his army crushed the revolution in Berlin in the fall of 1848. Prussian troops then intervened to help other local rulers put down the last wave of democratic and nationalist insurrections in the spring of 1849. When the Frankfurt parliament finally concluded its work, offering the emperorship of a constitutional, federal Germany to the king of Prussia, Frederick William contemptuously refused this "crown from the gutter."

Events followed a similar course in the Austrian Empire. Just as Italians were driving the Austrians out of their lands in northern Italy and Magyar nationalists were demanding political autonomy for Hungary, on March 13, 1848, in Vienna, a student-led demonstration for political reform turned into rioting, looting, and machine breaking. Metternich resigned, escaping to England in disguise. Emperor Ferdinand promised a constitution, an elected parliament, and the end of censorship. The beleaguered authorities in Vienna could not refuse Magyar demands for home rule, and Széchenyi and Kossuth both became ministers in the new Hungarian government. The Magyars were the largest ethnic group in Hungary but still did not make up 50 percent of the population, which included Croats, Romanians, Slovaks, and

Revolution of 1848 in Eastern Europe

This painting by an unknown artist shows Ana Ipatescu leading a group of Romanian revolutionaries in Transylvania in opposition to Russian rule. In April 1848, local landowners began to organize meetings. Paris-educated nationalists spearheaded the movement, which demanded the end of Russian control and various legal and political reforms. By August, the movement had split between those who wanted independence only and those who pushed for the end of serfdom and for universal manhood suffrage. In response, the Russians invaded Moldavia and the Turks moved into Walachia. By October, the uprising was over. Russia and Turkey agreed to control the provinces jointly. (*The Art Archive.*)



Slovenes who preferred Austrian rule to domination by local Magyars.

The ethnic divisions in Hungary foreshadowed the many political and social divisions that would doom the revolutionaries. Fears of peasant insurrection prompted the Magyar nationalists around Kossuth to abolish serfdom. This measure alienated the largest noble landowners. The new government alienated the other nationalities when it imposed the Magyar language on them. In Prague, Czech nationalists convened a Slav congress as a counter to the Germans' Frankfurt parliament and called for a reorganization of the Austrian Empire that would recognize the rights of ethnic minorities. Such assertiveness by non-German peoples provoked German nationalists to protest on behalf of German-speaking people in areas with a Czech or Magyar majority.

The Austrian government took advantage of these divisions. To quell peasant discontent and appease liberal reformers, it abolished all remaining peasant obligations to the nobility in March 1848. Rejoicing country folk soon lost interest in the revolution. Military force finally broke up the revolutionary movements. The first blow fell in Prague in June 1848; General Prince Alfred von Windischgrätz, the military governor, bombarded the city into submission when a demonstration led to violence (including the shooting death of his wife, watching from a window). After another uprising in Vienna a few months later, Windischgrätz marched seventy thousand soldiers into the capital and set up direct military rule. In December, the Austrian monarchy came back to life when the

eighteen-year-old Francis Joseph (r. 1848–1916), unencumbered by promises extracted by the revolutionaries from his now feeble uncle Ferdinand, assumed the imperial crown after intervention by leading court officials. In the spring of 1849, General Count Joseph Radetzky defeated the last Ital-

REVOLUTIONS OF 1848

1848

JANUARY	Uprising in Palermo, Sicily
FEBRUARY	Revolution in Paris; proclamation of republic
MARCH	Insurrections in Vienna, German cities, Milan, and Venice; autonomy movement in Hungary; Charles Albert of Piedmont-Sardinia declares war on Austrian Empire
MAY	Frankfurt parliament opens
JUNE	Austrian army crushes revolutionary movement in Prague; June Days end in defeat of workers in Paris
JULY	Austrians defeat Charles Albert and Italian forces
NOVEMBER	Insurrection in Rome
DECEMBER	Francis Joseph becomes Austrian emperor; Louis-Napoleon elected president in France

1849

FEBRUARY	Rome declared a republic
APRIL	Frederick William of Prussia rejects crown of united Germany offered by Frankfurt parliament
JULY	Roman republic overthrown by French intervention
AUGUST	Russian and Austrian armies combine to defeat Hungarian forces

ian challenges to Austrian power in northern Italy, and his army moved east, joining with Croats and Serbs to take on the Hungarian rebels. The Austrian army teamed up with Tsar Nicholas I, who marched into Hungary with more than 300,000 Russian troops. Hungary was put under brutal martial law. Széchenyi went mad, and Kossuth found refuge in the United States. Social conflicts and ethnic divisions weakened the revolutionary movements from the inside and gave the Austrian government the opening it needed to restore its position.

Aftermath to 1848

Although the revolutionaries of 1848 failed to achieve most of their goals, their efforts left a profound mark on the political and social landscape. Between 1848 and 1851, the French served a kind of republican apprenticeship that prepared the population for another, more lasting republic after 1870. In Italy, the failure of unification did not stop the spread of nationalist ideas and the rooting of demands for democratic participation. In the German states, the revolutionaries of 1848 turned nationalism from an idea of professors and writers into a popular enthusiasm and even a practical reality. The initiation of artisans, workers, and journeymen into democratic clubs increased political awareness in the lower classes and helped prepare them for broader political participation. Almost all the German states had a constitution and a parliament after 1850. The spectacular failures of 1848 thus hid some important underlying successes.

The absence of revolution in 1848 was just as significant as its presence. No revolution occurred in Great Britain, the Netherlands, or Belgium, the three places where industrialization and urbanization had developed most rapidly. In Great Britain, the prospects for revolution actually seemed quite good: the Chartist movement took inspiration from the European revolutions in 1848 and mounted several gigantic demonstrations to force Parliament into granting all adult males the vote. But Parliament refused and no uprising occurred, in part because the government had already proved its responsiveness. The middle classes in Britain had been co-opted into the established order by the Reform Bill of 1832, and the working classes had won parliamentary regulation of children's and women's work.

The other notable exception to revolution among the great powers was Russia, where Tsar Nicholas I maintained a tight grip through police

surveillance and censorship. The Russian schools, limited to the upper classes, taught Nicholas's three most cherished principles: autocracy (the unlimited power of the tsar), orthodoxy (obedience to the church in religion and morality), and nationality (devotion to Russian traditions). These provided no space for political dissent. Social conditions also fostered political passivity: serfdom continued in force and the sluggish rate of industrial and urban growth created little discontent.

Although much had changed, the aristocracy remained the dominant power almost everywhere. As army officers, aristocrats put down revolutionary forces. As landlords, they continued to dominate the rural scene and control parliamentary bodies. They also held many official positions in the state bureaucracies. One Italian princess explained, "There are doubtless men capable of leading the nation . . . but their names are unknown to the people, whereas those of noble families . . . are in every memory." Aristocrats kept their authority by adapting to change: they entered the bureaucracy and professions, turned their estates into moneymaking enterprises, and learned how to invest shrewdly.

The reassertion of conservative rule hardened gender definitions. Women everywhere had participated in the revolutions, especially in the Italian states, where they joined armies in the tens of thousands and applied household skills toward making bandages, clothing, and food. As conservatives returned to power, all signs of women's political activism disappeared. The French feminist movement, the most advanced in Europe, fell apart after the June Days when the increasingly conservative republican government forbade women to form political clubs and arrested and imprisoned two of the most outspoken women leaders for their socialist activities.

In May 1851, Europe's most important female monarch presided over a midcentury celebration of peace and industrial growth that helped dampen the still-smoldering fires of revolutionary passion. Queen Victoria (r. 1837–1901), who herself promoted the notion of domesticity as women's sphere, opened the international Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations in London on May 1. A huge iron-and-glass building housed the display. Soon people referred to it as the Crystal Palace; its nine hundred tons of glass created an aura of fantasy, and the abundant goods from all nations inspired satisfaction and pride. One German visitor described it as "this miracle which has so suddenly appeared to dazzle the inhabitants of our globe." In the place of revolutionary fervor, the



Crystal Palace offered a government-sponsored spectacle of what industry, hard work, and technological imagination could produce.

REVIEW: Why did the revolutions of 1848 fail?

Conclusion

Many of the six million people who visited the Crystal Palace display came on the new railroads, foremost symbol of this age of industrial transformation. The application of steam engines to textile manufacturing and the railroads set in motion a host of economic and social changes with cultural and political consequences: cities burgeoned with rapidly growing populations; factories concentrated laborers who formed a new working class; manufacturers now challenged landed elites for political leadership; and social problems galvanized reform organizations and governments alike. The Crystal Palace presented the rosy view of modern, industrial, urban life, but the housing shortages, inadequacy of water supplies, and recurrent epidemic diseases had not disappeared.

Although the revolutions of 1848 brought to the surface the profound tensions within a European society in transition toward industrialization and urbanization, they did not resolve those tensions. The Industrial Revolution continued, workers developed more extensive organizations, and

The Crystal Palace, 1851

George Baxter's lithograph (above) shows the exterior of the main building for the Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations in London. It was designed by Sir Joseph Paxton to gigantic dimensions: 1,848 feet long by 456 feet wide; 135 feet high; 772,784 square feet of ground floor area covering no less than 18 acres. The view below, a lithograph by Peter Mabuse, offers a view of one of the colonial displays at the exhibition. The tented room and carved ivory throne are meant to recall India, Britain's premier colony. (Top: © Maidstone Museum and Art Gallery, Kent, UK/The Bridgeman Art Library. Below: © Private Collection/The Stapleton Collection/The Bridgeman Art Library.)





Europe in 1850

This map of population growth between 1800 and 1850 reveals important trends that would not otherwise be evident. Although population growth correlated for the most part with industrialization, population also grew in more agricultural regions such as East Prussia, Poland, and Ireland. Ireland's rapid population growth does not appear on this map because the famine of 1846–1851 killed more than 10 percent of the population and forced many others to emigrate. ■ Compare this map to Map 21.1: Which areas experienced both industrialization and population increase?

liberals and socialists fought over the pace of reform. Confronted with the menace of revolution, elites now sought alternatives that would be less threatening to the established order and still permit some change. This search for alternatives became immediately evident in the question of national unification in Germany and Italy. National unification would hereafter depend not on speeches and parliamentary resolutions, but rather on what the Prussian leader Otto von Bismarck would call “iron and blood.”

FOR FURTHER EXPLORATION

- For suggested references, including Web sites, for topics in this chapter, see page SR-1 at the end of the book.
- For additional primary-source material from this period, see Chapter 21 in *Sources of THE MAKING OF THE WEST*, Third Edition.
- For Web sites and documents related to topics in this chapter, see *Make History at* bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

CHAPTER REVIEW

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

ideology (654)	Giuseppe Mazzini (672)
Industrial Revolution (654)	liberalism (674)
cholera (662)	Corn Laws (674)
George Sand (666)	socialism (675)
domesticity (669)	communists (676)
imperialism (670)	Chartism (677)
Opium War (671)	Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte (680)
nationalism (672)	

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What dangers did the Industrial Revolution pose to both urban and rural life?
2. How did reformers try to address the social problems created by industrialization and urbanization? In which areas did they succeed, and in which did they fail?
3. Why did ideologies have such a powerful appeal in the 1830s and 1840s?
4. Why did the revolutions of 1848 fail?

MAKING CONNECTIONS

1. Which of the ideologies of this period had the greatest impact on political events? How can you explain this?
2. In what ways might industrialization be considered a force for peaceful change rather than a revolution? (Hint: Think about the situation in Great Britain.)

For practice quizzes, a customized study plan, and other study tools, see the Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

IMPORTANT EVENTS

1830–1832	Cholera epidemic sweeps across Europe	1839	Beginning of Opium War between Britain and China; invention of photography
1830	France invades and begins conquest of Algeria	1841	Charles Dickens, <i>The Old Curiosity Shop</i>
1831	British and Foreign Temperance Society established	1846	Famine strikes Ireland; Corn Laws repealed in England; peasant insurrection in Austrian province of Galicia
1832	George Sand, <i>Indiana</i>	1848	Revolutions of 1848 throughout Europe; last great wave of Chartist demonstrations in Britain; Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, <i>The Communist Manifesto</i> ; abolition of slavery in French colonies; end of serfdom in Austrian Empire
1833	Factory Act regulates work of children in Great Britain; abolition of slavery in the British Empire	1851	Crystal Palace exhibition in London
1834	German <i>Zollverein</i> (“customs union”) established under Prussian leadership		
1835	Belgium opens first continental railway built with state funds		

VENEZIA

TEATRO LA FENICE

IN OCCASIONE DEL
 CONGRESSO GEOGRAFICO INTERNAZIONALE

IMPRESA CESARE TREVISAN

DALL'11 AL 22 SETTEMBRE SI DARANNO 7 RAPPRESENTAZIONI DELLA GRANDIOSA OPERA-BALLO



MUSICA DEL COMM. GIUSEPPE VERDI

ESEGUITA DAI SEGUENTI ARTISTI

PRIME DONNE

EMMA TUROLLA — GIUSEPPINA PASQUA

PRIMO TENORE

GIOVANNI SANI

PRIMO BARITONO

COMM. GOTTARDO ALDIGHERI

PRIMI BASSI

ENRICO SERBOLINI + FRANCESCO PANARI

MAESTRO DIRETTORE D'ORCHESTRA

CAV. FRANCO FACCIO

ALTRO MAESTRO

RAFAELE BRACALE

TENORE COMPRIMARIO MISTROFONIA DEI CORI

GIUSEPPE CINQUANTA

LORENZO POLI

SUGGERITORE
 ANTONIO RENIER

COREOGRAFO
RINALDO ROSSI

N. 70 PROFESSORI D'ORCHESTRA, N. 30 CORISTI E CORISTE, N. 24 BALLERINE, N. 6 TROMBE EGIZIANE, BANDA

Direttore: RINALDO ROSSI

Direttore delle masse: GAETANO ARCHINTI

Pittore Scenografo: CESARE REGANATINI

Direttore Macchinismo: LUIGI CAPRARA

Vestimenta-proprietà: L. ZAMPERONI

Attrezzi-proprietà: CROCE FIGLIO

Fornitura della luce: ANTONIO TREVISAN

Parrucchiere: G. CASPEROTTO

Fornitura edili: R. MAVEROFFER

della Scuola di Milano della Scuola di Milano della Scuola di Milano

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 Poltrona a braccioli, oltre l'ingresso 10.
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Venezia 1 Agosto 1881

Politics and Culture of the Nation-State

1850–1870

In 1859, the name *VERDI* suddenly appeared scrawled on walls across the disunited cities of the Italian peninsula. The graffiti seemed to celebrate the composer Giuseppe Verdi, whose operas made him a special hero among Italians. His stories of downtrodden groups struggling against tyrannical government seemed to refer specifically to them. As his operatic choruses thundered out calls to rebellion in the name of the nation, Italian audiences were sure that Verdi was telling them to throw off Austrian and papal rule and unite in a nation—the ancient Roman Empire reborn. The graffiti had a second political message: *VERDI*, an acronym for *Vittorio Emmanuele Re d'Italia* (Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy), summoned Italians to join together under Victor Emmanuel II, king of Sardinia and Piedmont—the one Italian leader with a nationalist, modernizing profile. The graffiti did its work, and the very next year a united Italy emerged, formed by warfare, popular uprisings, and hard bargaining by realist politicians.

In the wake of the failed revolutions of 1848, European statesmen and the politically conscious public increasingly abandoned the politics of idealism in favor of *Realpolitik*—a politics of tough-minded realism aimed at strengthening the state and tightening social order. *Realpolitik*ers rejected the romanticism and high-minded ideologies of the revolutionaries. Instead, they believed in power politics and even the use of violence to attain their goals. Two particularly skilled practitioners of *Realpolitik*, the Italian Camillo di Cavour and the Prussian Otto von Bismarck, succeeded in unifying Italy and Germany, respectively, not by romantic rhetoric but by war and diplomacy. Most leading figures of the decades 1850–1870, enmeshed like Verdi's operatic heroes in violent

***Aida* Poster**

Aida (1871), Giuseppe Verdi's opera of human passion and state power among people of different nations, became a staple of Western culture, bringing people across Europe into a common cultural orbit. Written to celebrate the opening of the Suez Canal, *Aida* also celebrated the improvement of Europe's access to Asian resources provided by the new waterway. The opera was a prime example of the surge of interest in Egyptian styles and objects that followed the opening of the canal. (Madeline Grimaldi.)

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- The Crimean War, 1853–1856: Turning Point in European Affairs
- Reform in Russia

War and Nation Building 696

- Cavour, Garibaldi, and the Process of Italian Unification
- Bismarck and the *Realpolitik* of German Unification
- Francis Joseph and the Creation of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy
- Political Stability through Gradual Reform in Great Britain
- Nation Building in the United States and Canada

Establishing Social Order 705

- Bringing Order to the Cities
- Expanding the Reach of Government
- Schooling and Professionalizing Society
- Spreading Western Order beyond the West
- Confronting the Nation-State's Order at Home

The Culture of Social Order 715

- The Arts Confront Social Reality
- Religion and National Order
- From the Natural Sciences to Social Science

political maneuverings, advanced state power by harnessing the forces of nationalism and liberalism that had led to earlier romantic revolts. Their achievements changed the face of Europe.

Nation building was the order of the day, but unifying people or territory was not just about winning wars. Economic development was crucial, as was using government policy and culture to create a sense of national identity and common purpose. As productivity and wealth increased, governments took vigorous steps to improve the urban environment, monitor public health, and promote national sentiment. State support for cultural developments ranging from public schools to public health programs made the citizenry as a whole better off, established a common fund of knowledge, and produced shared political beliefs and loyalties. Authoritarian leaders such as Bismarck and the new French emperor Napoleon III believed that a better quality of life would not only calm revolutionary impulses and build state power but also silence liberal reformers.

Shared culture helped build shared identity. Reading novels, viewing art exhibitions, keeping up-to-date at the newly fashionable world's fairs, and attending theater and opera performances gave ordinary people a stronger sense of being French or German or British. Also, the public consumed cultural works that increasingly rejected romanticism and portrayed harsher, more realistic aspects of everyday life. Artists painted nudes in shockingly blunt ways, eliminating romantic hues and poses. The Russian author Leo Tolstoy depicted the bleak life of soldiers in the Crimean War, which erupted in 1853 between the Russian and Ottoman empires, while his countryman Fyodor Dostoevsky wrote of ordinary people turning to crime in urban neighborhoods.

Alongside the tough-minded nation-building policies there arose tough-minded art, not just mir-

roring **Realpolitik** but encouraging it. Western politicians sent armies to distant areas to stamp out resistance to global expansion. At home, Realpolitikers destroyed people's neighborhoods to construct public buildings, roads, and parks. The process of nation building was thus often brutal, bringing arrests, protests, and outright civil war—all of these the centerpieces of Verdi's operas as well. In response to the pressures of nation building, an uprising of Parisians in 1871 challenged the central government's violent intrusion into everyday life and its failure to count the costs. Thus, for the most part, the powerful Western nation-state did not take shape automatically. Instead, national policymakers used warfare, the creation of new institutions, and often brutal uprooting of people around the world to create the modern nation-state. The Realpolitik approach to nation building also created a general climate of modern opinion that valued realism, hard facts, and tough-minded deeds.

FOCUS QUESTION: How did the creation and strengthening of nation-states change European politics, society, and culture in the mid-nineteenth century?

The End of the Concert of Europe

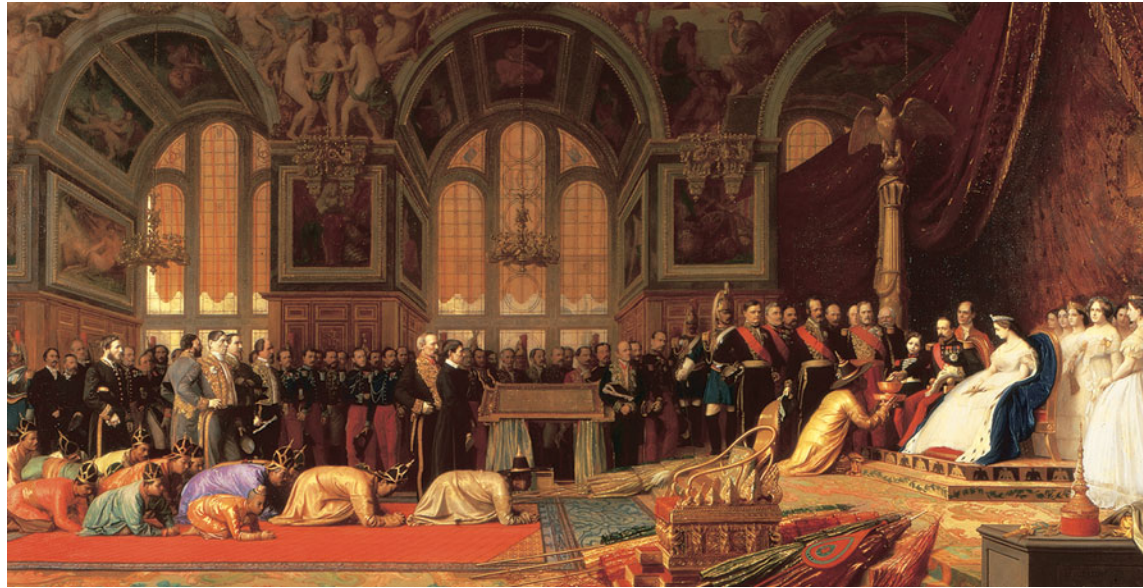
The revolutions of 1848 had weakened the concert of Europe, forcing its architect, Austrian foreign minister Klemens von Metternich, to resign and flee to England and allowing the forces of nation-

Realpolitik (ray AHL poh lih teek): Policies developed after the revolutions of 1848 and initially associated with nation building; they were based on realism rather than on the romantic notions of earlier nationalists. The term has come to mean any policy based on considerations of power alone.

	<div>■ 1850s–1860s Positivism, Darwinism become influential</div> <div>■ 1850s–1870s Realism emerges in the arts</div>		<div>■ 1861 Italian unification; abolition of serfdom in Russia</div>
	1850	1855	1860
	<div>■ 1853–1856 Crimean War</div>	<div>■ 1857 British-led forces suppress Indian Rebellion</div>	<div>■ 1861–1865 U.S. Civil War</div>

Napoleon III and Eugénie Receive the Siamese Ambassadors, 1864

At a splendid gathering of their court, the emperor Napoleon III, his consort Eugénie, and their son and heir greet ambassadors from Siam, whose exoticism and servility before the imperial family are the centerpiece of this depiction by Jean-Léon Gérôme. How might a middle-class French citizen react to this scene? (*Bridgeman-Giraudon/Art Resource, NY.*)



alism to flourish. Clashing national ambitions made it more difficult for countries to act together. In addition, the revival of Bonapartism in the person of Napoleon III destabilized international politics as France's Second Empire sought to reassert itself. One of Napoleon's targets was Russia, formerly a mainstay of the concert of Europe. Taking advantage of Russia's continuing drive to expand, France helped engineer the Crimean War. The war took a huge toll in human life and weakened Russia and Austria. Russia's defeat not only led to substantial reforms in the country but also changed the distribution of European power.

Napoleon III and the Quest for French Glory

Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte (Napoleon III) encouraged the cult of his famous uncle and the revival of French grandeur as part of nation building. "A

man of destiny," he called himself. Napoleon III acted as Europe's schoolmaster, showing its leaders how to combine economic liberalism and support from the people with authoritarian rule. To the public, he claimed to represent "your families, your property—rich and poor alike," but cafés where men might discuss politics were closed, and a rubber-stamp legislature (the Corps législatif) muffled the actual voices of the people. Imperial style replaced republican rituals (see the illustration on this page). Napoleon's opulent court dazzled the public, and the emperor (like his namesake) cultivated a masculine image of strength and majesty by wearing military uniforms and by conspicuously maintaining mistresses. Napoleon's wife, Empress Eugénie, however, followed middle-class conventions, playing up her domestic role as devoted mother to her only son and as volunteer worker in many charities. The authoritarian, apparently old-fashioned order imposed by Napoleon satisfied the

■ 1867 Second Reform Bill in England;
Austro-Hungarian monarchy

■ 1871 German Empire proclaimed;
Paris Commune

1865

1870

1875

■ 1868 Meiji Restoration begins in Japan

■ 1869–1871 Women's colleges founded at Cambridge University

■ 1870–1871 Franco-Prussian War

many peasants who feared a flare-up of the urban radicalism of 1848.

Napoleon III was nonetheless a modernizer. He promoted a strong economy, public works programs, and jobs, luring the middle and working classes away from radical politics with the promise of employment. International trade fairs, artistic expositions, and the magnificent rebuilding of Paris helped make France prosper as Europe recovered from the hard times of the late 1840s. Empress Eugénie wore lavish gowns, encouraging French silk production and keeping Paris at the center of the lucrative fashion trade. The Second Empire also reached a free-trade agreement with Britain and backed the establishment of innovative investment banks. Such new institutions led the way in financing railroad expansion, and railway mileage increased fivefold during Napoleon III's reign. During the economic downturn of the late 1850s, he changed course by allowing working-class organizations to form and introducing democratic features into his governing methods. Although some historians have judged Napoleon III to be enigmatic and shifty because of these abrupt changes, his maneuvers were hardheaded responses to the fluid conditions.

On the international scene, Napoleon III's main goals were to overcome the containment of France imposed by the Congress of Vienna and acquire international glory like a true Bonaparte. To fracture the concert of Europe, Napoleon pitted France first against Russia in the Crimean War, then against Austria in the War of Italian Unification, and finally against Prussia in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. Beyond Europe, Napoleon encouraged the construction of the Suez Canal to connect the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, while his army continued to enforce French rule in Algeria and Southeast Asia. His attempt to install Maximilian, the brother of Habsburg emperor Francis Joseph, as emperor of Mexico and ultimately of all Central America brought on rebellion in Mexico and ended with Maximilian's execution in 1867. Despite this glaring failure, Napoleon's foreign policy succeeded in breaking down the international system of peaceful diplomacy established at the Congress of Vienna. The consequences were the Crimean War, the end of serfdom in Russia, and the birth of new nations.

The Crimean War, 1853–1856: Turning Point in European Affairs

Napoleon first flexed his diplomatic muscle in the Crimean War (1853–1856), which began as a conflict between the Russian and Ottoman empires

but ended as a war with long-lasting consequences for much of Europe. While professing to uphold the status quo, Russia had been expanding into Asia and the Middle East. In particular, Tsar Nicholas I wanted to absorb much of the Ottoman Empire, fast becoming known as “the sick man of Europe” because of its disintegrating authority. Napoleon III encouraged Nicholas to be even more aggressive in his expansionism—a maneuver that provoked war in October 1853 between the two eastern empires (Map 22.1). The war disrupted the united Austrian and Russian front that kept France—and Napoleon III—in check.

The war drew in other states and upset Europe's balance of power. To block Russia and thereby protect its Mediterranean routes to East Asia, Britain prodded the Ottomans to stand up to Russia. With the Austrian government still resenting its dependence on Russia in putting down Hungarian revolutionaries in 1849 and feeling threatened by continuing Russian expansion into the Balkans, Napoleon III managed to gain Austria's promise of neutrality during the war. Austrian neutrality split the conservative Russian-Austrian coalition that had blocked French ambitions for greater influence since 1815. In the fall of 1853, the Russians blasted the wooden Turkish ships to bits



MAP 22.1 The Crimean War, 1853–1856

The most destructive war in Europe between the Napoleonic Wars and World War I, the Crimean War drew attention to the conflicting ambitions around territories of the declining Ottoman Empire. Importantly for state building in these decades, the war fractured the alliance of conservative forces from the Congress of Vienna, allowing Italy and Germany to come into being as unified states.



The Mission of Mercy

Florence Nightingale organized British health care services during the Crimean War, inspiring a committed cadre of women to volunteer at the battlefield. The new sanitary measures Nightingale introduced into the care of the wounded and sick dramatically reduced the death rate of ailing soldiers. Jerry Barrett's romantic portrayal of her greeting the wounded at Scutari hardly captures the strenuous and tough-minded efforts involved in her work. Why would the artist portray Nightingale as a romantic, ladylike heroine? (*National Portrait Gallery, London.*)

at the Ottoman port of Sinope on the Black Sea; in 1854, France and Great Britain, enemies in war for more than a century, declared war on Russia to defend the Ottoman Empire's sovereignty and territories.

Faced with attacking the massive Russian Empire, the British and French allies settled for limited military goals focused on capturing the Russian naval base at Sevastopol, on the Crimea, a peninsula jutting into the Black Sea. Even so, the Crimean War was spectacularly bloody. British and French troops landed in the Crimea in September 1854, but it took a year of savage and costly combat before the fortified Sevastopol finally fell. Generals on both sides demonstrated their incompetence, and governments failed to provide combatants with even minimal supplies, sanitation, or medical care. Hospitals had no beds, no dishes, and no water. As a result, the war claimed a massive toll. Of the three-quarters of a million deaths, more than two-thirds were from disease and starvation.

In the midst of this unfolding catastrophe, **Alexander II** (r. 1855–1881) ascended the Russian throne following the death of Nicholas I, his father. With casualties mounting, the new tsar asked for peace. As a result of the Peace of Paris, signed in March 1856, Russia lost the right to base its navy

in the Straits of Dardanelles and the Black Sea, which were declared neutral waters. Moldavia and Walachia (which soon merged to form Romania) became autonomous Turkish provinces under victors' protection, drastically reducing Russian influence in that region too.

Some historians have called the Crimean War one of the most senseless conflicts in modern history because competing claims in southeastern Europe could have been settled by diplomacy had it not been for Napoleon III's driving ambition to disrupt the peace. Yet the war was full of consequence. New technologies were introduced into warfare: the railroad, shell-firing cannon, breech-loading rifles, and steam-powered ships. The relationship of the home front to the battlefield was beginning to change with the use of the telegraph and increased press coverage. Home audiences received news from the Crimean front lines more rapidly and in more detail than ever before. Reports of incompetence, poor sanitation, and the huge death toll outraged the public, inspiring a few to go to the front to help. The English nurse Florence Nightingale became the best known of these sojourners: she seized the moment to escape the confines of middle-class domesticity by organizing a battlefield nursing service to care for the British sick and wounded. Through her tough-minded organization of nursing units, she not only improved the sanitary conditions of the troops

Alexander II: Russian tsar (r. 1855–1881) who initiated the age of Great Reforms and emancipated the serfs in 1861.

DOCUMENT

Mrs. Seacole: The *Other* Florence Nightingale

Another highly skilled medical worker besides Florence Nightingale made an impact on the battlefields in Crimea. Mary Seacole (1805–1881), daughter of a free black Jamaican woman and a Scottish army officer, had learned about medicine from her mother and from doctors who passed through Kingston, staying at the family's boardinghouse. In addition to a gift for healing, Mrs. Seacole (as she was always called) had a passion for travel—to Europe, the United States, and Panama—which she supported by tending other travelers. When the Crimean War broke out, she chafed—like Nightingale herself—to be at the battlefield. Arriving in Crimea in 1855, Mrs. Seacole saved many desperately ill soldiers who lacked all medical care.

[Sick soldiers] could and did get at my store sick-comforts and nourishing food,

which the heads of the medical staff would sometimes find it difficult to procure. These reasons, with the additional one that I was very familiar with the diseases which they suffered most from and successful in their treatment (I say this in no spirit of vanity), were quite sufficient to account for the numbers who came daily to the British Hotel for medical treatment.

That the officers were glad of me as a doctress and nurse may be easily understood. When a poor fellow lay sickening in his cheerless hut and sent down to me, he knew very well that I should not ride up in answer to his message empty-handed. And although I did not hesitate to charge him with the value of the necessities I took him, still he was thankful enough to be able to purchase them. When we lie ill at home surrounded with com-

fort, we never think of feeling any special gratitude for the sick-room delicacies which we accept as a consequence of our illness; but the poor officer lying ill and weary in his crazy hut, dependent for the merest necessities of existence upon a clumsy, ignorant soldier-cook, who would almost prefer eating his meat raw to having the troubles of cooking it (our English soldiers are bad campaigners), often finds his greatest troubles in the want of those little delicacies with which a weak stomach must be humoured into retaining nourishment.

Source: Mary Grant Seacole, *Wonderful Adventures of Mrs. Seacole in Many Lands* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 125–26.

both during and after the war but also pioneered nursing as a profession. (See Document, “Mrs. Seacole: The *Other* Florence Nightingale,” above.)

More immediately, the war accomplished Napoleon III's goal of severing the alliance between Austria and Russia, the two conservative powers on which the Congress of Vienna peace settlement had rested since 1815. It thus ended Austria's and Russia's grip on European affairs and undermined their ability to contain the forces of liberalism and nationalism. Russia's catastrophic defeat forced it to embark on some long-overdue reforms.

Reform in Russia

Defeat in the Crimean War not only thwarted Russia's territorial ambition but also made clear the need for meaningful reform. Hundreds of peasant insurrections had erupted during the decade before the Crimean War. Serf defiance ranged from malingering at forced labor to boycotting vodka to protest its heavy taxation. “Our own and neighboring households were gripped with fear,” one aristocrat reported, because of potential serf

violence. Although economic development spread in parts of eastern Europe, the Russian economy stagnated compared with that of western Europe. Old-fashioned farming techniques depleted soil and led to food shortages, and the nobility was often contemptuous of the suffering malnutrition and hard labor caused. Artists made their own call for reform with their sympathetic portrayals of serfs and condemnation of brutal masters, as in the collection *A Hunter's Sketches* (1852) by novelist Ivan Turgenev. A Russian translation of Harriet Beecher Stowe's U.S. antislavery novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) was also a “must-read” for reformers. When Russia lost the Crimean War, the educated public, including some government officials, found the poor performance of serf-conscripted armies a disgrace and the system of serf labor a glaring liability.

Emancipation of the Serfs. Confronted with the need for change, Tsar Alexander II acted. Well educated and more widely traveled than his father, Alexander ushered in what came to be known as the age of Great Reforms, granting Russians new rights from above as a way of ensuring that vio-

lent action from below would not force change. The most dramatic reform was the emancipation of almost fifty million serfs beginning in 1861. By the terms of emancipation, communities of newly freed serfs, headed by male village elders, received grants of land. The community itself, traditionally called a **mir**, had full power to allocate this land among individuals and to direct their economic activity. Although emancipation partially laid the groundwork for a modern labor force in Russia, communal landowning and decision making meant that individual peasants could not simply sell their parcel of land and leave their rural communities to work in factories as laborers had been doing in western Europe.

The condition attached to the so-called land grants in Russia was that peasants were not *given* land along with their personal freedom: they were forced to “redeem” the land they farmed by paying off long-term loans from the government, with which the government in turn compensated the original landowners. The best land remained in the hands of the nobility, and most peasants ended up owning less land than they had farmed as serfs. These conditions, especially the huge burden of debt and communal regulations, blunted Russian agricultural development for decades. But idealistic reformers believed that the emancipation of the serfs, once treated by the nobility virtually as livestock, had produced miraculous results. As one of them put it, “The people are without any exaggeration transfigured from head to foot. . . . The look, the walk, the speech, everything is changed.”

The state also reformed local administration, the judiciary, and the military. The government compensated the nobility for loss of peasant services and set up *zemstvos*—regional councils through which aristocrats could control local affairs such as education, public health, and welfare. Aristocratic control assured that the *zemstvos* would remain a conservative structure, but they

mir (mīhr): A Russian farm community that provided for holding land in common and regulating the movements of any individual by the group.



Emancipation of the Russian Serfs

This trading card was used as a marketing gimmick to promote canned meat. Cards like these were given away by the thousands and traded just as baseball cards are today. Historical scenes were popular subjects for the cards—this one shows the emancipation of the serfs in Russia. Note that the caption is in French, the language of the European upper classes, including those in Russia, who would have consumed this product. The emancipation is presented as a wholly beneficial act with no strings attached. (Mary Evans Picture Library.)

became a new political force with the potential for challenging the authoritarian central government. Some aristocrats took advantage of newly relaxed rules on travel to see how the rest of Europe was governed. Their vision broadened as they observed new ways of solving social and economic problems. Judicial reform gave all Russians, even former serfs, access to modern civil courts, rather than leaving them at the mercy of a landowner's version of justice. The principle of equality of all persons before the law, regardless of social rank, was introduced in Russia for the first time. Military reform followed in 1874 when the government reduced the twenty-five-year term of conscription to a six-year term and began paying attention to education, efficiency, and humane treatment of recruits. These changes improved the fitness of Russian soldiers, bringing them closer to the level of soldiers in western Europe.

From Reform to Rebellion. Alexander's reforms benefited modern, market-oriented landowners in Russia just as enclosures had done much earlier for landowners in western Europe. At the same time, the changes weakened personal authority of the nobility and sparked intergenerational rebellion. “An epidemic seemed to seize upon [noble] chil-

dren . . . an epidemic of fleeing from the parental roof,” one observer noted. Rejecting aristocratic leisure, youthful rebels from the upper class valued practical activity and sometimes identified with peasants and workers. Some formed communes where they hoped to do humble manual labor, whereas others turned to higher education, especially the sciences. Rebellious daughters of the nobility opposed their parents by cutting their hair short, wearing black, and escaping from home through phony marriages so they could study in European universities. This repudiation of traditional society led these young people to be labeled as nihilists (from the Latin for “nothing”), those who do not believe in any values whatsoever. A defiant spirit was percolating not just at the bottom but also at the top of Russian society, and it would soon bring about a wave of violence.

Russian-dominated ethnic groups were inspired by the atmosphere of change, and in 1863 aristocratic and upper-class nationalist Poles rose up against the weakened Russian monarchy, demanding full national independence for their country. By 1864, however, Alexander II’s army had regained control of the Russian section of Poland, using the promise of reform to win peasant support for defeating the rebels. Elsewhere among Russia’s minorities, Alexander repressed nationalist unrest and intensified **Russification**—a tactic meant to reduce the threat of future rebellion by forcing the more than one hundred national minorities within the empire to adopt Russian language and culture. Despite these measures, the tsarist regime in this era of the Great Reforms only partially succeeded in developing the administrative, economic, and civic institutions that made the nation-state strong elsewhere in Europe. The tsar and his inner circle tightly held the reins of government, allowing few to share in power. Deliberate government policies in other European countries helped develop the sense of common citizenship, but in imperial Russia attempts to build a shared national loyalty were less successful.

REVIEW: What were the main results of the Crimean War?

Russification: A program for the integration of Russia’s many nationality groups that involved the forced learning of the Russian language and the practice of Russian Orthodox religion as well as the settlement of ethnic Russians among other nationality groups.

War and Nation Building

Politicians in the German and Italian states seized the opportunity provided by the weakened concert of Europe to unify their fragmented regions through warfare. Following a bloody civil war, the United States solidified its institutions for further national expansion. The rise of powerful **nation-states** such as Italy, Germany, and the United States was accompanied by a sense of pride in national identity—or nationalism—among their peoples (see “Terms of History, page 697). This was not an inevitable or universal trend in the West, however. Millions of individuals in the Austrian Empire, Ireland, and elsewhere maintained a regional, local, or separate ethnic identity despite the trend toward identifying with growing nation-states.

Cavour, Garibaldi, and the Process of Italian Unification

Even after the failure of the revolutions of 1848 in the Italian states, the call for *Risorgimento* (a term meaning “rebirth,” associated with the rebirth of a united Italy) remained loud, aided by the disintegration of diplomatic stability across Europe. Leading the way toward *Risorgimento* was the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia, in the economically modernizing north of Italy. Italians thrilled to the operas of Verdi, but it was railroads, a modern army, and the military support of France against the Austrian Empire, which still dominated the peninsula, that made political unification possible.

Cavour, Architect of the New Italy. The pragmatic **Camillo di Cavour** (1810–1861), prime minister of the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia from 1852 until his death, had a Realpolitiker’s vision of how to unify the Italian states. A rebel in his youth, Cavour as he matured organized steamship companies, played the stock market, and inhaled the heady air of modernization during his travels to Paris and London. He promoted economic development rather than idealistic uprisings as the means to achieve a united Italy. As skilled prime minister to a less capable king, Victor Emmanuel II (r. Italy 1861–1878), Cavour helped achieve a strong Piedmontese economy, a modern army, and a liberal political climate as the foundation for Piedmont’s control of the unification process (Map 22.2).

nation-state: A sovereign political entity of modern times based on representing a united people.

Camillo di Cavour (1810–1861): Prime minister of the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia and architect of a united Italy.

To unify Italy, however, Piedmont would have to confront Austria, which governed the provinces of Lombardy and Venetia and exerted strong influence over most of the peninsula. Cavour turned for help to Napoleon III, who at a meeting in the summer of 1858 promised French assistance in exchange for the city of Nice and the region of Savoy. Napoleon III expected that France rather than Austria would influence the peninsula thereafter. Sure of French help, Cavour provoked the Austrians to invade northern Italy in April 1859. The cause of Piedmont now became the cause of nationalist Italians everywhere, even those who had supported romantic republicanism in 1848, and they rose up on the side of Piedmont. Using the newly built Piedmontese railroad to move troops, the French and Piedmontese armies achieved rapid victories. Suddenly fearing the growth of Piedmont as a potential competing force, Napoleon independently signed a peace treaty with Habsburg emperor Francis Joseph that seemed to end the war. Its terms gave Lombardy but not Venetia to Piedmont, and left the rest of Italy disunited. Nationalist ambitions were not yet realized.

Garibaldi, Emblem of Italian Freedom. Napoleon's plan to keep Italy disunited was soon derailed. Support for Piedmont continued to swell among Italians, while a financially strapped Austria stood by, unable to keep control of events on the peninsula. Ousting their rulers, citizens of the rest of the northern and central Italian states (except Rome, which French troops had occupied) elected to join Piedmont. In May 1860, Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807–1882), a committed republican, dedicated guerrilla fighter, and veteran of the revolutions of 1848, set sail from Genoa with a thousand red-shirted volunteers (many of them teenage boys) to liberate Sicily, where peasants were rebelling against their landlords and the corrupt government in anticipation of the *Risorgimento*. In the autumn of 1860, Victor Emmanuel II's victorious forces descending from the north and Garibaldi's moving up from the south met in Naples. Although some of his followers still clamored for a republic, Garibaldi threw his support to the king. In 1861, the kingdom of Italy was proclaimed with Victor Emmanuel at its head.

Exhausted by a decade of overwork, Cavour died within months of leading the unification, leaving lesser men to organize the new Italy. The task ahead was enormous and complex: 90 percent of the peninsula's inhabitants did not even speak a common language but rather local dialects. There were political difficulties too: consensus

TERMS OF HISTORY

Nationalism

The word *nationalism* is associated with a sense of a common identity among people within geographically defined nation-states. What is more important about nationalism is that it promotes the nation-state around which that common entity develops. A phenomenon of the past two to three centuries, it became increasingly important to politics from the nineteenth century on. Strongly held feelings of a common national identity grew in the years after 1750, and this sense of national identification increasingly competed in people's minds with religious, regional, and local loyalties.

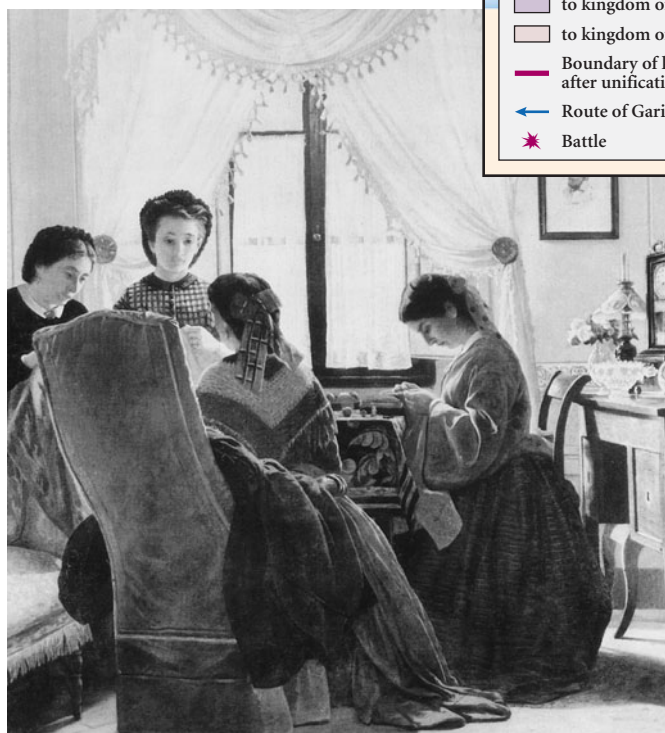
In an early version of nationalism, the eighteenth-century British took pride in the fact that as Protestants they had defeated the Catholic French king in the global trade wars in Asia and the New World. At about the same time, the German author Johann Gottfried Herder concluded from his studies that a common language—along with its folktales, history, and laws—also served as the basis for a shared national identity. In 1789, French revolutionary politicians set out in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen that all men were citizens—not subjects—and that as citizens they had rights. This Declaration thus proclaimed that common identity could be based on the rule of law. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, some of the major components of nationalism had developed: pride in military conquest and in a common culture developed over centuries, along with citizenship and its guarantee of civil rights and other freedoms.

In the nineteenth century, nationalism became a force in domestic and international politics. From the 1820s on, nationalistic politicians took to the battlefield, as in the fight for Greek independence or in the wars of Italian and German unification. Some Italian nationalists expected that unification would strengthen national identity by providing the kind of common citizenship and freedom that the Americans and French had won through their revolutions.

After 1848, realists like Bismarck and Cavour promoted nationalism as the work of “iron and blood”—national strength backed by military might. Nationalism became a matter of pride in a people's toughness and realism in a competitive world. After their wars of unification, both Germany and Italy continued to promote the vision of the nation triumphant in battle. This differed from the French revolutionary ideal of being triumphant in battle in order to bring rights and constitutions to oppressed peoples. By the end of the nineteenth century, the basis of nationalism had shifted from pride in democratic institutions to pride in a nation's military power. Today, the word *nationalism* usually combines a wide array of ingredients, prompting politicians to appeal to common religion, laws, customs, language, ethnicity, race, and history to build national pride.

MAP 22.2 Unification of Italy, 1859–1870

The many states of the Italian peninsula had different languages, ways of life, and economic interests. The northern kingdom of Sardinia, which included the commercially advanced state of Piedmont, had much to gain from a unified market and a more extensive pool of labor. Although the armies of King Victor Emmanuel and Giuseppe Garibaldi brought these states together as a single country, it would take decades to construct a culturally, socially, and economically unified nation.



Seamstresses of the Red Shirts

Sewing uniforms and making battle flags, European women like these Italian volunteers saw themselves as contributors to the nation. Many nineteenth-century women participated in nation building as “republican mothers” by donating their domestic skills and raising the next generation of citizens to be patriotic.

among Italy’s elected political leaders was often difficult to reach once the war was over, and admirers of Cavour, such as Verdi (who had been made senator), quit the quarrelsome political stage. Politicians from the wealthy commercial north and the impoverished agricultural south remained at odds over issues such as taxation and development, as they do even today. Finally, Italian borders did not yet seem complete because Venetia and Rome remained outside them, under Austrian and French control, respectively. Helping to overcome these difficulties and holding the new nation together was the romanticized retelling of the Italian struggle for freedom from foreign and domestic tyrants, under the daring leadership of Garibaldi and his Red Shirts. The legend of Garibaldi papered over Cavour’s economic and military Realpolitik, which had made unification possible; but this story became the centerpiece of a new and unifying national pride.

Bismarck and the Realpolitik of German Unification

The most momentous act of nation building for Europe and the world was the creation of a united Germany in 1871. This too was the product of Realpolitik, undertaken once the concert of Europe was smashed and the champions of the status quo defeated. Employing the old military caste to wage war, yet enjoying support from industrialists, merchants, and financiers who saw profits in a single national market, the Prussian state brought a vast array of cities and kingdoms under its control within a single decade. From then on, Germany prospered, continuing to consolidate its economic and political might. By the end of the nineteenth century, it would be the foremost continental power.

Bismarck's Rise to Power. The architect of the unified Germany was **Otto von Bismarck** (1815–1898). Bismarck came from a traditional Junker (Prussian landed nobility) family on his father's side; his mother's family included high-ranking bureaucrats and literati of the middle class. At university, the young Bismarck had gambled and womanized. After failing in the civil service, he worked to modernize operations on his landholdings while leading an otherwise decadent life. His marriage to a pious Lutheran woman worked a transformation and gave him new purpose. In the 1850s, his diplomatic service to the Prussian state made him increasingly angry at the Habsburg grip on the affairs of all the German states and the roadblock it created to the full flowering of Prussia. Bismarck determined to establish Prussia as a dominant power.

In 1862, William I (king of Prussia, r. 1861–1888; German emperor, r. 1871–1888; see the illustration at right) appointed Bismarck prime minister in hopes that he would quash the growing power of the liberals in the Prussian parliament. The liberals, representing the prosperous professional and business classes, had gained parliamentary strength at the expense of conservative landowners during the decades of industrial ex-



Emperor William I of Germany, 1871

The defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871 ended with the proclamation of the king of Prussia as emperor of a unified Germany. Otto von Bismarck, who had orchestrated the wars of unification, appropriately appears in Anton von Werner's rendering as the central figure attired in heroic white.

(akg-images.)

pansion. Indeed, the liberals' wealth was crucial to the Prussian state's ability to augment its power, but liberals wanted Prussia to be like western Europe with political rights for citizens and increased civilian control of the military. William I, along with members of the traditional Prussian elite such as Bismarck, rejected the western European model. Acting on his conservative beliefs, Bismarck rammed through programs to build the army and prevent civilian control. "Germany looks not to Prussia's liberalism, but to its power," he preached. "The great questions of the day will not be settled by speeches and majority decisions—that was the great mistake of 1848 and 1849—but by iron and blood."

Prussia's Wars of Unification. After his triumph over the parliament, Bismarck led Prussia into a series of wars, against Denmark in 1864, against Austria in 1866, and, finally, against France in 1870. Using war as a political tactic, he kept the disunited German states from choosing Austrian leadership and instead united them around Prussia. Bismarck drew Austria into a joint war along-

Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898): Leading Prussian politician and German prime minister who waged war in order to create a united German Empire, which was established in 1871.



MAP 22.3 Unification of Germany, 1862–1871

In a complex series of diplomatic maneuvers, Prussian leader Otto von Bismarck welded disunited kingdoms and small states into a major continental power independent of the other dominant German dynasty, the Habsburg monarchy. Almost immediately that unity unleashed the new nation's economic and industrial potential, but an aristocratic and agrarian elite remained firmly in power.

side Prussia against Denmark in 1864 over its proposed incorporation of the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein, with their partially German population. The Prussian-Austrian victory resulted in an agreement that Prussia would administer Schleswig, and Austria, Holstein. Such an arrangement stretched Austria's geographic interests far from its central European base: "We were very honorable, but very dumb," Emperor Francis Joseph later said of being drawn into the Schleswig-Holstein debacle.

Lagging in economic development and beset by the restlessness of its many national minorities, Austria proved weaker than Prussia. Bismarck, however, encouraged Austria's pretensions to grandeur and influence. He fomented disputes over the administration of Schleswig and Holstein, goading an overly confident Austria into declaring

war on Prussia itself. In the summer of 1866, Austria went to war with the support of most small states in the German Confederation. Within seven weeks, the modernized Prussian army, using railroads and breech-loading rifles against the outdated Austrian military, had won decisively. The masterful victory allowed Bismarck to drive Austria from the German Confederation and create a North German Confederation led by Prussia (Map 22.3).

To bring the remaining German states into the rapidly developing nation, Bismarck next moved to goad France into a war with Prussia. The atmosphere between France and Austria became charged when Spain proposed a Prussian prince to fill its vacant royal throne. This candidacy at once threatened France with Prussian rulers on two of its borders and inflated Prussian pride at the possibility

DOCUMENT

Bismarck Tricks the Public to Get His War

By 1870 Otto von Bismarck had gained the allegiance of most of the German states (excluding Austria) by waging two successful wars and thus showing the military muscle of Prussia. Defeating France, he believed, would pull in the remaining independent German states—most notably Bavaria—and unite Germany. To this end he doctored a document sent by the Prussian king to the French ambassador over the contested issue of succession to the Spanish throne and released the edited version to the press. He knew that its newly contrived imperious tone would offend the French parliament. Realpolitik, then as now, involved manipulating the press. Here Bismarck describes his actions.

All considerations, conscious and unconscious, strengthened my opinion that war could only be avoided at the cost of the honor of Prussia and of the national confidence in her. Under this conviction I made use of the royal authorization . . . to publish the contents of the telegram; and

in the presence of my two guests [General Moltke and General Roon] I reduced the telegram by striking out words, but without adding or altering anything, to the following form:

“After the news of the renunciation of the hereditary prince of Hohenzollern had been officially communicated to the imperial government of France by the royal government of Spain, the French ambassador at Ems made the further demand of his Majesty the king that he should authorize him to telegraph to Paris that his Majesty the king bound himself for all future time never again to give his consent if the Hohenzollerns should renew their candidature. His Majesty the king thereupon decided not to receive the French ambassador again, and sent to tell him, through the aid-de-camp on duty, that his Majesty had nothing further to communicate to the ambassador.”

The difference in the effect of the abbreviated text of the Ems telegram as compared with that produced by the original

was not the result of stronger words, but of the form, which made this announcement appear decisive, while [the original] version would only have been regarded as a fragment of a negotiation still pending and to be continued at Berlin.

After I had read out the concentrated edition to my two guests, Moltke remarked: “Now it has a different ring; in its original form it sounded like a parley; now it is like a flourish of trumpets in answer to a challenge.” I went on to explain: “If, in execution of his Majesty’s order, I at once communicate this text, . . . not only to the newspapers, but also by telegraph to all our embassies, it will be known in Paris before midnight, and not only on account of its contents, but also on account of the manner of its distribution, will have the effect of a red rag upon the Gallic bull.”

Source: Otto von Bismarck, *Memoirs* in James Harvey Robinson and Charles Beard, eds., *Readings in Modern European History* (Boston: Ginn, 1909), 2:158–59.

of its princely lines ruling grand states. Bismarck used the occasion to get nationalist sentiments onto the news pages in both countries by editing a diplomatic communication (the so-called Ems telegram, named after the spa town in which it was issued) to make it look as if the king of Prussia had insulted France over the issue of the vacant throne. Release of the revised version to journalists inflamed the French public into demanding war (see Document, “Bismarck Tricks the Public to Get His War,” above). The parliament gladly declared it on July 19, 1870, setting in motion the alliances Prussia had created with the other German states and launching the Franco-Prussian War. The Prussians captured Napoleon III with his army on September 2, 1870, and France’s Second Empire fell two days later.

Birth of the German Empire. Prussian forces were still besieging Paris when, in January 1871 in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, King William of Prussia was proclaimed the kaiser, or emperor, of a new,

imperial Germany. The terms of the peace signed in May of that year ending the Franco-Prussian War required France to cede the rich industrial provinces of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany and to pay a multibillion-franc indemnity. Without French protection for the papacy, Rome became part of Italy. Germany was now poised to dominate continental politics.

Prussian military might served as the foundation for German nation building, and a complex constitution for the new German Empire ensured the continued political dominance of the aristocracy and monarchy—despite the growing wealth and influence of the liberal business classes. The kaiser, who remained Prussia’s king, controlled the military and appointed Bismarck to the powerful position of chancellor for the Reich (empire). Individual German states were represented in the Bundesrat, while the Reichstag was an assembly elected by universal male suffrage. The Reichstag ratified all budgets but had little power to initiate programs. In framing this political settlement,

Bismarck accorded rights such as suffrage in the belief that the masses would uphold conservatism and the monarchy out of their fear of modernizing businessmen, whom Bismarck opposed as “liberal power.” Taking no chances, he balanced this move with an electoral system in Prussia in which the votes from the upper classes counted more than those from the lower. He had little to fear from liberals, who, dizzy with German military success, came to support the blend of economic progress, constitutional government, and militaristic nationalism that Bismarck represented.

Francis Joseph and the Creation of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy

The Austrian monarchy took a different approach to nation building, demonstrating that there was no one blueprint for the modern nation-state. Just as the Crimean War left Russia searching for solutions to its social and political problems, so the confrontations with Cavour and Bismarck left the Habsburg Empire struggling to keep its standing in a rapidly changing Europe. The Habsburg Empire had emerged from the revolutions of 1848 renewed by the ascension of the young monarch Francis Joseph (r. 1848–1916), who favored absolutist rule. A tireless worker, Francis Joseph enhanced his authority through stiff court ceremonies, playing to the popular fascination with celebrity and power. Though the emperor stubbornly resisted reform, official standards of honesty and efficiency improved, and the government promoted local education. The German language was used by the administration and taught by the schools, but the government respected the rights of national minorities—Czechs and Poles, for instance—to receive education and communicate with officials in their native tongue. Above all, the government abolished most internal customs barriers, fostered a boom in private railway construction, and attracted foreign capital. The capital city of Vienna underwent extensive rebuilding, and people found jobs as industrialization progressed, if unevenly.

In the fast-moving age of the mid-nineteenth century, the absolutist emperor could not match Bismarck’s pace in creating a modern nation-state. Too much of the old regime remained as a roadblock, while prosperous liberals wanting truly representative government and free speech prevented

other measures that would strengthen the state. They resented the police informers who swarmed around them, the Catholic church’s control of education and civil institutions such as marriage, and their own lack of representation in such important policy matters as taxation and finance. Thus, liberals blocked funds for modernizing the military for fear of strengthening the reactionary government. Unlike in Prussia, there was no one to override them to bring about change.

After Prussia’s 1866 victory over Austria, a vast, wealthy part of the empire, Hungary, became the key to the Habsburg Empire’s existence. The leaders of the Hungarian agrarian elites forced the Austrian emperor to accept a **dual monarchy**—that is, one in which the Magyars had home rule over the Hungarian kingdom. This agreement restored the Hungarian parliament and gave it control of internal policy (including the right to decide how to treat Hungary’s national minorities). Although the Habsburg emperor Francis Joseph was crowned king of Hungary and Austro-Hungarian foreign policy was coordinated from Vienna, the Hungarians mostly ruled themselves after 1867 and hammered out common policies such as tariffs with the government in Vienna. These negotiations were usually bitter, weakening the process of nation building in the empire.



The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, 1867

A second weakness in the compromise that created the dual monarchy was that, although designed specifically to address the Hungarian demands, it led to claims by Czechs, Slovaks, and other national groups in the Habsburg Empire for a similar kind of self-rule. Czechs who had helped the empire advance industrially, for example, wanted Hungarian-style liberties. More of a menace, other leaders of dissatisfied ethnic groups turned to **Pan-Slavism**—that is, the transnational loyalty of all ethnic Slavs whose common heritage, they believed, transcended current national boundaries. Instead of looking toward Vienna, they turned to the largest Slavic country—Russia—as key to achieving the future unity of all Slavs outside the Habsburg Empire. With so many

dual monarchy: A shared power arrangement between the Habsburg Empire and Hungary after the Prussian defeat of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1866–1867.

Pan-Slavism: A movement in the nineteenth century for the unity of all Slavs across national and regional boundaries.



Muslim Quarter and Bazaar

Nineteenth-century Europeans were a diverse people, composed of many religions, ethnicities, and ways of life. In the Balkans, many were Muslims, as this marketplace in Sarajevo, Bosnia, illustrates. The goal of finding a common cultural ground eluded the peoples of the Balkans. The Habsburg monarchy, which annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908, exerted its influence in the area to keep peoples divided and to play one against the other. (*Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Wien.*)

competing ethnicities, the Austro-Hungarian monarchy remained a dynastic state in which people could show loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty but had increasing difficulty relating to one another as members of a single nation.

Political Stability through Gradual Reform in Great Britain

In contrast to the nations in turmoil on the continent, Britain appeared the epitome of liberal progress. By the 1850s, the monarchy symbolized domestic tranquillity and propriety. Unlike their predecessors, Queen Victoria (r. 1837–1901) and her husband, Prince Albert, portrayed themselves as models of morality, British stability, and middle-class virtues (see “Seeing History,” page 704). Britain’s parliamentary system steadily brought more men into the political process. Economic prosperity supported peaceful political reform, except that politicians did little to relieve Ireland’s continued suffering. A flexible party system helped smooth governmental decision making: the Tory Party evolved into the Conservatives, who favored a more status-oriented politics but still went along with the emerging liberal consensus around economic development and representative government. The Whigs became the Liberals, so named for their commitment to the same values on which the term *liberal* had taken shape in the first place: progress and free, expansive trade, and substituting active industrialists for the entrenched aristoc-

racy—the Stupid Party, as some called the Tories/Conservatives. In 1867, the Conservatives, led by Benjamin Disraeli (1804–1881), passed the Second Reform Bill, which extended voting rights to a million more men. Disraeli proposed, like Bismarck somewhat later, that the working classes would choose “the most conservative interests in the country”—not the radical ones. Thus more men voting and deferring to their aristocratic betters would build his party, not the Liberals.

Both political parties supported an array of reforms because pressure groups now influenced the party system. Women’s groups advocated the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857, which facilitated divorce, and the Married Women’s Property Act of 1870, which allowed married women to own property and keep the wages they earned. The Reform League, another pressure organization, had held mass demonstrations in London to bring about passage of the Second Reform Bill. Plush royal ceremonies masked political conflict and united not only critics and activists but also, and more important, different social classes.

Whereas previous monarchs’ sexual infidelities had incited mobs to riot, the monarchy of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, with its newly devised celebrations of royal marriages, anniversaries, and births, drew respectful crowds. Promoting the monarchy in this way was so successful that the term *Victorian* came to symbolize almost the entire century and could refer to anything from manners to political institutions. The aristocracy,

SEEING HISTORY

Photographing the Nation: Domesticity and War

Fostering a common national identity among their citizens was important to many nineteenth-century European leaders, especially those, like Britain's Queen Victoria, who sought to build unity and loyalty among their subjects. The new technology of photography, developed in 1839, served this goal admirably by enabling a more immediate connection between the public and its leaders and their policies. For example, with the new medium, carefully staged photos of royal families became available for the first time, circulating in a small format like today's baseball cards among citizens who eagerly collected them. In the photo below, Queen Victoria and her husband Albert appear as

an ordinary middle-class couple. Posing for many such photos, Victoria and Albert helped develop modern celebrity culture but also a national culture that transcended local identities. Why do you think they chose not to appear in royal regalia? What else is interesting about this image? What impression might viewers have formed about the royal couple based on it?

The Crimean War was another shared experience for Britons, many of whom avidly collected photos from the front, for the conflict was one of the first ever to be photographed. Crowds flocked to exhibitions in major cities to view battle scenes (usually staged) and portraits of soldiers, like the one below of officers of the Fifty-

seventh regiment. How might this image have affected viewers? What could they learn from it about life on the front? How did it bring the war closer to home?

Both war photography and photography of national leaders, including U.S. president Abraham Lincoln with his wife, Mary Todd Lincoln, or France's Napoleon III and Eugénie, were major ingredients of nation building. The new technology made lofty leaders and the faraway wars they prosecuted accessible—indeed, a part of everyday life—to individuals across the West and beyond. As millions of eyes gazed on these images, the nation's people—wherever they lived—became one.



Portrait of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert at Buckingham Palace, May 15, 1860. (Getty Images.)



Roger Fenton, Officers of the 57th Regiment, 1855. (Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. LC-USZC4-9132.)

maintaining power despite the rising wealth of liberal businessmen, built gigantic country houses in traditional English architectural styles such as Queen Anne and Georgian, thus using the monarchical heritage to anchor the modern age. Yet politicians in Britain were as devoted to Realpolitik as those in Germany, Italy, or France; their policies included the use of violence to expand their overseas empire and increasingly to control Ireland, where reform stopped short. This violence occurred beyond the view of most British people, however, allowing them to imagine their nation as peaceful, advanced, and united.

Nation Building in the United States and Canada

Nation building in the midcentury United States involved unprecedented and destructive upheaval. The young nation had a more democratic political culture than that of Europe, and nationalism was on the rise. Virtually universal white male suffrage, a rambunctiously independent press, and mass political parties reflected a common belief that sovereignty derived from the people. From the beginning, a combative public politics shaped America.

The United States continued to expand to the west (Map 22.4). In 1848, victory in its war with Mexico almost doubled the size of the country: Texas was officially annexed, and large portions of California and the Southwest extended U.S. borders into formerly Mexican land. Politicians and citizens alike favored banning the native Indian peoples from these western lands and confirming them to reservations. Complicating matters, however, was the question of whether slavery would be allowed in the new western territories. The issue polarized the country. In the North, politicians in the new Republican Party ran on a platform of “free soil, free labor, free men,” although few Republicans endorsed the abolitionists’ demand to end slavery.

After Republican Abraham Lincoln was elected president in 1860, most of the slaveholding states seceded to form the Confederate States of America. Civil war broke out in 1861 when, under Lincoln’s leadership, the North fought to preserve the Union. The future of nation building in the United States hung in the balance. Lincoln did not initially aim to abolish slavery, but his Emancipation Proclamation of January 1863, issued as a wartime measure, officially freed all slaves in the Confederate states and turned the war into a fight not only for union but also for an end to human

bondage. After the summer of 1863, the North’s superior industrial strength and military might overpowered and physically destroyed much of the South. By April 1865, the North had prevailed, even though a Confederate sympathizer assassinated Lincoln. Distancing the United States still further from the colonial plantation model, constitutional amendments ended slavery and promised full political rights to free African American men.

Northerners hailed their victory as the triumph of American values, but racism remained entrenched throughout the Union. By 1871, northern interest in promoting African American political rights was waning, and whites began regaining control of state politics in the South, often by organized violence and intimidation. The end of northern occupation of the South in 1877 put on hold the promise of rights for blacks. Nonetheless, in ending slavery, the Union victory opened the way to stronger national government and to economic advancement no longer tied to the old Atlantic system.

The North’s triumph had profound effects elsewhere in North America. It allowed the reunited United States to contribute to Napoleon III’s defeat in Mexico in 1867. The United States also demanded the annexation of Canada in retribution for Britain’s partiality to the Confederacy because of its dependence on cotton. To block this possibility, the British government allowed Canadians to form a united dominion—that is, a self-governing unit of the empire—in 1867. Canadian activists had already appealed for home rule, and dominion status weakened domestic and increasingly powerful U.S. opposition to Britain’s control of Canada.

REVIEW: What role did warfare play in the various nineteenth-century nation-building efforts?

Establishing Social Order

Nineteenth-century nation building disrupted everyday life, bringing chaos to cities, death to soldiers, and sometimes dramatic public protest. Government officials sought to offset these disturbances with new social policies intended to build national unity. Confronted with growing populations and crowded cities, governments throughout Europe turned their attention to public health and safety. Many liberal theorists advocated a laissez-



MAP 22.4 U.S. Expansion, 1850–1870

Like Russia, the United States expanded into adjacent regions to create a continental nation-state. In taking over territories, however, the United States differed from Russia by herding native peoples into small confined spaces called reservations so that settlers could acquire thousands of square miles for farming and other enterprises. The U.S. government granted full citizenship for all native Americans only in 1925.

faire government that left social and economic life largely to private enterprise. In contrast, bureaucrats and reformers paid more attention to citizens' lives and, along with missionaries and explorers, worked more actively to establish social order and to spread European influence to the farthest reaches of the globe. These policies did not always prevent protest, as evidenced by the development of Marxist socialism and a dramatic uprising of Parisian working people.

Bringing Order to the Cities

European cities became the backdrop for displays of state power and accomplishment. Governments focused on improving their capital cities, although many noncapital cities also acquired handsome parks, widened their streets, and erected stately museums and massive city halls. In 1857, Austrian emperor Francis Joseph ordered the old Viennese city walls to be replaced with concentric boulevards lined with major public buildings such as the opera house and government offices (see the illus-

tration on page 707). Opera houses and ministries tangibly represented national wealth and power, and the broad boulevards allowed crowds to observe royal pageantry. The wide roads were also easier for troops to navigate than the twisted, narrow medieval streets that in 1848 had concealed insurrectionists in cities like Paris and Vienna—an advantage that convinced some otherwise reluctant officials to approve the expense. Impressive parks and public gardens exemplified the state's control of nature while also helping to order people's leisure time. Revamped European cities inspired awe among the citizens of the various nation-states and throughout their empires.

One effect of refurbishing cities was to highlight class differences. Construction first required destruction, and officials chose to eliminate poor neighborhoods, dislocating tens of thousands of city dwellers. The new boulevards often served as boundaries marking rich and poor sections of the city. In Paris, the process of urban change was called Haussmannization, named for the city's prefect, Georges-Eugène Haussmann, who imple-

mented a grand design that included eighty-five miles of new streets, many lined with showy dwellings for the wealthy. In London, many believed that improved architectural design, including Victorian ornamentation, would blot out the ugliness of commerce and industry. The size and spaciousness of the numerous new banks and insurance companies built there “help[ed] the impression of stability,” as an architect put it. Urban renewal would also foster civic pride and make rebellion distasteful.

Refurbishing did not address all urban problems. Repeated epidemics of diseases such as cholera killed alarming numbers of city dwellers and gave the strong impression of social decay—not national power. Unregulated urban slaughterhouses and tanneries; heaps of animal excrement in chicken coops, pigsties, and stables; and piles of human waste alongside buildings were breeding grounds for disease. Typhoid bacteria also spread through sewage and into water supplies, infecting rich and poor alike. In 1861, Britain’s Prince Albert—the beloved husband of Queen Victoria—reputedly died of typhus, commonly known as a “filth disease.” Stench and disease in cities indicated such a degree of danger

and disorder that governments made sanitation a top priority.

Scientific research, increasingly undertaken in publicly financed universities and hospitals, provided the means to promote public health and control disease. France’s Louis Pasteur, whose three young daughters had also died of typhus, advanced the germ theory of disease. Seeking a method to prevent wine from spoiling, Pasteur found that the growth of living organisms caused fermentation in wine, and he suggested that certain organisms—bacteria and parasites—might be responsible for human and animal diseases. Pasteur demonstrated that heating foods such as wine and milk to a certain temperature, a process that soon became known as pasteurization, killed these organisms and made food safe. English surgeon Joseph Lister applied Pasteur’s germ theory of disease to infection and developed antiseptics for treating wounds and preventing puerperal fever, a condition that was caused by the dirty hands of physicians and midwives and that killed innumerable women after childbirth.

Governments undertook projects to modernize sewer and other sanitary systems—urban improvements prized by citizens, who often

Museums and Nation Building

The Kunsthistorisches Museum (Museum of Fine Arts) in Vienna was part of a huge rebuilding project that adorned the city with wide boulevards and grand public buildings. Art museums such as the one above represented the cultural wealth of the state and allowed citizens to take pride in this wealth while they routinely gathered collectively to view it. (ullstein — imagebroker.net.)



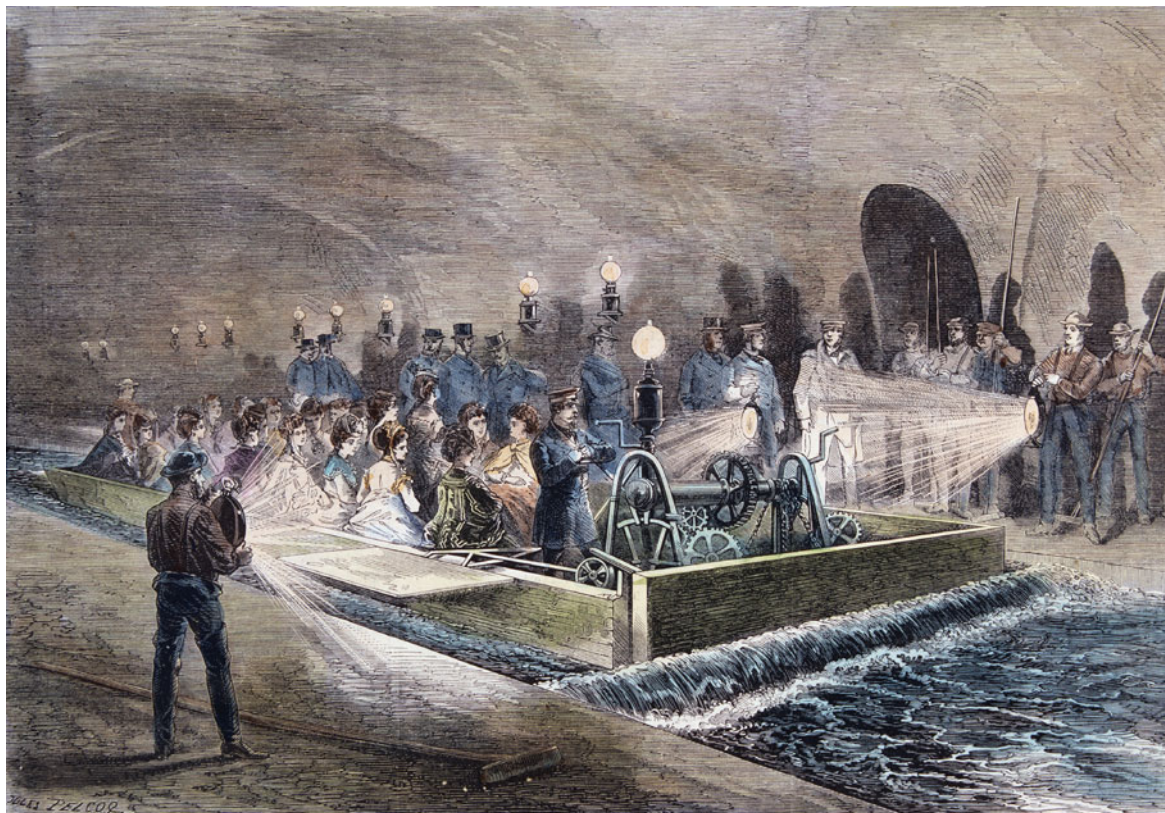
attributed them to national superiority. In Paris, huge underground collectors provided a water-tight terminus for accumulated sewage (see the illustration of Paris sewers). In addition, Haussmann piped in water from uncontaminated sources in the countryside to provide each household with a secure supply. Widespread imitation followed: the Russian Empire's port city Riga (now in Latvia), for example, organized its first water company in 1863. Improved sanitation testified to the activist state's ability to bring about progress. Citizens responded sympathetically to government initiatives: when sanitary public toilets for men became a feature of modern cities, women petitioned governments for similar facilities. One Russian city dweller complained to a Moscow newspaper of "an enormous cloud of white dust constantly over the city" that injured the eyes and lungs. More aware of dirt, disease, and smells, the middle classes bathed more regularly, sometimes even once a week. Individual concerns for refinement and health mirrored the government's quest for order.

Expanding the Reach of Government

To build an orderly national community, government regulations reached far into the realm of everyday life. The regular censuses that Britain, France, and the United States had conducted since the early nineteenth century became routine in most other countries. Censuses provided the state with such personal details of its citizens' lives as age, occupation, marital status, residential patterns, and fertility. Governments then used these data for a variety of endeavors, ranging from setting quotas for military conscription to predicting the need for new prisons. Reformers like Florence Nightingale, who gathered medical and other statistics to support sanitary reform, believed that such quantitative information made government less susceptible to corruption and inefficiency. Decisions would be based on facts rather than on influence peddling or ill-informed hunches. In 1860, Sweden became the first country to introduce income taxes, which opened an area of private life —

Touring a National Treasure: The Sewers of Paris

The enlargement of sewage systems was so grand an undertaking in urban capitals that they attracted visitors. Many had a curiosity about what technology could achieve and flocked to the new sewers to enjoy tours—a pastime that continues to this day in cities like Paris. (© Leonard de Selva / Corbis.)



one's earnings from work or investment—to government scrutiny.

To bring about their vision of social order, most governments, including those of Britain, Italy, Austria, and France, also expanded their investigation and regulation of prostitution. Venereal disease, especially syphilis, infected individuals and whole families, and officials blamed prostitutes, not their clients, for its spread. The police picked up any suspect woman on the street, passed her to public health doctors who examined her for syphilis, and confined her for mandatory treatment if she was infected. As states began monitoring prostitution and other social matters like public health and housing, they had to add new departments and agencies. In 1867, Hungary's bureaucracy handled fewer than 250,000 public welfare cases; twenty years later, it dealt with more than a million.

Schooling and Professionalizing Society

Emphasis on empirical knowledge and objective standards of evaluation increased and enhanced the status of the professions. Growing numbers of middle-class doctors, lawyers, managers, professors, and journalists gained prestige for employing science, information, and standards in their work. The middle classes argued that civil service jobs should be awarded according to talent and skill rather than automatically go to those of aristocratic birth or political connections. In Britain, a civil service law passed in 1870 required competitive examinations to assure competency in government posts—a system long used in China. Governments began to allow professional people to influence state policy and to determine rules for who would and would not be admitted to their fields. Such legislation had both positive and negative effects: groups could set high standards, but otherwise qualified people were sometimes prohibited from working because they lacked the established credentials or connections. The medical profession, for example, gained the authority to license physicians, but it prevented experienced midwives from attending childbirths. Science became the province of the trained specialist rather than the experienced amateur. Newly employed at government-financed institutions, professors of science often viewed their work as part of a national struggle for prestige and excellence.

Nation building required major improvements in the education of all citizens, professional or not. “We have made Italy,” one Italian official

announced. “Now we have to make Italians.” Education was one way of bringing citizens to think alike. Bureaucrats and professionals called for radical changes in the scope, curriculum, and faculty of schools—from kindergarten to university—to make the general population more unified, fit for citizenship, and useful in furthering economic progress. Expansion of the electorate and lower-class activism prompted one British aristocrat to say of the common people, whom he feared were gaining influence, “We must now educate our masters!” Governments introduced compulsory schooling to reduce illiteracy rates, which were more than 65 percent in Italy and Spain in the 1870s and even higher in eastern Europe. As ordinary people were allowed to participate in government, books taught them about the responsibilities of citizenship, along with practical knowledge necessary for an industrial society.

Educational reform was not always easy. At midcentury, religious authorities supervised schools and charged tuition, making primary education an option only for prosperous or religious parents. After the 1850s, national politicians felt that their states could not afford masses of ignorant peasants, whose backwardness one French official blamed on parish priests, specifically “their lack of intelligence, the narrowness of their views, and the vulgarity of their manners.” His statement was extreme, but more measured opinion also questioned the relevance of religion in the curricula of modern schools. In 1861, an English commission on education concluded that instead of knowledge of the Bible, “the knowledge most important to a labouring man is that of the causes which regulate the amount of his wages, the hours of his work, the regularity of his employment, and the prices of what he consumes.” As citizens of a nation, the young had to learn its language, literature, and history. Replacing religion was a challenge for the secular and increasingly knowledge-based state.

Enforcing school attendance was another challenge. Though the Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland had functioning primary-school systems before midcentury, rural parents in these and other countries did not automatically make use of the opportunity. They depended on their children to perform farm chores and often believed that young people would gain the knowledge they needed for life from working in the fields or the household. Urban homemakers from the lower classes depended on their children to help with domestic tasks such as fetching water, disposing of waste, tending younger children, and scavenging

for household necessities such as stale bread from bakers or soup from local missions. Yet even the working poor developed a craze for learning, which made traveling lecturers, public forums, reading groups, and debating societies popular among the middle and working classes.

Secondary education also expanded through the creation of more lycées (high schools) and technical schools, yet it remained a luxury for the privileged few. In authoritarian countries such as Russia, advanced knowledge was suspect because it empowered the young with information and taught them to think objectively. Secondary schooling also expanded with the drive to allow young women access to high school courses in subjects such as history and science. The rationale was that modern knowledge would make them more interesting wives and better mothers. In Britain, the founders of two women's colleges—Girton (1869) and Newnham (1871)—at Cambridge University believed, and were later proved right, that exacting standards and a modern curriculum in women's higher education would inspire improvements in the men's colleges of Cambridge and Oxford. The need for highly competent leaders at all levels of society challenged the traditional idea that education merely served to indicate high social status rather than provide knowledge. Nonetheless, higher education for women remained a hotly contested issue as the vast majority of people felt that knowledge of religion, sewing, and deportment was adequate for women.

Education also opened professional doors to women, who came to attend universities—in particular, medical schools—in Zurich and Paris in the 1860s. Despite the complaint that their practicing medicine would weaken the system of separate spheres, women doctors thought that they could bring feminine values such as gentleness and understanding to health care. The growing need for educated citizens also offered the opportunity for large numbers of women to enter teaching, a field once dominated by men. They founded nursery schools and kindergartens based on the Enlightenment idea that developmental processes start at an early age. In Italy, these efforts coincided with the founding of a unified nation, and women there opened schools as a way to expand knowledge and teach civics lessons, thus providing a service to the fledgling state. Yet many men opposed the idea of women teaching. “I shudder at philosophic women,” wrote one critic of female kindergarten teachers. Seen as radical because it enticed middle-class women out of the home, the

kindergarten movement was as controversial as other educational reforms.

Spreading Western Order beyond the West

In an age of nation building, colonies took on new importance because they seemed to add to the political power of the state and not merely to economic prosperity. After midcentury, the governments of Great Britain and Russia began to rule colonies directly instead of through trading companies. Sometimes they offered social and cultural services, such as schools. For instance, in the 1850s and 1860s provincial governors and local officials promoted the extension of Russian borders to gain control over nomadic tribes in central and eastern Asia. Russian officials then instituted common educational and religious policies, such as instruction in the Russian language and in the principles of the Russian Orthodox church as a means to social order.

British Rule in India. Great Britain, the era's mightiest colonial power, made a dramatic change of course toward direct political rule of India during these decades. Before the 1850s, British liberals desired commercial gain from colonies, but, believing in *laissez-faire*, they kept political involvement in colonial affairs to a minimum. In India, the East India Company directed Britain's interests, and many regional princes awarded the company commercial and other rights, such as the collection of taxes. Since the eighteenth century, the East India Company had gained control over various kingdoms on the Indian subcontinent and then began building railroads throughout the countryside to make commerce and revenue collecting more efficient. As commerce with Britain grew, many enterprising Indian merchants and financiers built fortunes by trading with the company and serving as its tax collectors. Local men served in the British-run Indian civil service and the colonial army, which became one of the largest standing armies in the world.

British rule met with resistance, however. In 1857, a contingent of Indian troops, both Muslim and Hindu, violently rebelled against the British presence. Ignoring the Hindu ban on beef and the Muslim prohibition of pork, the British had forced Indian soldiers to use cartridges greased with cow and pig fat. This was not the local soldiers' main grievance, however. More generally angered at tightening British control, they overran the old Moghul capital at Delhi and declared the inde-



An English View of the Indian Rebellion

Drawings such as this of the Indian Rebellion of 1857 show noble English families under savage attack by rebels. Artists emphasized the innocence of English victims and thus provided a rationale for the rule of superior Europeans over depraved non-Westerners. These drawings also united citizens around the expansion of the nation-state. (*The Granger Collection, New York.*)

pendence of the Indian nation—an uprising that became known as the Indian Rebellion.

Simultaneously, local rulers and their followers also rebelled, condemning “the tyranny and oppression of the infidel and treacherous English.” The rani, or queen, Lakshmibai, widow of the ruler of the state of Jhansi in central India, led one of these revolts when the East India Company tried to take over her lands after her husband died—an example of the supposed oppression sparking the uprisings. In the end, the British crushed the Jhansi and other revolts, thus suppressing the Indian Rebellion of 1857. Great Britain then issued the Government of India Act of 1858, which established direct British control of India. In

1876, the British Parliament declared Queen Victoria the empress of India. Nonetheless, in reaction against foreign control and inspired by the revolts, Indian nationalism was born.

A system of rule took shape in which close to half a million South Asians, supervised by a few thousand British men, governed a region of once-independent states now called India. Local people also collected taxes and distributed patronage. Colonial rule meant both blatant domination and subtle intervention in everyday life. For example, the British aimed to divert the colonized Indian population away from its traditional, sophisticated production of textiles, which far surpassed



Indian Resistance, 1857

the cheap British cottons and were much in demand. To cut the competition, the British colonial government closed down Indian manufacturing and forced Indians to farm raw materials such as wheat, cotton, and jute to supply British industry and feed its workers. Nevertheless, upper-class Indians came to admire British knowledge of medicine and science, and, following the British attack on their cultural practices, some rejected customs such as child marriage and *sati*—a widow's self-immolation on her husband's funeral pyre. British rule brought additional unity to what were once individual princedoms with separate allegiances. In so doing, it paradoxically promoted nationalism that would soon be used against Britain.

French Overseas Expansion. French political expansion was similarly complex. The French government pushed to establish its dominion over Cochin China (modern southern Vietnam) in the 1860s. Missionaries in the area, ambitious French naval officers, and even some local peoples—much like Indian merchants and financiers—urged the French government to bring the region under greater control. Like the British, the French made improvements: the Mekong Delta project increased both the amount of cultivated land and the available food supply. Sanitation and public health programs proved a mixed blessing, because they led to population growth that strained other local resources. Furthermore, landowners and French imperialists siphoned off most of the profits from economic improvement. The French also undertook a cultural mission to transform cities like Saigon with signs of Western urban life such as tree-lined boulevards similar to those of Paris. French literature, theater, and art were popular not only with colonial officials but also with upper-class local people.

Strategic commercial and military advantages motivated European overseas ventures in this age of Realpolitik. The Crimean War had shown the great powers the importance of the Mediterranean basin. Napoleon III, remembering his uncle's campaign in Egypt, took an interest in building the Suez Canal, which would connect the Mediterranean with the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean and thus dramatically shorten the route from Europe to Asia. Upon completion of the work in 1869, a mania erupted for all things Egyptian and associated with the canal. Verdi's opera *Aida* was set in ancient Egypt, and Europeans applied Egyptian designs to textiles, furniture, architecture, and art.

The rest of the Mediterranean and the Ottoman Empire felt the heightened presence of the European powers. The French army occupied all of Algeria by 1870, and the number of European immigrants to the region reached one-quarter million. French rule in Algeria was aided by the attraction of local people to European goods and technology and the opportunity to make money. Merchants and local leaders cooperated in building railroads, sought trade with the French, and sent their children to European-style schools. Other local peoples, however, resisted the invasions by continuing to attack soldiers and settlers. European-spread diseases killed many others, and by 1872, the native population in Algeria had declined by more than 20 percent from five years earlier.

European Inroads in China. Its vastness allowed China to escape complete takeover, but the Qing Empire was rapidly losing its position as the world's most prosperous economy. Traders and Christian missionaries from European countries made inroads for the Western powers. Defeat in the Opium War, economic pressures from European trade, and interactions with western missionaries helped generate the mass movement known as the Taiping ("Heavenly Kingdom"). Its millions of adherents wanted an end to the ruling Qing dynasty, the expulsion of foreigners, more equal treatment of women, and land reform. By the mid-1850s, the Taiping controlled half of China. The Qing regime enlisted British and French military aid to help save the dynasty in exchange for greater influence. The result was a bloody civil war beginning in the 1840s and lasting until 1864 that killed some 20 million Chinese (compared with 600,000 dead in the U.S. Civil War). When peace finally came, Western governments controlled much of the Chinese customs service and had virtually unlimited access to the country.

The Meiji Restoration in Japan. Japan alone in East Asia escaped European domination. Dutch traders at Nagasaki had acquainted the Japanese with European industrial, military, and commercial innovations. By 1854, when a treaty opened Japan to trade with America, contacts with Europe had already given the Japanese a healthy appetite for Western goods, especially the superior weaponry. Trade agreements with Western governments followed, leading to concerted effort for reform. In 1867, Japanese reformers overthrew a government that resisted change and in 1868 enacted the Meiji Restoration—a change in regime aimed at estab-

lishing Japan as a modern, technologically powerful state free from Western control. The reformers used the restoration of the emperor, who had been marginalized under the earlier system, to make their other changes more acceptable. The word *Meiji*, the name given this new regime, meant “enlightened rule.” Its goal was to combine “Western science and Eastern values” as a way of “making new”—hence, a combination of restoration and innovation.

Confronting the Nation-State’s Order at Home

Europeans did not simply sit by as the growing nation-state disrupted their lives. A better-informed urban working class protested the upheavals in everyday life caused when cities were ripped apart for improvements and when the growth of factories destroyed artisans’ livelihoods. Political theorists such as Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and Karl Marx analyzed what was wrong with society, and their ideas spread among disgruntled citizens. Unions sprang up, calling for strikes and other actions against both employers and the government. In the spring of 1871, the people of Paris, blaming the centralized state for the French surrender to the Prussians, declared Paris a commune—a community of equals without bureaucrats and politicians. Marx’s accounts of the Paris Commune, the expansion of government, and the rise of big business, popular among ordinary people, spread fear among the middle classes and politicians for the stability of the social order as they built the nation-state.

The Rise of Marxism. New theories arose to explain the growing power of the nation-state and the spread of industry on which the state depended. Increasingly well-educated by public schools, urban workers frequented cafés and pubs to hear news and discuss economic and political changes. Unions gradually started to take shape after the post-1848 repression of worker organizations, sometimes in secret because of continuing opposition from the government. Many of the most outspoken labor activists were artisans, struggling to survive in the new industrializing climate and attracted at first by the ideas of former printer Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865). In the 1840s, Proudhon proclaimed, “Property is theft,” suggesting that ownership robbed propertyless people of their rightful share of the earth’s benefits. He opposed the centralized state and proposed that society be organized instead around natural groupings

of men (but not women, who, he believed, should work in seclusion at home for their husbands’ comfort) in artisans’ workshops. These workshops and a central bank crediting each worker for his labor would replace government and would lead to a “mutualist” social organization.

As the nation-state expanded its power, workers were also drawn to **anarchism**, which maintained that the existence of the state was the root of social injustice. According to Russian nobleman and anarchist leader Mikhail Bakunin (1814–1876), the slightest infringement on freedom, especially by the central state and its laws, was unacceptable. Anarchism thus advocated the destruction of all state power. Its appeal grew alongside the growth of government in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Political theorist and labor organizer Karl Marx (1818–1883) opposed both mutualism and anarchism. These doctrines, he insisted, were emotional and wrongheaded, lacking the sound, scientific basis of his own theory, subsequently called **Marxism**. Marx’s analysis, expounded most notably in *Das Kapital* (“Capital”), adopted the liberal idea, dating back to John Locke in the seventeenth century, that human existence was defined by the necessity to work to fulfill basic needs such as food, clothing, and shelter. Published between 1867 and 1894, *Das Kapital* was based on mathematical calculations of production and profit that would justify Realpolitik for the working classes. Marx held that the fundamental organization of any society, including its politics and culture, derived from the relationships arising from work or production. This idea, known as *materialism*, meant that the foundation of a society rested on class relationships—such as those between serf and medieval lord, slave and master, or worker and capitalist. Marx called the class relationships that developed around work the *mode of production*—for instance, feudalism, slavery, or capitalism. He rejected the liberal focus on individual rights and emphasized instead the unequal class relations caused by those who had taken from workers control of the means of production—that is, the capital, land, tools, or factories that allowed basic human needs to be met.

anarchism: The belief that people should not have government; it was popular among some peasants and workers in the last half of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth.

Marxism: A body of thought about the organization of production, social inequality, and the processes of revolutionary change as devised by the philosopher and economist Karl Marx.

Marx, like the politicians around him, took a tough-minded and realistic look at the economy, discarding the romantic views of the Utopian socialists. Unlike them, he saw struggle, not warmhearted cooperation, as the means for bringing about change. Workers' awareness of their oppression would produce class consciousness among those in the same predicament and ultimately lead them to revolt against their exploiters. Capitalism would be overthrown by these workers—the proletariat—who would then form a socialist society. Marx rejected the liberal Enlightenment view that society was basically harmonious, maintaining instead that social progress could occur only through conflict.

The Paris Commune versus the French State. As the Franco-Prussian War ended, revolution and civil war erupted not only in Paris but also in other French cities—catching the attention of Marx as a sign that his predictions were coming true. One issue was the nation-state's takeover of city life in the Haussmannization of Paris. Urban renovation had displaced tens of thousands of workers from their homes in the heart of the city; homelessness and general chaos embittered many Parisians against the state. As the Prussians laid siege to Paris in the winter of 1870–1871, causing death from starvation and bitter cold, Parisians rose up against the state that did not protect them. They demanded new republican liberties, new systems of work, and a more balanced distribution of power between the central government and localities. To counter what they saw as the uncaring despotism of the centralized government, on March 28, 1871, they declared themselves a self-governing commune (Map 22.5). Other French municipalities did the same in an attempt to form a decentralized state of independent, confederated units run by local citizens.

In the Paris Commune's two months of existence, its forty-member council, its National Guard, and its many other improvised offices found themselves at cross-purposes. Trying to maintain “communal” instead of “national” values, Parisians quickly developed a wide array of political clubs, local ceremonies, and self-managed cooperative workshops. Women workers, for example, banded together to make National Guard uniforms on a cooperative rather than a profit-making basis. Beyond liberal political equality, the Commune proposed to liberate the worker and ensure “the absolute equality of women laborers.” Thus, a *commune* in contrast to a *republic* was meant to bring about social revolution. But Communards often disagreed on what specific route to take to change society: mutualism, anticlericalism,



MAP 22.5 The Paris Commune, 1871

The war between the French government and the Paris Commune took place on the streets of Paris and resulted in widespread destruction of major buildings, most notably the Tuileries Palace adjacent to the Louvre. Combatants destroyed many government records in what some saw as a civil war; bitterness, like destruction of property, was great on both sides.

feminism, international socialism, and anarchism were but a few of the proposed avenues to social justice.

In the meantime, the provisional government that succeeded the defeated Napoleon III struck back to reinstitute national order. It quickly stamped out similar uprisings in other French cities. On May 21, the army entered Paris. In a week of fighting, both Communards and the army set the city ablaze (the Communards did so to slow the progress of government troops). Both sides executed hostages, but the well-supplied national army won. In the wake of victory, the army shot tens of thousands of citizens on the streets. One official commented that Parisian insurgents “deserved no better judge than a soldier’s bullet.” In an age of growing national power, the Communards had fatally promoted a kind of antistate. Soon a different interpretation of the Commune emerged: it was the work of the *pétroleuse*, or “woman incendiary”—a case of frenzied women running amok through the streets. Within a year, writers were blaming the burning of Paris on women—“shameless slatterns, half-naked women, who kindled courage and breathed life into arson.” Revolutionary men often became heroes in the history books, but women in political



The Commune

A sympathetic artist chose a ferocious woman to represent the Paris Commune. He shows her defending the people of France by driving off politicians who had negotiated the disastrous peace treaty with Germany and who wanted to bring back kings and emperors. The artist depicts those selling out the nation as wasps. (© Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, France/The Bridgeman Art Library.)

situations were characterized as “sinister females, sweating, their clothing undone, [who] passed from man to man.”

Defeat in the Franco-Prussian War, the Commune, and the civil war were all horrendous blows to the French state. Key to restoring order in France after 1870 were instilling family virtues, fortifying religion, and claiming that the Commune had resulted from the collapsed boundaries between the male political sphere and the female domestic sphere. Karl Marx disagreed: he analyzed the Commune as a class struggle of workers attacking the propertied capitalists. The centralized state grew larger, in his mind, to protect the interests of those wealthy citizens alone. In the struggle against the Commune, the nation-state once again showed its strengthening muscle. Executions and deportations by the thousands followed, and fear of workers smoldered across Europe.

REVIEW: How did Europe’s expanding nation-states attempt to impose social order within and beyond Europe and what resistance did they face?

The Culture of Social Order

Artists and writers of the mid-nineteenth century had complex reactions to the state’s expanding reach and the economic growth that sustained it. After 1848, many artists and writers expressed profound grievances about the resulting political repression as well as—paradoxically—the extension of the right to vote to working-class men. They saw daily life as tawdry, infused with commercial values and organized by mindless officials. Ordinary people were no longer deemed heroic as they had been during the revolutionary years. “How tired I am of the ignoble workman, the inept bourgeois, the stupid peasant, and the odious priest,” wrote the French novelist Gustave Flaubert, who nonetheless described ordinary people in a new style called **realism** that reflected his disenchantment with romanticism. Intellectuals of the time proposed scientific theories that took a cold,

realism: An artistic style that arose in the mid-nineteenth century and was dedicated to depicting society realistically without romantic or idealistic overtones.

hard look at human life in society and used their new insights to challenge fervent religious belief. Cultural styles and intellectual ideas shared a claim to see society with a detached eye. The starkness of cultural realism was similar to that which statesmen applied to politics.

The Arts Confront Social Reality

The quest for national power enlisted culture in its cause. A hungry reading public devoured biographies of political leaders, past and present, and credited daring heroes with creating the triumphant nation-state. As the development of schooling spread literacy, all classes of readers responded to the mid-nineteenth-century novel and to an increasing number of artistic, scientific, and natural history exhibitions sponsored by the nation-state. While exalting hardheaded heroes of war and peace, citizens came to be schooled in the realism common to all the arts and, more generally, to embrace their shared national heritage.

The Realist Novel. A well-financed press and commercially minded publishers produced an age of best sellers out of the craving for realism. The novels of Charles Dickens appeared in serial form in magazines and periodicals, and each installment attracted buyers eager for the latest plot twist. Dickens’s characters, from contemporary English society, include starving orphans, grasping lawyers, heartless bankers, and ruthless opportunists. *Hard Times* (1854) depicts the grinding poverty and ill health of workers alongside the

heartlessness of businessmen. The novelist **George Eliot** (the pen name of Mary Ann Evans) examined contemporary moral values and deeply probed private, real-life dilemmas in *The Mill on the Floss* (1860), *Middlemarch* (1871–1872), and other works. Describing rural society—high and low—Eliot allowed Britons to see one another’s predicaments, wherever they lived. Eliot knew the pain of ordinary life from her own experience: she was a social outcast because she lived with a married man. Despite her fame, she was not received in polite society. Popular novels like hers showed readers a hard reality and thus helped form a shared culture among people in distant parts of a nation much as common state institutions like schools did.

French writers also scorned utopian dreams of perfect societies and transcendent beauty. Gustave Flaubert’s novel *Madame Bovary* (1857) tells the story of a bored doctor’s wife whose life is filled with romantic fantasies and longings for distraction. She has one love affair after another and becomes so hopelessly indebted buying gifts for her lovers that she commits suicide. *Madame Bovary* scandalized French society with its frank picture of women’s sexuality, but the scandal brought it a nationwide readership. The poet Charles-Pierre Baudelaire, called satanic by his critics, wrote explicitly about sex; in *Les Fleurs du mal* (Flowers of Evil, 1857), he expressed sexual passion, described drug- and alcohol-induced fantasies, and spun out visions that critics condemned as perverse. Some of his verse explicitly describes the brown body of his mistress of African descent, using sexual terms that mirror colonizers’ attitudes. French authorities brought charges of obscenity against both Flaubert and Baudelaire. At issue was social and artistic order: “Art without rules is no longer art,” the prosecutor maintained, as both were found guilty.

During the era of the Great Reforms, Russian writers produced novels that debated the nature of both Russian culture and Russianness. Adopting one viewpoint, Ivan Turgenev created a powerful novel of Russian life, *Fathers and Sons* (1862), a story of nihilistic children rejecting not only parental authority but also their parents’ spiritual values in favor of science and facts. Expressing another point of view, Fyodor Dostoevsky, in *The Possessed* (1871–1872) and other works, showed the dark, ridiculous, neurotic side of nihilists, thus

AGE OF GREAT BOOKS

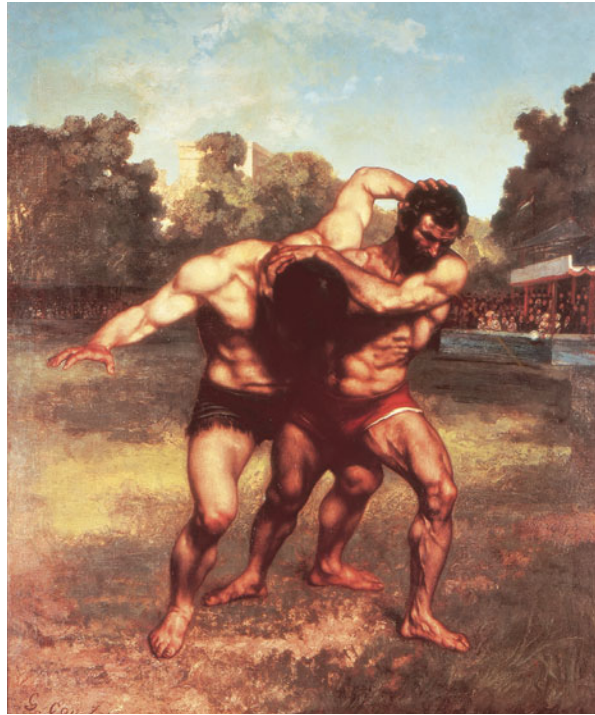
1851	Auguste Comte, <i>System of Positive Politics</i>
1852	Harriet Beecher Stowe, <i>Uncle Tom’s Cabin</i>
1854	Charles Dickens, <i>Hard Times</i>
1857	Gustave Flaubert, <i>Madame Bovary</i> ; Charles Baudelaire, <i>Les Fleurs du mal</i>
1859	Charles Darwin, <i>On the Origin of Species</i> ; John Stuart Mill, <i>On Liberty</i>
1866	Fyodor Dostoevsky, <i>Crime and Punishment</i>
1867	Karl Marx, <i>Das Kapital</i>
1869	John Stuart Mill, <i>The Subjection of Women</i>
1871–1872	George Eliot, <i>Middlemarch</i>

George Eliot: The pen name of English novelist Mary Ann Evans (1819–1880), who described the harsh reality of many ordinary people’s lives in her works.

holding up Turgenev as a soft-headed romantic. Dostoevsky's highly intelligent characters in *Crime and Punishment* (1866) are personally tormented and condemned to lead absurd, even criminal lives. He used these antiheroes to emphasize spirituality and traditional Russian values but added a “realistic” spin by planting such values in ordinary people. Just as people were drawn together by the innovations of the nation-state, the Russian public was drawn together in discussing these novels and the issues they raised about Russian identity.

Painting. Visual artists had a different relationship to their governments than did writers, yet many still depicted society in harsh terms. Unlike novelists, painters depended on government patronage rather than sales to thousands of readers. Leaders such as Prince Albert of England actively patronized the arts and purchased works for official collections and for themselves. Another way for artists to earn a living was having their artwork displayed at government-sponsored exhibitions (called salons in Paris, the center of the art world). Officially appointed juries selected works of art to appear in the salon and then chose prize winners from among them. Hundreds of thousands from all social classes attended, though few could afford to buy the art.

Despite being dependent for their living on this patronage, after the revolutions of 1848 artists began rejecting the romantic idealizing of ordinary folk or grand historic events that government purchasers continued to favor. Instead, painters like Gustave Courbet portrayed groaning laborers at backbreaking work because he believed an artist should “never permit sentiment to overthrow logic.” The renovated city, artists found, had become a visual spectacle, a setting whose wide new boulevards served as a stage on which urban residents performed. *Universal Exhibition* (1867) by Édouard Manet used the world's fair of 1867 as its background; figures from all social classes promenaded in the foreground, gazing at the Paris scene and observing one another to learn correct modern behavior. Manet also broke with romantic conventions of the nude. His *Olympia* (1865) depicted a white courtesan lying on her bed, attended by a black woman (see page 718). This disregard for the classical tradition of showing women in mythical or idealized settings was too much for the critics. “A sort of female gorilla,” one wrote of *Olympia*, as debate raged. Although shocking at first, the graphic, realistic portrayals that shattered romantic illusions became a feature of modern art and the subject of discussion among a broad public.



Gustave Courbet, *Wrestlers* (1850)

Courbet painted his dirty, grunting wrestlers in the realist style, which rejected the hazy romanticism of revolutionary Europe. These muscular men embodied the resort to physical struggle during the nation-building decades and conveyed the art world's recognition that Realpolitik had triumphed in the governance of society. How does the depiction of people in this painting differ from the earlier nineteenth-century image on page 643? (© Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest / The Bridgeman Art Library.)

Opera. Unlike most of the visual arts, opera was commercially profitable, accessible to most classes of society, and thus an effective means of reaching the nineteenth-century public. Verdi used musical theater to contrast noble ideals with the corrosive effects of power, love of country with the inevitable call for sacrifice and death, and the lure of passion with the need for social order. The German Richard Wagner, the most musically innovative composer of the era, hoped to revolutionize opera by fusing music and drama to arouse the audience's fear, awe, and engagement with his productions. A gigantic cycle of four operas, *The Ring of the Nibelungen* reshaped ancient German myths into a modern, nightmarish story of a world doomed by its obsessive pursuit of money and power and saved only through unselfish love. His opera *The Mastersingers of Nuremberg* (*Die Meistersinger*, 1862–1867) was a tribute to German culture. The piece was said to be implicitly anti-



A Realist View of the Nude

Manet's *Olympia* (1865) was one of the most shocking works of art of its day. The central woman is not glamorously dressed or posed erotically; rather, she stares candidly and boldly at the viewer. The black maid offers the woman—obviously a courtesan—flowers from an admirer. This scene of modern life was far too modern in its style and subject matter for most critics. (© Musée d'Orsay, Paris, France / The Bridgeman Art Library.)

Semitic because of its rejection of influences other than German ones in the arts. Wagner's flair for publicity and musical innovation made him a major force in philosophy, politics, and the arts across Europe. To his fellow citizens, however, he stood for German opera and thus for Germany.

All of the arts, no matter how controversial, shaped the cultural attitudes of the decades 1850–1870. Employing the realist values of the nation builders, the arts provided visions that helped unite isolated individuals into a public with a shared, if debated, cultural experience. Artists both implicitly (like George Eliot) and more explicitly (like Richard Wagner) promoted nation building even as they experimented with new forms.

Religion and National Order

The expansion of state power set the stage for clashes over the role of organized religion in the nation-state. Should religion have the same hold on government and public life as in the past, thus competing with loyalty to the nation? In the 1850s,

many politicians supported religious institutions and attended public church rituals because they were another source of order. Simultaneously, some nation builders, intellectuals, and economic liberals came to reject the religious worldview of established churches, particularly Roman Catholicism, as wrongheaded and even harmful to the nation because unrealistic. Bismarck was one of those who believed that religious loyalties also slowed the growth of nationalist sentiment.

Bismarck mounted a full-blown **Kulturkampf** ("culture war") against religion. The German government expelled the Jesuits from Germany in 1872, increased state power over the clergy in Prussia in 1873, and introduced obligatory civil marriage in 1875. Bismarck had bragged, "I am the master of Germany in all but name," but he miscalculated his ability to manipulate politics. The pope fought back, sending a public letter to bish-

Kulturkampf: Literally, "culture war"; in the 1870s, German chancellor Otto von Bismarck used the term to describe his fight to weaken the power of the Catholic church.

ops to resist Bismarck's attack: "One must obey God more than men," he ordered. German Catholics rebelled against policies of religious repression as part of nation building, and even conservative Protestants thought Bismarck wrong-headed in attacking religion. Competition between church and state for power and influence heated up in the age of Realpolitik.

Catholic Reaction. The Catholic church felt assaulted across Europe by the growing acceptance of rationalism and science. It saw nation building in Italy and Germany as competition for people's traditional loyalty to Catholicism. In addition, nation builders had extended liberal rights to Jews, whom Christians often considered enemies. Attacking reform, Pope Pius IX issued *The Syllabus of Errors* (1864), which found fault "with progress, with liberalism, and with modern civilization." In 1870, the First Vatican Council approved the dogma of papal infallibility. This teaching proclaimed that the pope, under certain circumstances, must be regarded by Catholics as speaking divinely revealed truth on issues of morality and faith. In 1878, a new pontiff, Leo XIII, began modernizing the church by encouraging up-to-date scholarship in Catholic institutes and universities and by accepting aspects of representative democracy. Leo's ideas marked a dramatic turn, ending the Kulturkampf between church and state and making it easier for the faithful to be both Catholic and patriotic.

Religion continued to have powerful popular appeal, but the place of organized religion in society at large was changing. On the one hand, church attendance declined among workers and artisans; on the other, many in the upper and middle classes and most of the peasantry remained faithful. There was a religious gender gap too. Women's spiritual beliefs became more intense, with both Roman Catholic and Russian Orthodox women's religious orders increasing in size and number; men, by contrast, were falling away from religious devotion. Many urban Jews assimilated to secular, national cultures, abandoning religious practice. The social composition of those faithful to religion had come to take a distinctly different shape from the days when it included everyone.

In 1854, the pope's announcement of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception (stating that Mary, alone among all humans, had been born without original sin) was followed by an outburst of popular religious fervor, especially among women. In 1858, a young peasant girl, Bernadette Soubirous, began having visions of the Virgin Mary at Lourdes in southern France. In these vi-

sions, Mary told Bernadette to drink from the ground, at which point a spring appeared. Crowds comprised mostly of women flocked to Lourdes, believing that its waters could cure their ailments. In 1867, less than ten years later, a new railroad line to Lourdes enabled millions of pilgrims to visit the shrine on church-organized trips. The Catholic church thus showed that it too could use such modern means as railroads and medical verifications of miraculous cures to make holy places like Lourdes into thriving commercial and religious centers. Traditional institutions like churches began taking new steps to build cultural unity similar to that of the nation-state.

The Challenge from Natural Science. At about the time of Soubirous's vision, the English naturalist **Charles Darwin** (1809–1882) published *On the Origin of Species* (1859)—yet another challenge to the Judeo-Christian dogma that humanity was a unique creation of God. In this book and in later writings, Darwin argued that life had taken shape over countless millions of years before humans existed and that human life was but the result of this slow development, called evolution. Instead of God miraculously bringing the universe and all life into being in six days as described in the Bible, Darwin held that life developed from lower forms through a primal battle for survival and through the sexual selection of mates—processes called natural selection. A respectable Victorian gentleman, Darwin shockingly announced that the Bible gave a "manifestly false history of the world." Darwin's theories also undermined certain liberal, secular beliefs. Enlightenment principles, for example, had glorified nature as tranquil and noble and had viewed human beings as essentially rational. The theory of natural selection, in which the fittest survive, suggested a different kind of human society, one composed of warlike individuals and groups constantly fighting one another to triumph over hostile surroundings.

Darwin's findings and other innovative biological research placed religious views of reproduction under attack. Working with pea plants in his monastery garden in the 1860s, Gregor Mendel (1822–1884) discovered the principles of heredity, from which the science of genetics later developed. Investigation into the female reproductive cycle led German scientists to discover the principle of spontaneous ovulation—the automatic release of the

Charles Darwin (1809–1882): English naturalist who popularized the theory of evolution and thereby challenged the biblical story of creation.



Darwin Ridiculed, c. 1860

Charles Darwin's theories claimed that humans evolved from animal species and rejected the biblical explanation of a divine human origin. His scientific ideas so diverged from people's beliefs that cartoonists lampooned Darwin and his theory. What message might this cartoon have conveyed to a nineteenth-century viewer? (Hulton Archive/Getty Images.)

■ **For more help analyzing this image**, see the visual activity for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

egg by the ovary independent of sexual intercourse. This discovery caused theorists to conclude that men had aggressive and strong sexual drives because reproduction depended on their sexual arousal. In contrast, the spontaneous and cyclical release of the egg independent of arousal indicated that women were passive and lacked sexual feeling.

Darwin also tried to use biological findings to explain the way society worked. Even before Darwin, the influential writer Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) had written that the “unfit” should be allowed to perish in the name of progress—

thus challenging the biblical teaching that the poor were valued. On these grounds Spencer opposed public education, social reform, and any other attempt to soften the harshness of the struggle for existence. Darwin continued this line of argument when he claimed that white European men in the nineteenth century were wealthier and better because more highly evolved than white women or people of color. Despite recognizing a common ancestor for all humans, Darwin held that people of color, or “lower races,” were far behind whites in intelligence and civilization. As for women, one could observe that they were in a lower state because any individual man achieved “a higher eminence in whatever he takes up.” A school of thought known as Social Darwinism grew out of Darwin's and Spencer's ideas. In the years to come, Social Darwinists used their own version of evolutionary theory to lobby against traditional Christian charity and fairness and instead to promote racist, sexist, and other discriminatory policies as a way of strengthening the nation-state.

From the Natural Sciences to Social Science

In an age influenced by Realpolitik and by Darwin's revolutionary ideas, theorists devised scientific explanations of how society functioned to replace traditional ideas that the social order was created by God. French social philosopher Auguste Comte (1798–1857) developed **positivism**—a theory claiming that careful study of facts would generate accurate and useful, or “positive,” laws of society. Comte's *System of Positive Politics, or Treatise on Sociology* (1851) proposed that social scientists construct knowledge of the political order as they would an understanding of the natural world—that is, through observation and objective study. This idea inspired people to believe they could solve the problems spawned by economic and social changes. To accomplish this goal, tough-minded reformers founded study groups and scientifically oriented associations to dig up social facts such as statistics on poverty or the conditions of working-class life. Comte encouraged women's participation in reform because he deemed “womanly” compassion and love as fundamental to social harmony as scientific public policy was. Positivism led not only to women's increased public activism but also to the development of the social sciences in this pe-

positivism: A theory developed in the mid-nineteenth century that the study of facts would generate accurate, or “positive,” laws of society and that these laws could, in turn, help in the formulation of policies and legislation.

riod. Sociology was primary among the influential new disciplines that brought science and a new realism to the study of human society.

The celebrated English philosopher John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) used Comte’s theories to advocate widespread reform and mass education. In his political treatise *On Liberty* (1859), Mill argued for the improvement of society generally, but he also expressed concern that superior people not be brought down by the will of the masses. Influenced not only by Comte but also by his wife, Harriet Taylor Mill, he advocated the extension of rights to women and introduced a woman suffrage bill into the House of Commons after her death. The bill’s defeat led Mill to publish *The Subjection of Women* (1869), a work summarizing his studies with his wife. Translated into many languages and influential in eastern Europe, Scandinavia, and the Americas, *The Subjection of Women* showed the family as a despotic institution, lacking modern values such as rights and freedom. Mill exposed women’s cheerful obedience in marriage as a sham. To make a woman appear “not a forced slave, but a willing one,” he said, she was trained from childhood not to value her own talent and independence but to embrace “submission” and “the control of others.” *The Subjection of Women* became an internationally celebrated guide for a growing movement committed to obtaining basic rights for women.

The progressive side of Mill’s social thought was soon lost in a flood of social Darwinist theories and became one among several visions of social order—all of them believed to be scientific and thus true. The theories of Mill, Comte, Darwin, and others influenced later national debates over policy in the West. Inspired by the social sciences, policymaking came to rely on statistics and fact-gathering to produce realistic, hardheaded appraisals for the purpose of building strong, unified nations.

REVIEW: How did cultural expression and scientific and social thought help produce the hardheaded and realistic values of the times?

Conclusion

Throughout modern history, the development of nation-states has been neither inevitable nor uniform nor peaceful. This was especially true in the nineteenth century, when ambitious politicians, shrewd monarchs, and determined bureaucrats used a variety of methods and policies to transform very different countries into centralized

states. Nation building was most dramatic in Germany and Italy, where states were unified through military force and where people of opposing political opinions ultimately agreed that national unity should be a primary goal. Compelled by military defeat to shake off centuries of tradition, the Austrian and Russian monarchs instituted reforms as a way of keeping their systems viable, with widely different results. The Habsburg Empire became a dual monarchy, an arrangement that gave the Hungarians virtual home rule and thus raised the level of disunity. Reforms in Russia left the authoritarian monarchy intact and only partially transformed the social order.

After decades of romantic fervor, hardheaded realism in politics—Realpolitik—became a much touted norm in other areas. Proponents of realism such as Darwin and Marx developed theories disturbing to those who maintained an Enlightenment faith in social and political harmony. Realist novels and artworks jarred polite society, and, like the operas of Verdi, portrayed dilemmas of the times. The policies of the growing state apparatus that were meant to bring order often brought disorder, such as the destruction of entire neighborhoods and violence toward people in far-off lands. Schooling, however, taught the lower classes to be orderly citizens, and urban renewal ultimately improved cities and public health to complement nation building. Yet when the ordinary people of the Paris Commune rose up to protest the loss of French power and prestige, they also aimed to defy the trend toward nation building. Their actions raised difficult questions. How far should the power of the state extend in both domestic and international affairs? Would nationalism be a force for war or for peace? As these issues ripened, the next decades saw extraordinary economic advances and an unprecedented surge in Europe’s global power—much of it the result of successes in nation building.

FOR FURTHER EXPLORATION

- For suggested references, including Web sites, for topics in this chapter, see page SR-1 at the end of the book.
- For additional primary-source material from this period, see Chapter 22 in *Sources of THE MAKING OF THE WEST*, Third Edition.
- For Web sites and documents related to topics in this chapter, see *Make History* at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.



Europe and the Mediterranean, 1871

European nation-states consolidated their power by building unified state structures and by developing the means for the diverse peoples within their borders to become socially and culturally integrated. Nation-states were also rapidly expanding outside their boundaries, extending their economic and political reach. North Africa and the Middle East—parts of the declining Ottoman Empire—particularly appealed to European governments because of their resources and their potential for further European settlement. They offered a gateway to the rest of the world. ■ Compare this map of Europe with that from two decades earlier (page 686) to explain the progress of nation building. What aspects of nation building do not appear on this map?

CHAPTER REVIEW

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Realpolitik (690)	pan-Slavism (702)
Alexander II (693)	anarchism (713)
mir (695)	Marxism (713)
Russification (696)	realism (715)
nation-state (696)	George Eliot (716)
Camillo di Cavour (696)	Kulturkampf (718)
Otto von Bismarck (699)	Charles Darwin (719)
dual monarchy (702)	positivism (720)

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What were the main results of the Crimean War?
2. What role did warfare play in the various nineteenth-century nation-building efforts?
3. How did Europe's expanding nation-states attempt to impose social order within and beyond Europe and what resistance did they face?
4. How did cultural expression and scientific and social thought help produce the hardheaded and realistic values of the times?

MAKING CONNECTIONS

1. How did realism in social thought break with Enlightenment values?
2. Why did some nation-states tend toward secularism while the kingdoms that preceded them were based on religion?
3. How was the Paris Commune related to earlier revolutions in France? How did it differ from them? How was it related to nation building?

For practice quizzes, a customized study plan, and other study tools, see the Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

IMPORTANT EVENTS

1850s–1860s	Positivism, Darwinism become influential	1861–1865	U.S. Civil War
1850s–1870s	Realism in the arts	1867	Second Reform Bill in England; Austro-Hungarian monarchy
1853–1856	Crimean War	1868	Meiji Restoration begins in Japan
1857	British-led forces suppress Indian Rebellion	1869–1871	Women's colleges founded at Cambridge University
1861	Victor Emmanuel declared king of a unified Italy; abolition of serfdom in Russia	1870–1871	Franco-Prussian War
		1871	German Empire proclaimed at Versailles; self-governing Paris Commune established.



Industry, Empire, and Everyday Life

1870–1890

Between 1870 and 1890, Marianne North, an unmarried Englishwoman, traveled the globe several times. North was a botanical illustrator and “plant hunter,” one of those energetic Europeans who on their own or under government sponsorship searched the world over for plants to classify, grow, and put to commercial use. She ventured to India, North and South America, Java, Borneo, South Africa, and many other distant points, setting up her easel and making scientific drawings of plants. She discovered at least five new species (officially named after her) and a new type of tree, and she collected thousands of plants to send back to botanical gardens in England. When North became too frail to travel, she organized a permanent museum in London to display her botanical drawings to the public (see the illustration, on page 726). Her goal was to promote ordinary people’s knowledge of the British Empire: “I want them to know,” she announced, “that cocoa doesn’t come from the coconut.”

North was just one of the millions of people who traveled vast distances in the nineteenth century—a time of greatly increased mobility and migration, much of which was made possible by an expansion of industry and colonization. Some, like North, who took advantage of the greater speed of travel, journeyed in pursuit of knowledge. Others migrated temporarily to the colonies to serve in colonial governments, for instance, or to find business opportunities. Still others relocated permanently within Europe or other places abroad in North and South America or Australia in search of work and a better life for themselves. Such migration changed the everyday life of both Europeans and non-Europeans: it uprooted tens of millions of people, it disrupted social

Thomas Roberts, *Coming South* (1886)

Most European migration occurred for political and economic reasons, with beleaguered segments of the population likely to cross thousands of miles by ship to find opportunity and political freedom. Other Western migration was temporary, like that of scientists, writers, soldiers, and missionaries. The Australian painter Thomas Roberts, who had himself migrated from London in 1869 at the age of thirteen, depicted these voyages on ship as so calm and boring as to test one’s sanity, an atmosphere described similarly in migrants’ diaries and letters. (© National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia /The Bridgeman Art Library.)

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- Industrial Innovation
- Facing Economic Crisis
- Revolution in Business Practices

The New Imperialism 733

- Taming the Mediterranean
- Scramble for Africa
- Acquiring Territory in Asia
- Japan’s Imperial Agenda
- The Paradoxes of Imperialism

Imperial Society and Culture 740

- The “Best Circles” and the Expanding Middle Class
- Professional Sports and Organized Leisure
- Working People’s Strategies
- Reform Efforts for Working-Class People
- Artistic Responses to Empire and Industry

The Birth of Mass Politics 750

- Workers, Politics, and Protest
- Expanding Political Participation in Western Europe
- Power Politics in Central and Eastern Europe

and family networks, and often inflicted terrible violence on native peoples dislocated by European colonizers.

Like individual Europeans, Western nations looked beyond home borders from 1870 to 1890.



Marianne North, *Pitcher Plant*
Wealthy Europeans increasingly traveled overseas in the quest for knowledge and adventure. As the West prospered, travel and world tourism did too. An amateur artist, Marianne North initially gained an audience for her scientific drawings, reports, and specimens only because she traveled in the “best circles.” Later her drawings, like this one of a pitcher plant, were prized by scientists. (*Trustees of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew*)

The Western powers were rapidly expanding their empires through the “new imperialism”—one name for the accelerated race for empire around the world and the seizure of political rather than just economic power. Europeans had been acquiring global territory since the late fifteenth century; the new imperialism was actually the final gulp in this process. In their rush for empire, Europeans explored and took political control of the interior of Africa and fought to dominate even more Asian lands until, by the beginning of the twentieth century, they claimed to control more than 80 percent of the world’s surface. Influence and control went beyond political domination: with varying degrees of success, Europeans tried to stamp other continents with European-style place names, architecture, clothing, languages, and domestic customs. They used culture to create empires just as they used it to forge the nation-state.

The decades from 1870 to 1890 were an era of expanding industry in the West as well. Empire and industry fed on each other as raw materials from imperial conquest supplied Western industries. Industrial output soared in the West as industrialization spread from Britain to central and eastern Europe and brought a continuous new supply of products to the market. A growing appetite for these goods, many of them for household consumption, changed the fabric of everyday life for Europeans. New industry attracted people to cities, where common experiences of neighborhood and work life drew them closer together. They became more educated, both through formal schooling and through informal educators like Marianne North who helped them make connections between empire and their own lives. Citizens took pride in their nations’ conquests and enjoyed a mushrooming array of new colonial goods. Newspapers covering political affairs expanded their sales to growing urban populations, and workers began demanding greater participation in the po-

■ 1860s–1890s Impressionism flourishes; increased Asian influence in art		■ 1870s–1890s Vast emigration; new imperialism	■ 1876 Victoria declared empress of India; invention of the telephone
	1865	1870	1875
		■ 1871 Franco-Prussian War ends	
		■ 1873 Recession begins with global impact	

litical process. Proud of their imperial conquests and industrial growth, Europeans brimmed with confidence and hope, while the grimmer aspects of empire and industrialization played themselves out in distant colonies, urban slums, and declining standards of living in rural areas.

FOCUS QUESTION: How were industrial expansion and imperial conquest related, and how did they affect Western society, culture, and politics in the late nineteenth century?

The Advance of Industry in an Age of Empire

The 1870s opened with a burst of prosperity as the Franco-Prussian War drew to a close. Fed by raw materials from around the world, industry turned out a cornucopia of new products, and many workers' wages increased. Beginning in 1873, however, a series of downturns in business threatened both entrepreneurs and the working class. Businesspeople sought remedies in new technology, managerial techniques, and a revolutionary marketing institution—the department store. Governments played their part by changing business law and supporting the drive for global profits. The steady advance of industry and the development of a consumer economy gave rise to the service sector, laying the foundation for further changes in work life.

Industrial Innovation

In the last third of the nineteenth century, Western industries turned out hundreds of new products ranging from the bicycle, the typewriter, and the telephone to the internal combustion engine.

In 1885, the German engineer Karl Benz devised a workable gasoline engine; six years later, France's Armand Peugeot constructed a car and tested it by chasing a bicycle race. Electricity became more widely used after 1880, providing power to light everything from private drawing rooms to government office buildings. The Eiffel Tower, constructed in Paris for the Universal Exposition of 1889, stood as a monument to the age's engineering wizardry; visitors rode to its summit in electric elevators. To fuel the West's explosive industrial growth, the leading industrial nations mined and produced massive quantities of coal, iron, and steel. Production of iron increased from 11 million to 23 million tons annually, and steel from 500,000 to 11 million tons annually in the 1870s and 1880s. Manufacturers used the metal to build the more than 100,000 locomotives that pulled trains—trains that transported two billion people a year.

Historians used to contrast a “second” Industrial Revolution, with a concentration on heavy industrial products like iron and steel, to the “first” one of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in which innovations in the manufacture of textiles and the use of steam energy predominated. Now, however, historians recognize that in most countries except Britain, where industrialization did rise in two stages, the development of textile, iron, and steel industries occurred at the same time and were a part of a single process of industrialization. For instance, numerous textile mills were installed on the continent at the same time as blast furnaces. Although industrialization led to the decline of traditional crafts like weaving, home industry—or **outwork**, the process of having some aspects of industrial work done outside factories in individual homes (similar to the putting-

outwork: The process of having some aspects of industrial work done outside factories in individual homes.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ 1882 Triple Alliance formed; Britain invades Egypt ■ 1882–1884 Bismarck sponsors social welfare legislation ■ 1881 Tsar Alexander II assassinated 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ 1889 Japan adopts constitution; Second International established
1880	1885	1890
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ 1879 Dual Alliance formed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ 1884 Reform Act doubles British male electorate ■ 1884–1885 Berlin conference on African imperialism ■ 1885 Invention of workable gasoline engine 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ 1891 Construction of Trans-Siberian Railroad begins



The Invention of Electric Lighting

By the 1890s, many new inventions could be seen in a single walk down the wide boulevards of major European cities. In this illustration of Piccadilly in London, electric lighting illuminates the way for modern bicycles and automobiles as well as horse-drawn carriages. By the turn of the century, streets had also become crowded with electric trams. (Mary Evans Picture Library.)

out system)—persisted in garment making, metalwork, and porcelain painting. Industrial production occurring simultaneously in homes, small workshops, and factories has continued through the entire history of modern manufacturing down to the present day.

Industrial innovations transformed agriculture. Chemical fertilizers boosted crop yields, and reapers and threshers mechanized harvesting. In the 1870s, Sweden produced a cream separator, a first step toward mechanizing dairy farming. Wire fencing and barbed wire replaced wooden fencing and stone walls, both of which required intensive labor to construct. Refrigeration allowed fruits, vegetables, and meat to be transported without spoiling, thus diversifying and increasing the urban food supply. Tin from colonial trade facilitated large-scale commercial canning, which made many foods available year-round to people in the cities.

Challenge to British Dominance. Britain's rate of industrial growth slowed as its entrepreneurs remained wedded to older technologies. Although Great Britain maintained its high output of industrial goods and profited from a multitude of worldwide investments, Germany and the United States began surpassing it in research, technical education, and innovation—and ultimately in overall rates of economic growth.

Following the Franco-Prussian War, Germany annexed Alsace and Lorraine, territories with both textile industries and rich iron deposits. Investing heavily in research, German businesses devised new industrial processes and began to mass-produce goods. Germany also spent as much money on education as on its military in the 1870s and 1880s. This investment resulted in highly skilled engineers and technical workers who sent German industrial productivity soaring.

The United States began intensive exploitation of its vast natural resources, including coal, metal ores, gold, and oil. The value of U.S. industrial goods jumped from \$5 billion in 1880 to \$13 billion by 1900. Whereas German productivity rested more on state promotion of industrial efforts, U.S. growth often involved innovative entrepreneurs, such as Andrew Carnegie in iron and steel and John D. Rockefeller in oil. The three-way industrial rivalry among Germany, the United States, and Great Britain would soon have political and diplomatic repercussions.

Areas of Slower Industrialization.

With the exception of Belgium, which had been the first continental country to industrialize, other countries trailed the three industrial leaders. Although France had some huge mining, textile, and metallurgical establishments, U.S. and German businesses soon surpassed French businesses in size. In Spain, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, industrial development was primarily concentrated in a few regions of each country. Austria-Hungary had densely industrialized areas around Vienna and in Styria and Bohemia, but the rest of the country remained tied to traditional, nonmechanized agriculture. Italy industrialized in the north while remaining rural and agricultural in the south. The Italian government spent more on building Rome into a grand capital than it invested in economic growth. A mere 1.4 percent of Italy's 1872 budget went to education and science, compared with 10.8 percent in Germany. Sweden and Norway, which were poor in coal and ore, became leaders in the use of hydroelectric power and the development of electrical products. Despite these innovations, Scandinavia retained its mostly rural character well into the twentieth century.

Russia's road to industrialization was tortuous, slowed partly by its relatively small urban labor force. The terms of serf emancipation bound many Russian peasants, who may have wished to find opportunities in factory work, to the *mir*, or landed community. Some villages sent men and women to cities, but on the condition that they return for plowing and harvesting. Nevertheless, by the 1890s,



Sukharev Market, Moscow (c. 1890)

For all their modernization, cities also offered their products in dozens of centuries-old food and flea markets such as this one in Russia. Rural farmers brought fresh produce to the cities, while urban market women sold clothing and household items.

(© Austrian Archives/Corbis.)

Moscow, St. Petersburg, and a few other cities had substantial working-class populations. The Russian minister of finance Sergei Witte attracted foreign capital, entrepreneurs, and engineers and used them to construct railroads, including the Trans-Siberian Railroad (1891–1916), which upon completion stretched 5,787 miles from Moscow to Vladivostok. Russia's industrial and military power increased, but its peasants bore the main burden of paying for the state's financing of industry, mostly in the form of higher taxes on vodka. Russia offered a prime example of the uneven benefits of industrialization: neither Russian peasants nor underpaid urban workers could afford to buy the goods their country produced.

Facing Economic Crisis

Economic conditions were far from rosy throughout the 1870s and 1880s despite industrial innovation. In 1873, prosperity abruptly gave way to a severe economic depression, followed by almost three decades of economic fluctuations, featuring sharp downturns whose severity varied from country to country. People of all classes lost their jobs

or businesses and faced consequences ranging from long stretches of unemployment to bankruptcy. Because economic ties bound industrialized western Europe to international markets, the downturns affected the economies of such diverse regions as Australia, South Africa, California, Newfoundland, and the West Indies.

The dramatic fluctuations of the late nineteenth century differed from the economic cycles that were the rule before 1850, in which agricultural failure led to higher food prices and then to manufacturing decline. Agriculture was no longer so dominant that its fate determined the welfare of other parts of the economy. By the 1870s, industrial and financial setbacks were sending businesses into long-term tailspins. Innovation created new or modernized industries on an unprecedented scale, but economic uncertainty accompanied the forward march of Western industrial development.

Industrial progress was expensive and businesspeople faced real problems. First, the start-up costs of new enterprises skyrocketed. The early textile mills had required relatively small amounts of capital in comparison to the new factories producing steel and iron. **Capital-intensive industry**, which required huge financial investment for the purchase of expensive machinery, replaced labor-intensive production, which relied on the hiring of more workers. Second, the distribution and consumption of goods failed to keep pace with industrial growth. Increased productivity in both agriculture and industry led to rapidly declining prices. Wheat, for example, dropped to one-third its 1870 price by the 1890s. Consumers, however, did not always benefit from this deflation: wages were slashed and unemployment rose during the economic downturns, preventing the purchase of the new industrial goods. Industrialists had made their fortunes by emphasizing production, not consumption. The series of slumps refocused entrepreneurial policy on finding ways to enhance sales and distribution and to control markets and prices.

Governments took steps to address the economic crisis. New laws spurred the development of the **limited liability corporation**, which protected investors from personal responsibility for a firm's debt. Before limited liability, owners or in-

vestors were personally responsible for the debts of a bankrupt business. In one case in England, a former partner who had failed to have his name removed from a legal document after leaving the business remained responsible to creditors when the company went bankrupt. He lost everything he owned except a watch and the equivalent of one hundred dollars. By reducing personal risk, limited liability made investors more confident about financing business ventures.

Investing in stocks and bonds expanded with the need for more capital. Stock markets had existed prior to the changes in liability laws, but investors could trade only in government bonds and in shares of government-sponsored enterprises such as railroads. By the end of the century, stock market investors were trading heavily in stocks that financed a wide range of businesses and thus raised money from a larger pool of private capital than before. At the center of an international economy linked by telegraph, telephone, railways, and steamships, the London Stock Exchange in 1882 traded industrial shares worth £54 million, a value that surged to £443 million by 1900.

Another way in which businesses tried to resolve their financial difficulties was to band together in cartels and trusts to control prices and competition. Cartels (groups of industries organized into a monopoly for fixing prices) flourished particularly in German chemical, iron, coal, and electric industries. For example, the Rhenish-Westphalian Coal Syndicate, founded in 1893, eventually dominated more than 95 percent of coal production in Germany and could thus restrict output and set prices. Trusts appeared first in the United States. In 1882, John D. Rockefeller created the Standard Oil Trust by acquiring stock from many different oil companies and placing it under the direction of trustees. The trustees then controlled so much of the companies' stock that they could set prices for the entire industry and even dictate to the railroads the rates for transporting the oil.

While expressing their belief in free trade, the owners of cartels and trusts were actually restricting the free market. Governments did likewise by beginning to impose tariffs in the belief that doing so would help protect domestic industries. Much of Europe had adopted free trade after midcentury, but during the 1870s, huge trade deficits—caused when imports exceed exports—soured many Europeans on the concept. A country with a trade deficit had less capital available to invest internally; thus, business owners created fewer jobs and the chances of social unrest increased. Farmers in many European countries suffered when improvements

capital-intensive industry: A mid- to late-nineteenth-century development in industry that required great investments of money for machinery and infrastructure to make a profit.

limited liability corporation: A legal entity, developed in the second half of the nineteenth century, in which the amount that owners of a factory or other enterprise owed creditors was restricted (limited) in case of financial failure.

in transportation made it possible to import perishable food, such as cheap grain from the United States and Ukraine. The French and German governments were but two that approved tariffs to make foreign goods more expensive. Farmers, capitalists, and even many workers backed taxes on imports to prevent competition from outside. By the early 1890s, all but Belgium, Britain, and the Netherlands had ended free trade.

Revolution in Business Practices

Industrialists tried to minimize the damage of economic downturns by revolutionizing the everyday conduct of their businesses. A generation earlier, factory owners had been directly involved in every aspect of their businesses and often learned to run their firms through trial and error. In the late 1800s, industrialists began to hire managers to run their increasingly complex day-to-day operations. Managers who specialized in a particular aspect of a business such as sales and distribution, finance, or the purchase of raw materials made decisions, assisted by workers in the new “service sector.”

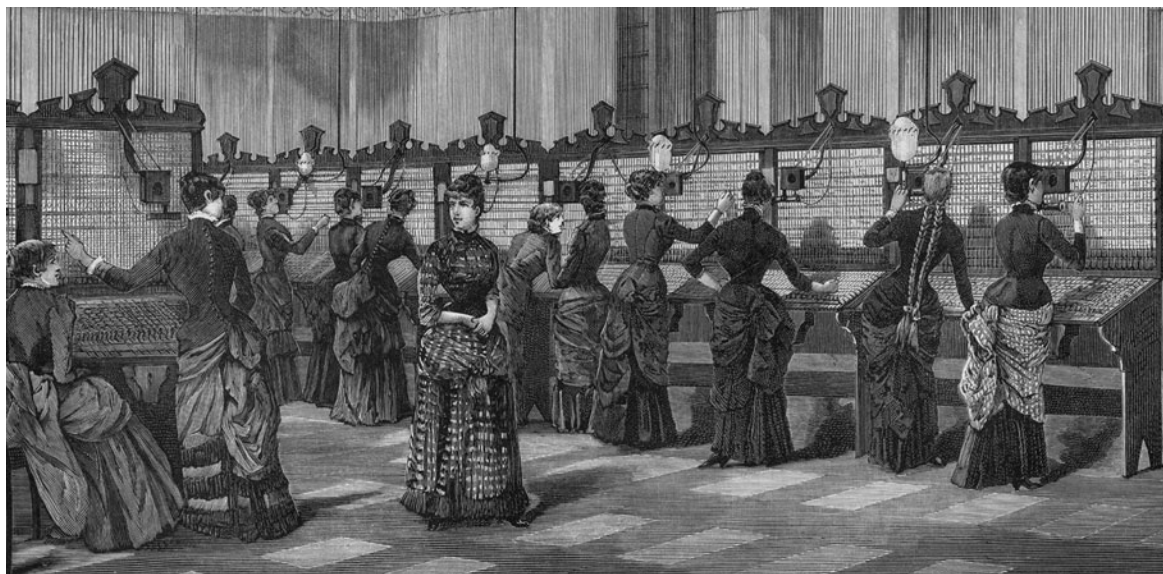
The White-Collar Sector. A “white-collar” service sector composed of workers with mathematical skills and literacy acquired in the new public pri-

mary schools emerged as part of the development of management. Businesses employed secretaries, file clerks, and typists to guide the flow of business information. Banks that accepted savings from the general public and that invested those funds heavily in business needed tellers and clerks; railroads, insurance companies, and government-run telegraph and telephone companies all needed armies of office workers.

Women, responding to the availability of clean, respectable work, formed the bulk of service employees. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, middle-class women still tended businesses with their husbands. In the next few decades, however, the new ideology of domesticity became so strong that male employers were unwilling to hire women, and women in the lower-middle and middle classes were themselves ashamed to work outside the home. By the late nineteenth century, the costs of middle-class family life had increased, especially because children, who were now forced by law to get an education, were no longer working and contributing to family resources. Instead, the family needed more money to support them. Whether to help pay family expenses or to support themselves, both unmarried and married women of the respectable middle class increasingly took jobs despite the ideal of domesticity. Employers found, as

Copenhagen's Central Telephone Exchange (c. 1884)

European governments established telephone and telegraph services for individual customers late in the nineteenth century. These services were part of the rapid advance in transport and communications that characterized the modern West. Middle-class women, like these in Copenhagen's Telephone Exchange, staffed many white-collar positions that made up the new service sector and expanded job opportunities. (*Mary Evans Picture Library*.)



Interior of Au Coin de la Rue (c. 1870)

This Parisian department store, not the grandest or first of its kind, shows the typical cascade of goods displayed on railings and balconies. The abundance of textiles and carpets sparked the shopper's imagination, inciting her to let go of thrift and wander wherever her fancy took her among the many counters and displays until she had overspent.

(© Stefano Bianchetti/Corbis.)



one put it, a “quickness of eye and ear, and the delicacy of touch” in the new women workers.

By hiring women for newly created clerical jobs, business and government contributed to a dual labor market in which certain categories of jobs were predominantly male and others were overwhelmingly female. Since society had come to believe that women were not meant to work and even not fit to work, businesses made greater profits by paying women in the service sector chronically low wages—much less than they would have had to pay men for doing the same tasks.

The Department Store. The drive to boost consumption led to a new development in merchandising—the emergence of the department store. Founded after midcentury in the largest cities, department stores gathered an impressive variety of goods in one place in imitation of the Middle Eastern bazaar. Created by daring entrepreneurs such as Aristide and Marguerite Boucicaud of the Bon Marché in Paris and John Wanamaker of Wanamaker’s in Philadelphia, department stores eventually replaced stores selling single items such as dishware or fabrics.

Single-item stores that people entered knowing clearly what they wanted to purchase were of-

ten small, somber shops, miniature by comparison with the modern shopping palaces built of marble and filled with lights and mirrors. In the department store, luxurious silks, delicate laces, and richly embellished tapestries spilled over railings and counters, not in neat order reflecting rational, middle-class ideas, but in glorious disarray to stimulate consumer desires. Shoppers no longer restricted their purchases to what they needed but rather reacted to sales, a new marketing technique that could incite a buying frenzy. Because most men lacked the time for shopping, department stores became the domain of women, who came out of their domestic sphere into a new public role. Store owners hired attractive salesgirls, another variety of service workers, to inspire customers to buy. Department store shopping also took place outside of cities: enticing mail-order catalogs from the Bon Marché or Sears, Roebuck arrived regularly in rural areas, replete with all the luxuries and household items contained in the exotic, faraway dream world of the city.

Consumerism was shaped by empire and industry. Wealthy travelers like Marianne North journeyed on well-appointed ocean liners, carrying quinine, antiseptics, and other medicines as well as cameras, revolvers, and the latest in rubber goods

and apparel. Consumption of colonial products such as coffee, tea, sugar, tobacco, cocoa, and cola became more widespread for the stimulation they offered hardworking Westerners. Tons of palm oil from Africa were turned into both margarine and fine soap, allowing even ordinary people in the West to see themselves as cleaner and more civilized than those in other parts of the world. Empire and industry jointly shaped everyday life by exciting the desire to own things—whether industrial goods or products from the colonies.

REVIEW: What were the major economic changes in industry and business by the end of the nineteenth century?

The New Imperialism

Imperialism surged in the last third of the nineteenth century. Industrial demand for raw materials and heated business rivalry for new markets fueled competition for territory in Africa and Asia. The imperialism of these decades is called “new” because European nations, the United States, and Japan now aimed to rule vast regions of the world directly; they were no longer content with simply trading with them. The British government declared itself an empire in 1876 after taking control of India from the East India Company trading house, and other governments followed the British model. Champions of nation building connected industrial prosperity and imperial expansion with national identity. “Nations are not great except for the activities they undertake,” declared a French advocate of imperialism in 1885. Conquering foreign territory and developing wealth through industry appeared to heap glory on the nation-state. Although some missionaries and reformers involved in the new imperialism aimed to spread Western religions and culture as a benefit to colonized peoples, the expansion of the West increased their subjugation, inflicted violence on them, and radically altered their lives.

Taming the Mediterranean

European countries had always viewed the African and Asian shores of the Mediterranean as areas where they could profit through trade and investment. In the late nineteenth century, they began to take political control of the region as well. Egypt, a convenient and profitable stop on the way to Asia, was an early target. Modernizing rulers had made Cairo into a bustling metropolis with lively

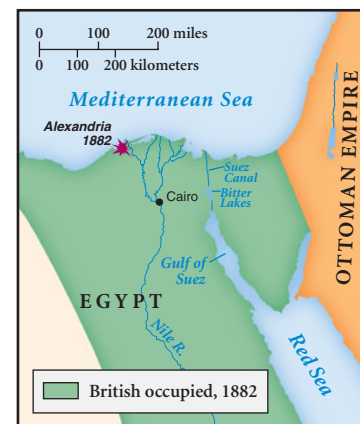
commercial and manufacturing enterprises. Egyptians also increased the production of raw materials for its industry, such as cotton for its textile mills. Europeans invested heavily in the region, first in ventures such as building the Suez Canal in the 1860s, then in laying thousands of miles of railroad track, improving harbors, creating telegraph systems, and finally and most important, loaning money at exorbitant rates of interest.

In 1879, the British and the French took over the Egyptian treasury, allegedly to guarantee profits from their investments and the repayment of loans. In 1882, they invaded the country with the excuse of squashing Egyptian nationalists who protested the takeover of the treasury. The British next seized control of the government as a whole and forcibly reshaped the Egyptian economy from a system based on multiple crops that maintained the country’s self-sufficiency to one that emphasized the production of a few crops—mainly cotton, raw silk, wheat, and rice—that cheaply fed both European manufacturing and the European working classes. Businessmen from the colonial powers, Egyptian landowners, and local merchants profited from these agricultural changes, while the bulk of the rural population barely eked out an existence.

To protect its colony of Algeria, France occupied neighboring Tunisia in 1881. Farther to the east, businessmen from Britain, France, and Germany flooded Asia Minor and the Levant (the portion of Asia at the eastern end of the Mediterranean) with cheap goods, driving artisans from their trades and into low-paid work building railroads or processing tobacco. Instead of basing wage rates on gender (as they did at home), Europeans used ethnicity and religion, paying Muslims less than Christians, and Arabs less than other ethnic groups. Such practices planted the seeds for anti-colonial movements and long-lasting hatred.

Scramble for Africa

After the British takeover of the Egyptian government, Europeans turned their attention to sub-Saharan Africa. In the past, contact between the two continents had principally involved the trade of African slaves for manufactured goods from



The Suez Canal and British Invasion of Egypt, 1882



The Violence of Colonization

King Leopold, ruler of the Belgian Congo, was so greedy and ruthless that his agents squeezed the last drop of rubber and other resources from local peoples. Missionaries reported and photographed such atrocities as the killing of workers whose quotas were even slightly short or the amputation of hands for the same offense. Belgian agents collected amputated hands and sent them to government officials to show Leopold that they were enforcing his kind of discipline. (*Anti-Slavery International*.)

around the world. The European slave trade had virtually ended by this time, and Europeans' principal objective was obtaining Africa's raw materials, such as palm oil, cotton, metals, diamonds, cocoa, and rubber. Additionally, Britain wanted the southern and eastern coasts of Africa for stopover ports on the route to Asia and its empire in India.

Except for the French conquest of Algeria, Europeans had rarely connected commerce with direct political control in Africa. Yet in the 1880s, European military forces conquered one African territory after another (Map 23.1). The British, French, Belgians, Portuguese, Italians, and Germans jockeyed to dominate peoples, land, and resources—"the magnificent cake of Africa," as King **Leopold II** of Belgium (r. 1865–1909) put it. Driven by insatiable greed, Leopold claimed the Congo region of central Africa, initiating competition with France for that territory and inflicting on its peoples unparalleled acts of cruelty. German chancellor Otto von Bismarck, who saw colonies mostly as political

bargaining chips, established German control over Cameroon and a section of East Africa. Faced with competition, the British poured millions of pounds into conquering the continent "from Cairo to Cape Town," as the slogan went, and the French cemented their hold on large portions of western Africa.

The scramble for Africa escalated tensions in Europe and prompted Bismarck to call a conference of European nations at Berlin. The fourteen nations at the conference, held in a series of meetings in 1884 and 1885, decided that control of settlements along the African coast guaranteed rights to internal territory. This agreement led to the strictly linear dissection of the continent; geographers and diplomats cut across indigenous boundaries of African culture and ethnic life. The Berlin conference also banned the sale of alcohol and controlled the sale of arms to native peoples. In theory, the meeting was supposed to reduce bloodshed and temper ambitions in Africa; in reality, European leaders awarded themselves the right to push even harder for control. Savagely greedy individuals like King Leopold continued to plunder the continent and terrorize its people (as shown in

Leopold II: King of Belgium (r. 1865–1909) who sponsored the takeover of the Congo in Africa, which he ran with great violence against native peoples.



MAP 23.1 Africa, c. 1890

The “scramble for Africa” entailed a change in European trading practices, which generally had been limited to the coastline. Trying to penetrate economically and rule the interior ultimately resulted in a map of the continent that made sense only to the imperial powers, for it divided ethnic groups and made territorial unities that had nothing to do with Africans’ sense of geography or patterns of settlement. This map shows the unfolding of that process and the political and ethnic groupings to be conquered.

DOCUMENT

Imperialism's Popularity among the People

Henry Stanley (1841–1904) was an unscrupulous English adventurer in Africa, who regularly killed and abused indigenous peoples to gain their land and wealth on behalf of such clients as Leopold of Belgium. Yet the press boosted sales by recounting his adventures as those of a brave and rugged soldier—an ambassador of civilized values. The celebratory tone infiltrated popular culture, as in the song below. Recounting Stanley's search for an important African leader, Emin Pasha, it brought London music-hall audiences to their feet in an orgy of thunderous applause for their hero.

Oh, I went to find Emin Pasha, and started away for fun,
With a box of weeds and a bag of beads, and some tracts and a Maxim
gun . . .
I went to find Emin, I did, I looked for him far and wide;
I found him right, I found him tight, and a lot of folks beside,
Away through Darkest Africa, though it cost me lots of tin,
For without a doubt I'd find him out, when I went to find Emin!

Source: Ernest Short, *Fifty Years of Vaudeville* (New York: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1946), 43.

the photo on page 734). Newspaper accounts of vast chunks of land trading hands whetted the popular appetite for more imperialist ventures (See Document, “Imperialism's Popularity among the People,” above).

Industrial technology provided the powerful guns, railroads, steamships, and medicines that accelerated Western penetration of all the continents. The gunboats that forced the Chinese to open their borders to opium in the 1830s continued to play a crucial role in European expansion, only this time forcing African ethnic groups to give up their independence. Quinine was also crucial. Before the development of medicinal quinine in the 1840s and 1850s, the deadly tropical disease malaria decimated many a European party embarking on exploration or military conquest, giving Africa the nickname “White Man's Grave.” The use of quinine, extracted from cinchona bark from the Andes, to treat malaria radically cut death rates among soldiers, missionaries, adventurers, traders, and bureaucrats.

While quinine saved white lives, technology to take lives was also advancing. Improvements to the

breech-loading rifle and the development of the machine gun, or “repeater,” between 1862 and the 1880s dramatically increased firepower. Europeans carried on a brisk trade selling inferior guns to Africans on the coast, while peoples of the interior still used bows and arrows. Muslim slave traders and European Christians alike crushed African resistance with blazing gunfire: “The whites did not seize their enemy as we do by the body, but thundered from afar,” claimed one local African resister. “Death raged everywhere—like the death vomited forth from the tempest.”

Nowhere did this destructive capacity have greater effect than in southern Africa, where farmers of European descent and immigrant prospectors, rather than military personnel, battled the Xhosa, Zulu, and other African peoples for control of their land. The Dutch had moved into the area in the seventeenth century, but by 1815 the British had gained control. Thereafter, descendants of the Dutch, called Boers (Dutch for “farmers”), and British immigrants joined together in their fight to wrest farmland and mineral resources from native peoples. British businessman and politician Cecil Rhodes, sent to South Africa for his health just as diamonds were being discovered in 1870, cornered the diamond market and claimed a huge amount of African territory hundreds of miles into the interior with the help of the British government. His ambition for Britain and for himself was boundless: “I contend that we are the finest race in the world,” he explained, “and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is.” Although notions of European racial superiority had been advanced before, Social Darwinism reshaped racism to justify converting trade with Africans into conquest of their lands. Within just a few decades, Darwinism had evolved from a contribution to science to a racist justification for imperialism.

Wherever necessary to ensure profit and domination, Europeans either destroyed African economic and political systems or transformed them into instruments of their rule. A British governor of the Gold Coast put the matter succinctly in 1886: the British would “rule the country as if there were no inhabitants.” Indeed, most Europeans considered Africans barely civilized, despite the wealth local rulers and merchants accumulated in their international trade in raw materials and slaves, and despite individual Africans' accomplishments in fabric dyeing, road building, and architecture. Westerners claimed that Africans—unlike the Chinese and Indians, whom Europeans credited with a scientific and artistic heritage—were capable only of manual labor. Using this as



Malian Young Men's House

Europeans claimed that sub-Saharan Africans had no culture and especially no technical knowledge. Yet among Africans there were skilled road builders, textile designers, and manufacturers of weapons. Africans had also constructed intricate mosques, private dwellings, and communal buildings (such as this one for young men in Mali) long before the arrival of Europeans in the African interior. European painters, architects, and sculptors soon adapted features from African styles and even wholly modeled their designs on those of artists beyond the West. (Photo: Carollee Pelos/Jean-Louis Bourgeois.)

an excuse, they confiscated Africans' land and then forced native peoples to work for them in order to pay the taxes they imposed. Agriculture to support families, often performed by women and slaves, declined in favor of mining and farming cash crops. Men were made to leave their homes to work in mines or to build railroads. Family and community networks, though upset by the new arrangements, helped support Africans during this upheaval in everyday life.

Acquiring Territory in Asia

Britain justified its invasion of African countries as strategically necessary to acquire stopover ports for resupplying ships bound for Asia and thus help to preserve its control over India's quarter of a billion people. But in reality from the 1870s on, the expansion of imperial power was occurring around the world. Much of Asia, with India as the centerpiece, was integrated into Western empires. At the same time, resistance to outside domination was also growing. Discriminated against but educated, the Indian elite in 1885 founded the Indian National Congress. Some of its members accepted British liberalism in economic and social policy, welcoming opportunities for trade, education, and social advancement. Others, however, challenged Britain's right to rule. In the next century, the Congress would develop into a mass movement.

To the east, British military forces took control of the Malay peninsula in 1874 and of the interior of Burma in 1885. In both areas, political instability often threatened secure trade. The British depended on the region's tin, oil, rice, teak,

and rubber as well as its access to the numerous interior trade routes of China. British troops guaranteed the order necessary to expand railroads for more efficient export of raw materials and the development of Western systems of communication. The British also built factories and hoped to use its base to expand industrially into China.

The British added to their holdings in Asia partly to counter Russian and French annexations. Since 1865, Russia had been absorbing the small Muslim states of central Asia, including provinces of Afghanistan (Map 23.2, page 738). Besides extending into the Ottoman Empire, Russian tentacles reached Persia, India, and China, often encountering British competition. The Trans-Siberian Railroad allowed Russia to begin integrating Siberia—considered a distant colony in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Hundreds of thousands of hungry peasants moved to the region, and trade routes to cities in the west expanded. France meanwhile used the threat of military action to negotiate favorable treaties with Indochinese rulers, creating the Union of Indochina from the ancient states of Cambodia, Tonkin, Annam, and Cochin China in 1887 (the latter three now constitute Vietnam). Laos was added to Indochina in 1893.



British Colonialism in the Malay Peninsula and Burma, 1826–1890

MAP 23.2 Expansion of Russia in Asia, 1865–1895

Russian administrators and military men continued enlarging Russia, bringing in Asians of many different ethnicities, ways of life, and religions. Land-hungry peasants in western Russia followed the path of expansion into Siberia and Muslim territories to the south. In some cases they drove native peoples from their lands, but in others they settled unpopulated frontier areas. As in all cases of imperial expansion, local peoples resisted any expropriation of their livelihood, while the central government tried various policies for integration.



The Union of Indochina, 1893

To those who opposed this expansion as “spending our money on distant adventures,” French advocates of imperialism pointed out, as did other Europeans, that whites had a “civilizing mission.” The French thus taught some of their colonial subjects to speak French and learn French literature and history. The emphasis was always on European, not local people’s, culture. In Africa, an exam for students in a school run by German missionaries asked them to write on “Germany’s most important mountains” and “the reign of William I and the wars he waged.” The deeds of Africa’s great rulers and the accomplishments of its kingdoms disappeared from the curriculum. While Europeans believed in instructing colonial subjects, they did not believe that Africans and Asians were as capable as Europeans of achieving great things.

Japan’s Imperial Agenda

Japan escaped European rule by its rapid transformation into a modern industrial nation with its own imperial agenda. A Japanese print of the late nineteenth century illustrates both traditional ways and the Western influence behind Japan’s burgeoning power (opposite). The picture’s small

boats might have been rendered centuries earlier, but the steaming locomotive symbolizes change. The Japanese embraced foreign trade and industry. “All classes high and low shall unite in vigorously promoting the economy and welfare of the nation,” ran one of the first pronouncements of the Meiji regime that had come to power in 1868. The Japanese government directed the country’s turn toward modern industry, and state support led daring innovators like Iwasaki Yataro, founder of the Mitsubishi firm, to develop heavy industries such as mining and shipping. The Japanese had long acquired knowledge from other countries and now sent students, entrepreneurs, and government officials to the West to bring back as much new knowledge as they could. Unlike China, Japan endorsed Western-style modernization in preparation for gaining its own empire.

Change was the order of the day in Japan. Japanese legal scholars, following German models, helped draft a constitution in 1889 that emphasized state power rather than individual rights. Western dress became the rule at the imperial court, and when fire destroyed Tokyo in 1872, a European planner directed the rebuilding in Western architectural style. The Japanese adapted samurai traditions such as spiritual discipline for a large, technologically modern military, filled by universal conscription. In the 1870s, Japan ordered naval ships from Britain and began conquering adjacent islands, including Okinawa. In the 1880s, it used its new naval strength to begin imposing favorable trade treaties on Korea, preliminary to a more complete takeover on the horizon.



Modernization in Japan

Like the West, Japan bustled with commerce and industry thanks to improved and expanding transportation. Railroads, ships, and a range of new inventions such as the rickshaw speeded goods and individuals within cities, across the country, and ultimately to new, foreign destinations. The Japanese traveled widely to learn about ongoing technological innovation.

(Rue des Archives/The Granger Collection, New York.)

The Paradoxes of Imperialism

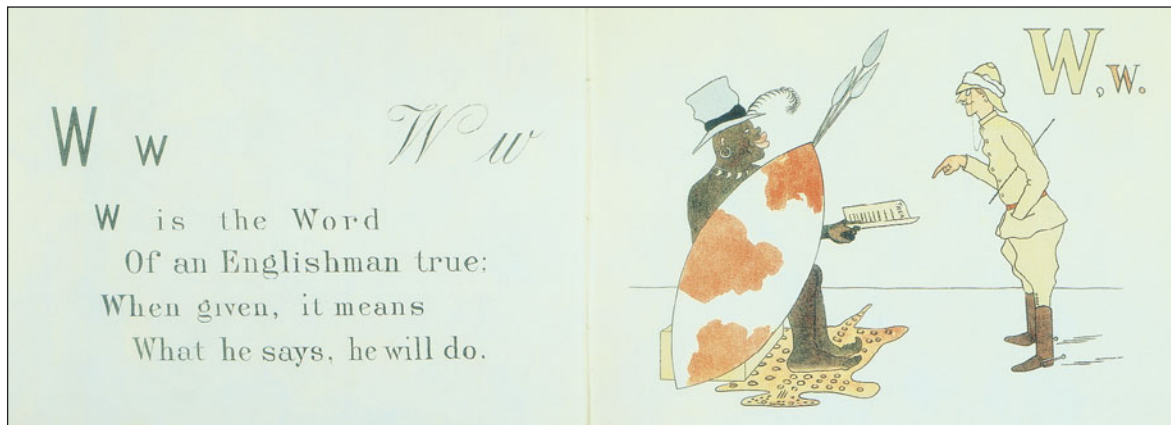
Imperialism ignited constant, sometimes heated debate because of its many paradoxes. Although it was meant to make European nations more economically secure, imperialism intensified distrust in international politics and thus threatened everyone. Countries vied with one another for a share of world influence. In securing India's borders, for example, the British faced Russian expansion in Afghanistan and along the borders of China. Imperial competition even made areas of Europe more volatile than ever: Austria-Hungary, Russia, and rival ethnic groups disputed control of the Balkans as the Ottoman Empire's grip weakened in the region.

Politicians claimed that empire would bring great riches, but the costs of empire were great. Opponents claimed that empire was more costly than profitable to societies as a whole. Britain, for example, spent enormous amounts of tax revenue to maintain its empire even as its industrial lead began to slip. Yet for certain businesses, colonies provided crucial markets and great profits: late in the century, French colonies bought 65 percent of

France's exports of soap and 41 percent of its metallurgical exports. Imperialism provided huge numbers of jobs to people in European port cities, but taxpayers in all parts of a nation—whether they benefited or not—paid for colonial armies, increasingly costly weaponry, and administrators.

Even the final goals of imperialism were in conflict. French advocates argued that their nation “must keep its role as the soldier of civilization.” But it was unclear whether imperialism should emphasize soldiering—that is, conflict, conquest, and murder of local peoples—or the exporting of culture and religion. The French tried both in Indochina, building a legacy of resistance that continued unabated until the mid-twentieth century. There was also the belief that through imperialist ventures “a country exhibits before the world its strength or weakness as a nation,” as one French politician announced. Some in government, however, worried that imperialism—because of its expense and the constant possibility of war—might weaken rather than strengthen the nation-state.

The paradoxes of imperialism extended to the study of other cultures. Western scholars and travelers had long studied Asian and African lan-



An ABC for Baby Patriots (1899)

Pride in empire began at an early age, when learning the alphabet from this kind of book helped develop an imperial sensibility. The subject of geography became important in schools during the decades between 1870 and 1890 and helped young people know what possessions they could claim as citizens. In British schools, the young celebrated the holiday Empire Day with ceremonies and festivities emphasizing imperial power. (Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. Mary F. Ames, shelfmark 2523 c. 24.)

guages, art, and literature, or, like Marianne North, had sought botanical and other scientific knowledge. Yet even the best scholars' study of foreign cultures was tinged with bias, misinterpretation, and error. European scholars of Islam characterized Muhammad as an inferior imitation of Jesus, for example. Confident in their cultural superiority, many Europeans considered Asians and Africans as low types, variously characterizing them as lying, lazy, self-indulgent, or irrational. One English official pontificated that "accuracy is abhorrent to the Oriental mind." At the height of imperialism, such beliefs offered still another justification for conquest: that inferior colonized peoples would ultimately be grateful for what Europe had brought them.

Hoping to spread their superior religion, European missionaries ventured to newly secured areas of Africa and Asia with attitudes that were full of contradictions. A woman missionary working among the Tibetans reflected a common view when she remarked that the native peoples were "going down, down into hell, and there is no one but me . . . to witness for Jesus amongst them." Christianizing colonized peoples often proved impossible, however. When that happened, "civilizers" such as missionaries often supported brutal military measures, willing to see native people slaughtered in the name of imparting Christian values.

Yet other Europeans—from novelists to military men—held quite opposite views of conquered peoples, considering them better than Europeans

because they were unspoiled by civilization. "At last some local color," enthused one colonial officer, fresh from industrial cities of Europe, on seeing Constantinople. This romantic vision of an ancient center of culture, similar to eighteenth-century condescension toward the "noble savage," had little to do with the reality of conquered peoples' lives. The paradoxes of imperialism are clear in hindsight, but at the time European self-confidence hid many of them. The most glaring paradox of all was that Western peoples who believed in nation-building and national independence invaded the territory of others thousands of miles away and claimed the right to rule them.

REVIEW: What were the goals of the new imperialism, and how did Europeans accomplish those goals?

Imperial Society and Culture

The spread of empire not only made the world an interconnected marketplace but also transformed everyday culture and society. Success in manufacturing and foreign ventures created millionaires, and the expansion of a professional middle class and development of a service sector meant that more people were affluent enough to own property, see some of the world, and give their children a quality education. Many Europeans grew health-

ier, partly because of improved diet and partly because of government-sponsored programs aimed at promoting the fitness necessary for citizens of imperial powers. At the same time, the uncertainties of life in a rapidly changing society drove millions of poor Europeans to migrate in search of opportunities around the world—even in the colonies—while artists found exciting new subject matter in those same industrial and imperial changes around them.

The “Best Circles” and the Expanding Middle Class

The profits from empire and industry added new members to the upper class, or “best circles,” so called at the time because of their members’ wealth, education, and social status. People in the best circles often came from the aristocracy, which remained powerful and was still widely seen as a model of style. Increasingly, however, aristocrats had to share their social position with new millionaires from the ranks of the upper middle class, or bourgeoisie. In fact, the very distinction between aristocrat and bourgeois became blurred, as monarchs gratefully endowed millionaire industrialists and businesspeople with aristocratic titles for their contributions to national wealth. Moreover, financially strapped aristocrats approved marriages between their children and those of the newly rich. Such arrangements brought a much-needed infusion of money to old, established families and the prestige of an aristocratic title to newly wealthy families. Thus, Jeanette Jerome, daughter of a wealthy New York financier, married England’s Lord Randolph Churchill (their son Winston later became England’s prime minister). Millionaires discarded the thrifty ways of a century earlier to build palatial country homes and villas, engage in conspicuous displays of wealth, and wall themselves off from the poor in segregated neighborhoods. To justify their success, the wealthy often cited the Social Darwinist principle that their ability to accumulate money demonstrated the natural superiority of the rich over the poor.

Empire reshaped the way people in the best circles spent their leisure time. Under the influence of empire, big-game hunting in Asia and Africa became the rage, replacing age-old traditions of fox and bird hunting. European hunters forced native Africans, who had depended on hunting for income or food and for group unity, to work as guides, porters, and domestics for European hunters instead. Collectors on the hunts brought

exotic specimens back to Europe for zoological exhibits, natural history museums, and traveling displays, all of which flourished during this period. Wealthy Europeans brought empire into their homes with displays of stags’ heads, elephant tusks, and animal skins.

People in the best circles saw themselves as an imperial elite, and upper-class women devoted themselves to maintaining its standards of social conduct, bearing its children, and directing staffs of servants. They took their role seriously, keeping detailed accounts of their expenditures and mon-

Tiger Hunting in the Punjab

Big-game hunting became the imperial sport of choice, as this Indian work of art shows. European and American hunters took the sport over from local Asians and Africans who had previously depended on the hunt for their livelihood. Western manliness was coming to depend on such seemingly heroic feats as big-game hunting, and imperialists scorned those who continued the old aristocratic fox hunt as effeminate. Though not apparent in this illustration, some Western women enjoyed hunting too. (Victoria & Albert Museum, London/Art Resource, NY.)



itoring their children's religious and intellectual development. They decorated their homes with imperial objects such as Persian-inspired textiles, Oriental carpets, wicker furniture, and Chinese porcelains. Although upper-class men chose plain garments, upper-class women wore elaborate costumes—featuring constricting corsets, voluminous skirts, bustles, and low-cut necklines for evening wear—that made them symbols of elite leisure. Women offset the grim side of imperial and industrial society with the rigorous practice of art and music. One Hungarian observer wrote, “The piano mania has become almost an epidemic in Budapest as well as Vienna.” Its keys made of ivory from Africa, the piano symbolized the imperial elite's accomplishments and superiority.

Members of the upper class expected their families to be imperial leaders and hoped to perpetuate social and political dominance by controlling their children's social lives. Parents of marriageable women watched them closely to preserve their chastity and to keep them from socializing with lower-class men. Upper-class men regularly seduced lower-class women—part of the double standard that saw promiscuity as normal for men and as immoral for women—but few thought of marrying them. Parents arranged many marriages directly or arranged courtships that were initiated during visiting days, on which occasions prominent hostesses held an open house under formal conditions. This kind of monitored social scene could also be the setting for matrimonial decisions.

Below the best circles, or “upper crust,” the “solid” middle class of businesspeople and professionals such as lawyers was expanding, most notably in western and central Europe. In eastern Europe, this expansion did not happen naturally, and the Russian government often sought out foreigners to build its professional and business classes. Although middle-ranked businessmen and professionals could sometimes mingle with those at the apex of society, their lives remained more modest. They did, however, employ at least one servant, to give the appearance of leisure to the middle-class woman in the home. Professional men working at home did so from the best-appointed, if not lavish, room. Middle-class domesticity substituted cleanliness and polish for the imperial grandeur of upper-class life.

Professional Sports and Organized Leisure

As nations competed for territory and economic markets, male athletes banded together to organize team sports that eventually replaced village games. Large audiences now backed a particular team, as soccer, rugby, and cricket drew mass followings that welded the lower and higher classes into a common, competitive culture. The reading public devoured newspaper accounts of competition, whether among nations for colonies or among participants in cross-country bicycle races sponsored by tire makers who wanted to prove the superiority of their product. These races evolved

Anglo-Indian Polo Team

Team sports underwent rapid development during the imperial years as spectators rooted for the success of their football team in the same spirit they rooted for their armies abroad. Some educators believed that team sports molded the male character so that men could be more effective soldiers against peoples of other races. In the instance of polo, as illustrated by the team photo here, the English learned what would soon be seen as a typically English sport from the Indians. (*Hulton Archive/Getty Images.*)



into an international competition in the Tour de France, first held in 1903. Competitive sports were seen as valuable to national strength and spirit. “The Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton,” ran the wisdom of the day, suggesting that the games played in school could mold the strength of an army—an army that, as the nineteenth century drew to a close, competed with those of other nations in pursuit of empire.

Team sports—like civilian military service—helped differentiate male and female spheres and thus promoted a social order based on distinction between the sexes. Some women’s teams emerged in sports such as soccer, field hockey, and rowing, but in general women interested in athletics were encouraged to engage in individual sports. “Riding improves the temper, the spirits and the appetite,” wrote one sportswoman. Rejecting the idea of women’s natural frailty, reformers introduced exercise and gymnastics into schools for girls, often with the idea that these would strengthen them for motherhood and thus help build the nation-state. As knowledge of the world developed, some women began to practice yoga.

The middle classes believed their leisure pursuits should strengthen the mind and fortify the body. Thus, mountain climbing became a popular middle-class hobby. As the editor of a Swedish publication of 1889 explained, “The passion for mountain-climbing can only be understood by those who realize that it is the step-by-step achievement of a goal which is the real pleasure of the world.” Working-class people adopted middle-class habits by joining clubs for such pursuits as bicycling, touring, and hiking. Clubs that sponsored trips often had names like the Patriots or the Nationals, again associating physical fitness with national strength. The emphasis on healthy recreation gave people a greater sense of individual might and thereby contributed to a developing sense of imperial citizenship based less on constitutions and rights than on an individual nation’s exercise of raw power. A farmer’s son in the 1890s boasted that with a bicycle, “I was king of the road, since I was faster than a horse.”

Working People’s Strategies

For centuries, working people had migrated from countryside to city and from country to country to make a living. After the middle of the nineteenth century, empire and industry were powerful factors in migration. Older European cities like Riga, Marseille, and Hamburg offered secure new industrial jobs and opportunities for work in global

trade, while new colonies provided land, jobs for soldiers and administrators, and the possibility of unheard-of wealth in diamonds, gold, and other natural resources.

Migration. Europeans who left their native lands moved for a variety of reasons (see “Contrasting Views,” page 744). In parts of Europe, the land simply could not produce enough to support a rapidly expanding population. For example, Greek shipbuilding in ancient times had stripped the vast forests of Sicily, leaving the soil eroded and nearly worthless. By the end of the nineteenth century, hundreds of thousands of Sicilians were leaving, often temporarily, to find work in the industrial cities of North and South America. One-third of all European immigrants came from the British Isles, especially Ireland between 1840 and 1920, first because of the potato famine and then because English landlords drove them from their farms to get higher rents from newcomers. Between 1886 and 1900, half a million Swedes out of a population of 4.75 million quit their country (Figure 23.1, page 746). Millions of rural Jews, especially from eastern Europe, left their villages for economic reasons, but Russian Jews also fled in the face of vicious anti-Semitism. Russian mobs brutally attacked Jewish communities, destroying homes and businesses and even murdering some Jews. These ritualized attacks, called pogroms, were scenes of horror. “People who saw such things never smiled anymore, no matter how long they lived,” recalled one Russian Jewish woman who migrated to the United States in the early 1890s.

Commercial and imperial success determined destinations. Most migrants who left Europe went to North and South America, Australia, and New Zealand, as news of opportunity reached Europe. The railroad and steamship made journeys across and out of Europe more affordable and faster, though most workers traveled in steerage with few comforts. Once established elsewhere, migrants frequently sent money back home; the funds could be used to pay for education or set up family members in small businesses, thus improving their condition. European farm families often received a good deal of their income from husbands or grown sons and daughters who had left. Cash-starved peasants in eastern and central Europe welcomed the arrival of “magic dollars” from their kin. Migrants themselves appreciated the chance to begin anew without the harsh conditions of the Old World. One settler in the United States was relieved to escape the meager peasant fare of rye bread and

CONTRASTING VIEWS

Experiences of Migration

In the nineteenth century, millions of migrants moved thousands of miles from their homelands. The vast distances traveled and the permanent relocation of these migrants were among the issues generating a wide range of responses. Among both migrants and those left behind, reactions varied from acceptance and enthusiasm to opposition and anger. The conflicting reactions appeared in official reports, local newspapers, poems, and very personal letters. While officials pointed with relief to the economic benefits of emigration (Document 1), people left behind were often heartbroken and destitute (Document 2). Migrants themselves had vastly differing experiences, adding to debate over migration (Documents 3 and 4).

1. The Government View

The preamble to the Hungarian census for 1890 was blunt and unambiguous on the subject. It saw emigration exclusively in financial terms.

Emigration has proved to be a veritable boom. The impoverished populace has been drawn off to where it has found lucrative employment; the position of those left behind, their work opportunities and standard of living, have undoubtedly improved thanks to the rise in wages, and thanks to the substantial financial aid coming into the country: sums of from 300,000 to 1,500,000 florints.

Source: Quoted in Julianna Puskas, “Consequences of Overseas Migration for the Country of Origin: The Case of Hungary,” in Dirk Hoerder and Inge Blank, eds., *Roots of the Transplanted: Late 19th Century East Central and Southeastern Europe* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1994), I:397.

2. Those Left Behind

Teofila Borkowska, from Warsaw, Poland, reacted to her husband’s resettlement in the United States in two letters from 1893 and 1894. Stripped of a family group, Teofila had a difficult time surviving, and her husband, Wladyslaw Borkowski, never did return.

1893. Dear Husband: Up to the present I live with the Rybickis. I am not very well satisfied, perhaps because I was accustomed to live for so many years quietly, with you alone. And today you are at one end of the world and I at the other, so when I look at strange corners [surroundings], I don’t know what to do from longing and regret. I comfort myself only that you won’t forget me, that you will remain noble as you have been. . . . I have only the sort of friends who think that I own thousands and from time to time someone comes to me, asking me to lend her a dozen roubles.

1894. Up to the present I thought and rejoiced that you would still come back to Warsaw, but since you write that you won’t come I comply with the will of God and with your will. I shall now count the days and weeks [until you take me to America]. . . . Such a sad life! I go almost to nobody, for as long as you were in Warsaw everything was different. Formerly we had friends, and everybody was glad to see us, while now, if I go to anybody, they are afraid I need something from them and they show me beforehand a different face.

Source: Letter from Teofila Borkowska to Wladyslaw Borkowski, in William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (New York: Dover, 1958), July 21, 1893, April 12, 1894, II: 874–75.

herring: “God save us from . . . all that is Swedish,” he wrote home sourly.

Migration out of Europe often meant an end to the old way of life. Workers immediately had to learn new languages and compete for jobs in growing cities where they formed the cheapest pool of labor, often in factories or sweatshops. Emigrant women who worked as homemakers, however, tended to keep to themselves, preserving traditional ways. More insulated, they might never learn the new language or put their peasant dresses away. Their children and husbands more often cast aside their past as they were forced to build a life in schools and factories of the New World.

More common than international migration was internal migration from rural areas to European cities, accelerating the urbanization of Europe. The most urbanized countries were Great Britain and Belgium, followed by Germany, France, and the Netherlands. In Russia, only 7 percent of the population lived in cities of ten thousand or more; in Portugal the figure was 12 percent. Many who moved to the cities were seasonal migrants. In the cities, they worked as masons, cabdrivers, or factory hands to supplement declining income from agriculture; when they returned to the countryside, they provided hands for the harvest. In villages across Europe, independent artisans such as

3. Migration Defended

In some cases, emigrants were said to be unpatriotic and cowardly for leaving their homeland just to avoid hard economic times. To charges against Swedish emigrants, journalist Isador Kjelberg responded with the following defense.

Patriotism? Let us not misuse so fine a word! Does patriotism consist of withholding the truth from the workingman by claiming that “things are bad in America”? I want nothing to do with such patriotism! If patriotism consists of seeking, through lies, to persuade the poorest classes to remain under the yoke, like mindless beasts, so that we others should be so much better off, then I am lacking in patriotism. I love my country, as such, but even more I love and sympathize with the human being, the worker. . . . Among those who most sternly condemn emigration are those who least value the human and civic value of the workingman. . . . They demand that he remain here. What are they prepared to give him to compensate the deprivations this requires? . . . It is only cowardly, unmanly, heartless, to let oneself become a slave under deplorable circumstances which one *can* overcome.

Source: Quoted in H. Arnold Barton, *A Folk Divided: Homeland Swedes and Swedish Americans, 1840–1940* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994), 72–73.

This anonymous Swedish poem combined a political defense of migration with an economic one.

I’m bound for young America,
Farewell old Scandinavia.
I’ve had my fill of cold and toil,
All for the love of mother soil.
You poets with your rocks and rills
Can stay and starve — on words, no frills.
There, out west, a man breathes free,
While here one slaves, a tired bee,
Gathering honey to fill the hive
Of wise old rulers, on us they thrive.

In toil we hover before their thrones,
While they take to slumber, like lazy drones.
Drunk with our nectar they’ve set us afright,
But opportunity has knocked, and we’ll take our flight.

Source: Quoted in *ibid.*, 137.

4. The Perils of Migration

A contrasting view of emigration to the United States appeared in the following Slovak song.

My fellow countryman, Rendek from Senica, the son of poor parents
Went out into the wide world. In Pittsburgh he began to toil.
From early morning till late at night he filled the furnaces with coal.
Faster, faster, roared the foreman, every day. . . .
Rendek toiled harder
So as to see his wife.
But alas! He was careless
And on Saturday evening late
He received his injuries. At home his widow waited
For the card which would never come.
I, his friend, write this song
To let you know
What a hard life we have here.

Source: Quoted in Frantisek Bielik, Horst Hogh, and Anna Stvrtecka, “Slovak Images of the New World: ‘We Could Pay Off Our Debts’” in Dirk Hoerder and Inge Blank, eds., *Roots of the Transplanted: Late 19th Century East Central and Southeastern Europe* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1994), I:388.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. Did the vast nineteenth-century migration ultimately enrich or diminish European culture and society?
2. How would you characterize the experience of migration for families and individuals?
3. How did migration affect the national identity of both receiving countries and European countries of origin?

handloom weavers often supported their unprofitable livelihoods by sending their wives and daughters to work in industrial cities.

Adaptation to Industrial Change. Changes in technology and management practices eliminated outmoded jobs and often made factory work more difficult. Workers complained that new machinery sped up the pace of work to an unrealistic level. For example, employers at a foundry in suburban Paris required workers using new furnaces to turn out 50 percent more metal per day than they had produced using the old furnaces. Stepped-up productivity demanded much more physical exertion,

but workers received no additional pay for their extra efforts. Workers also grumbled about the proliferation of managers; many believed that foremen, engineers, and other supervisors interfered with their work. For women, supervision sometimes brought on-the-job harassment, as in the case of female workers in a German food-canning plant who kept their jobs only in return for granting sexual favors to the male manager.

Many in the urban and rural labor force continued to do outwork at home. In Russia, workers made bricks, sieves, shawls, lace, and locks during the slow winter season. Every branch of industry, from metallurgy to toy manufacturing to food

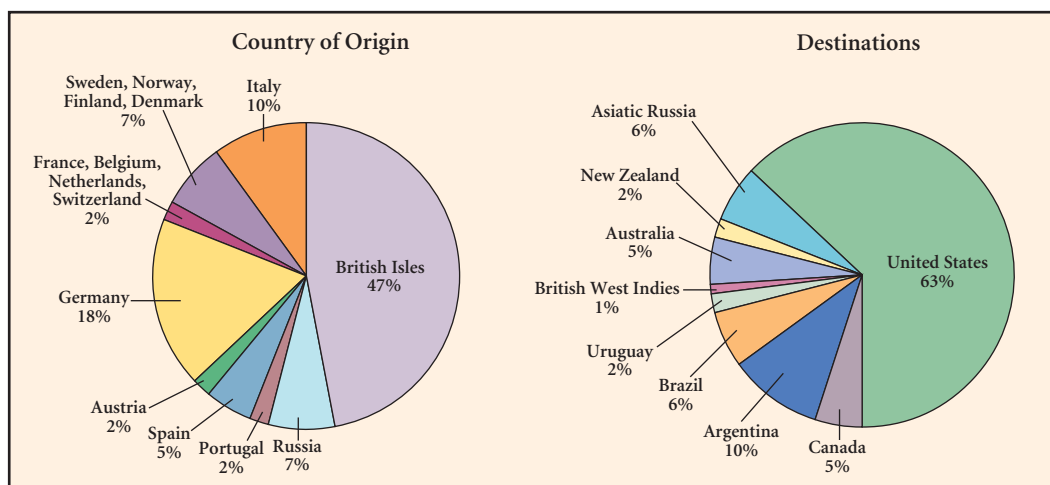


FIGURE 23.1 European Emigration, 1870–1890

The suffering caused by economic change and by political persecution motivated people from almost every European country to leave their homes for greater security elsewhere. North America attracted more than two-thirds of these migrants, many of whom followed reports of vast quantities of available land in both Canada and the United States. Both countries were known for following the rule of law and for economic opportunity in urban as well as rural areas. (*Theodore Hamerow, The Birth of New Europe: State and Society in the Nineteenth Century (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 169.*)

processing, also employed urban women at home—and their work was essential to the family economy. They painted tin soldiers, wrapped chocolate, made cheese boxes, and polished metal. Factory owners liked the system because low piece rates made outworkers desperate for income under any conditions and thus willing to work extremely long days. A German seamstress at her new sewing machine reported that she “pedaled at a stretch from six o’clock in the morning until midnight. . . . At four o’clock I got up and did the housework and prepared meals.” Owners could lay off women at home during slack times and rehire them whenever needed with little fear of organized protest.

Economic change and the periodic recurrence of hard times had uneven consequences for people’s everyday lives. In the late nineteenth century, joblessness and destitution threatened. Some city workers prospered by comparison to those in rural areas, though a growing number lost the steadiness of traditional artisanal work. By and large, however, urban workers were better informed and more connected to the progress of industry and empire than their rural counterparts were.

Reform Efforts for Working-Class People

Many in the urban working class suffered under the uneven effects of industrial growth and the up-

heaval of migration. To address these problems and thereby strengthen their nations, middle- and upper-class reformers founded charities and other organizations for social improvement. Settlement houses, clinics, and maternal and child health centers became a common sight. Young men and women, often from universities, staffed these new organizations, especially the settlement houses, where the reformers took up residence in poor neighborhoods to study and help the people. Believing in the scientific approach, they thought that study would uncover the causes of social problems and point the way to solutions. One group devoted to this enterprise was the Fabian Society in London, a small organization established in 1884. It was committed to a kind of socialism based on study, state planning, and reform rather than revolution. In 1893, the Fabians helped found the Labour Party as a way of making social improvement a political cause. Still other reformers were motivated by a strong religious impulse. “There is Christ’s own work to be done,” wrote one woman who volunteered to inspect workhouse conditions.

Philanthropists and government officials influenced by Social Darwinism feared that ordinary Europeans would lack the fitness to survive in a competitive world. The poor, as one reformer put it, “were permanently stranded on lower levels of evolution.” Reformers began to intervene more in

the lives of working-class families as a way to “quicken evolution.” They sponsored health clinics and milk centers to provide good medical care and food for children and instructed mothers in child-care techniques, including breast-feeding to promote infant health. Some schools distributed free lunches, medicine, and clothing and inspected the health and appearance of their students. Government officials or individual reformers pressured poor, overworked mothers to conform to new standards for their children—such as finding them respectable shoes—that they could ill afford. Reformers, considering themselves the creators of “wise social legislation,” believed they had the right to enter working-class apartments whenever they chose to inspect them.

A few professionals began to make available birth-control information in the belief that smaller families could better survive the challenges of urban life. In the 1880s, Aletta Jacobs (1851–1929), a Dutch physician, opened the first birth-control clinic, which specialized in promoting the new, German-invented diaphragm. Jacobs wanted to help women in Amsterdam slums who were worn out by numerous pregnancies and whose lives, she believed, would be greatly improved by limiting their fertility. Working-class women used these clinics, and knowledge of birth-control techniques spread by word of mouth among workers. The churches adamantly opposed this trend, and even reformers wondered whether birth control would increase the sexual vulnerability of women if the threat of pregnancy and its responsibilities were removed.

Another government reform effort targeted at reproduction consisted of measures said to “protect” women from certain kinds of work. Legislation across Europe barred women from night work and from such “dangerous” trades as pottery making and bartending—allegedly for health reasons, even though medical statistics demonstrated that women became sick on the job less often than men. But lawmakers and workingmen claimed that women’s work in pottery making and other trades endangered reproduction. The fear was not that families were too large but that women were not producing healthy enough children and were stealing jobs from men. Women who had worked in trades newly defined as “dangerous” were forced to find other, lower-paying jobs or remain at home. The new laws did not prevent women from holding jobs, but they made earning a living harder. Social Darwinists promoted such efforts in the name of producing a population most fit for the struggle to survive.

Artistic Responses to Empire and Industry

In the 1870s and 1880s, the arts explored the consequences of global expansion and economic innovation, often in the same gloomy Darwinistic terms that made reformers anxious. Darwin’s theory held out the possibility that strong civilizations, if they failed to adapt to changing conditions, could weaken, decay, and collapse. French writer Émile Zola, influenced by fears of social decay, produced a series of novels set in industrializing France about a family plagued by alcoholism and madness. Zola’s characters, who led violent strikes and in one case even castrated an oppressive grocer, raised questions about the future of civilization. Zola had a dark vision of how industrial society affected individuals: his novel *Women’s Paradise* (1883) depicts the upper-class shopper who abandons rational, appropriate behavior for the frenzy of the new department stores. Other heroines were equally upsetting because they violated other long-standing rules. The character Nora in the drama *A Doll’s House* (1879) by Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen threatens civilized values and the health of society as a whole by leaving an oppressive marriage (see Document, “From *A Doll’s House*,” page 748).

Writers envisioned a widespread deterioration of behavior pervading urban and rural life. The stories of Emilia Pardo Bazán are tales of incest and murder at work among wealthy landowning families in rural Spain. The heroine of Olive Schreiner’s *The Story of an African Farm* (1889) rejects the role of submissive wife in rural Africa, describing the British Empire as a “dirty little world, full of confusion.” Schreiner became celebrated among opponents of empire for her grim portrayals. Novelists addressed the burning issues of their times, but Social Darwinism made their realism even bleaker.

Decorative arts of this period featured a countertrend away from stark realism. Country people used mass-produced textiles to create traditional-looking costumes and developed ceremonies based on a mythical past. Such invented customs, romanticized as old and authentic, attracted city dwellers and brought tourist business to villages. So-called folk motifs caught the eye of modern urban architects and industrial designers, who copied rustic styles when creating household goods and decorative objects. The influence of empire is apparent in the traditional Persian and Indian motifs used by English designers William Morris (1834–1896) and his daughter May Morris (1862–1938) in their designs of fabrics, wallpaper, and household items

based on such natural imagery as the silhouettes of plants. They wanted to replace “dead” and “ornate” styles of the early industrial years with the simple crafts of the past. Their work gave birth to the “arts and crafts” style, which paradoxically attracted consumers of the industrial age.

Industrial developments also influenced the work of painters, who by the 1870s felt intense

competition from a popular industrial invention—the camera. Photographers could produce cheap copies of paintings and create more realistic portraits than painters could, at affordable prices. In response, painters altered their style, at times trying to make their work look as different from photographs as possible. Using thousands of dots and dabs, French painter Georges Seurat depicted the

DOCUMENT

Henrik Ibsen, From *A Doll's House*

Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen helped create the global marketplace of ideas with such plays as A Doll's House, an 1879 work critical of traditional gender roles, as this selection reveals. With women like Marianne North traveling the globe, Ibsen increasingly believed that the middle-class housewife did not develop as a full human being. His plays were performed in many countries—not only in Europe but also in Egypt, the United States, and as far away as Japan—and always sparking fierce debate. If European artists and writers borrowed from other cultures, Europe's cultural influence also spread beyond its borders.

Helmer: Nora, how can you be so unreasonable and ungrateful? Haven't you been happy here?

Nora: No; never. I used to think I was; but I haven't ever been happy.

Helmer: Not—not happy?

Nora: No. I've just had fun. You've always been very kind to me. But our home has never been anything but a playroom. I've been your doll-wife, just as I used to be Papa's doll-child. And the children have been my dolls. I used to think it was fun when you came in and played with me, just as they think it's fun when I go in and play games with them. That's all our marriage has been, Torvald.

Helmer: There may be a little truth in what you say, though you exaggerate and romanticize. But from now on it'll be different. Playtime is over. Now the time has come for education.

Nora: Whose education? Mine or the children's?

Helmer: Both yours and the children's, my dearest Nora.

Nora: Oh, Torvald, you're not the man to educate me into being the right wife for you.

Helmer: How can you say that?

Nora: And what about me? Am I fit to educate the children?

Helmer: Nora!

Nora: Didn't you say yourself a few minutes ago that you dare not leave them in my charge?

Helmer: In a moment of excitement. Surely you don't think I meant it seriously?

Nora: Yes. You were perfectly right. I'm not fitted to educate them. There's something else I must do first. I must educate myself. And you can't help me with that. It's something I must do by myself. That's why I'm leaving you.

Helmer (jumps up): What did you say?

Nora: I must stand on my own feet if I am to find out the truth about myself and about life. So I can't go on living here with you any longer.

Helmer: Nora, Nora!

Nora: I'm leaving you now, at once. Christine will put me up for tonight—

Helmer: You're out of your mind! You can't do this! I forbid you!

Nora: It's no use your trying to forbid me any more. I shall take with me nothing but what is mine. I don't want anything from you, now or ever.

Helmer: What kind of madness is this?

Nora: Tomorrow I shall go home—I mean, to where I was born. It'll be easiest for me to find some kind of a job there.

Helmer: But you're blind! You've no experience of the world—

Nora: I must try to get some, Torvald.

Helmer: But to leave your home, your husband, your children! Have you thought what people will say?

Nora: I can't help that. I only know that I must do this.

Helmer: But this is monstrous! Can you neglect your most sacred duties?

Nora: What do you call my most sacred duties?

Helmer: Do I have to tell you? Your duties towards your husband, and your children.

Nora: I have another duty which is equally sacred.

Helmer: You have not. What on earth could that be?

Nora: My duty towards myself.

Source: Henrik Ibsen, *A Doll's House* (New York: Anchor, 1966), 96–97.

Parisian suburbs' newly created parks with their Sunday bicyclists and white-collar workers in their store-bought clothing, carrying books or newspapers and parading like the well-to-do. Seurat and other painters used new and varying techniques to distinguish their art from the photographic realism of the camera.

This daring style of art came to be called **impressionism**. It emphasizes the artist's attempt to capture a single moment by focusing on the ever-changing light and color found in ordinary scenes. Using splotches and dots, impressionists moved away from the precise realism of earlier painters and challenged artistic norms. Claude Monet, for example, was fascinated by the way light transformed an object, and he often portrayed the same place—a bridge or a railroad station—at different times of day. Vincent Van Gogh used vibrant colors in great swirls to capture sunflowers, haystacks, and the starry evening sky. Such distortions of reality made the impressionists' visual style seem outrageous to those accustomed to re-

alism, but a few enthusiastically greeted impressionism's luminous quality. Industry contributed to the new style, as factories produced a range of pigments that allowed artists to use a wider and more intense spectrum of colors than ever before. Both new industrial products such as the camera and industrial breakthroughs such as chemically based paints gave birth to the impressionist rebellion in the arts.

An increasingly global vision also influenced painting in the age of empire. In both composition and style, impressionists borrowed heavily from Asian art and architecture. The impressionist goal of portraying the fleetingness of light or human situations came from an ancient Japanese concept—*mono no aware* (sensitivity to the fleetingness of life). The color, line, and delicacy of Japanese art (which many impressionists collected) is evident, for example, in Monet's later paintings of water lilies, his studies of wisteria, and even his re-creation of a Japanese garden at his home in France as the subject for artistic study. Similarly, the American expatriate Mary Cassatt used the two-dimensionality of Japanese art in *The Letter* (1890–1891) and other paintings. Van Gogh filled the background of portraits with copies of intensely colored Japanese prints, even imitating

impressionism: A mid- to late-nineteenth-century artistic style that captured the sensation of light in images, derived from Japanese influences and in opposition to the realism of photographs.



Mary Cassatt, *The Letter* (c. 1890)

Mary Cassatt, an American artist who spent much of her time in Europe, was one of the many Western artists smitten by Japanese prints. Like many other Western artists of her day, she learned Japanese techniques for printmaking, but she also reshaped her painting style to follow Japanese conventions in composition, perspective, and the use of color. Cassatt is known for her many depictions of Western mothers and children and of individual women. In this painting, the woman herself even looks Japanese. (*Mary Cassatt, The Letter, 1890/91. Drypoint and aquatint, 34.5 x 21.1 cm, Mr. and Mrs. M. A. Ryerson Collection, 1932. 1282, The Art Institute of Chicago Photography © The Art Institute of Chicago.*)

■ For more help analyzing this image, see the visual activity for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

classic Japanese woodcuts. The graphic arts advanced the West's ongoing borrowing from around the globe, while responding to the changes brought about by industry.

REVIEW: How did empire and industry influence art and everyday life?

The Birth of Mass Politics

Amid the expansion of empire and the development of industry, ordinary people struggled for political voice, especially through the vote. By bringing more people into closer contact with one another, industrial growth and urban development strengthened networks of political communication and furthered the growth of national consciousness. The railroad, for example, took high-ranking officials such as prime minister William Gladstone on campaigns to win votes before national audiences, which thus spurred political involvement. As national consciousness grew among workers, they became politically aware and active, leading western European governments to allow more men to vote. Although only men profited from electoral reform, the era's expanding franchise marked the beginning of mass politics—a hallmark of the twentieth-century West. Women could not vote, but they participated in public life by forming auxiliary groups to support political parties. Among the authoritarian monarchies, Germany had male suffrage, but in more autocratic states to the east—for instance, Russia—violence and ethnic conflict shaped political systems. In such places, the harsh rule from above often resembled the control imposed on colonized peoples rather than participation of voting citizens.

Workers, Politics, and Protest

Workers in the 1870s–1890s joined together politically to exert pressure on governments and businesses. Strikes and worker activism were reactions to workplace hardships, but they depended on community bonds forged in neighborhoods. With the backing of their neighbors and fellow laborers, workers formed effective unions and powerful political parties—many of them based on a Marxist platform. Unions served to protect workers from the often brutal pace of industrial change and to guarantee that they received a fair wage. Workers banded together both in grassroots organizations

such as clubs and reading societies and in international organizations across their individual nation-state's boundaries. The Second International, founded in 1889, aimed to combat the growing nationalism and imperial competition that separated workers rather than binding them in a common cause.

Unions and Strikes. As the nineteenth century entered its final decades, workers organized formal unions, which attracted the allegiance of millions. Unions demanded a say in working conditions and aimed, as one union's rule book put it, “to ensure that wages never suffer illegitimate reductions and that they always follow the rises in the price of basic commodities.” Businessmen and governments viewed striking workers as insubordinate, threatening political unrest and destructive violence. Even so, strong unions appealed to some industrialists because a union could make strikes more predictable (or even prevent them) and present worker demands coherently instead of piecemeal by groups of angry workers.

From the 1880s on, the pace of collective action for better pay, lower prices, and better working conditions accelerated. In 1888, for example, hundreds of young women who made matches, the so-called London matchgirls, struck to end the fining system, under which they could be penalized an entire day's wage for being a minute or two late to work. This system, the matchgirls maintained, helped companies reap profits of more than 20 percent. Newspapers and philanthropists picked up the strikers' story, condemning “respectable” owners “who suck wealth out of the starvation of helpless girls.” In 1890, sixty thousand workers took to the streets of Budapest to agitate for safer working conditions and the vote; the next year, day laborers on Hungarian farms struck too. Across Europe between 1888 and 1890, the number of strikes and major demonstrations rose by more than 50 percent, from 188 to 289.

Housewives, who often acted in support of strikers, carried out their own protests against high food prices. They confiscated merchants' goods and sold them at what they considered a fair price. “There should no longer be either rich or poor,” argued Italian peasant women. “All should have bread for themselves and for their children. We should all be equal.” They took other kinds of action too: housewives often hid neighbors' truant children from school officials so that the children could continue to help with work at home. When landlords evicted tenants, women gathered in the streets to replace household goods as fast as they

were removed from the rooms of ousted families. Meeting on doorsteps or at fountains, laundries, and markets, women initiated rural newcomers into urban ways. In doing so, they helped cement the working-class unity created by workers in the factory.

Governments increasingly responded to strikes by calling out troops or armed police, even though most strikes were about working conditions and not about political revolution. Even in the face of government force, unions did not back down or lose their commitment to solidarity. Craft-based unions of skilled artisans, such as carpenters and printers, were the most active and cohesive, but from the mid-1880s on, a movement known as **new unionism** attracted transport workers, miners, matchgirls, and dockworkers. These new unions were nationwide groups with salaried managers who could plan a widespread general strike across the trades, focusing on such common goals as the eight-hour workday and also paralyzing an entire nation through work stoppages. Although small, local workers' associations remained important, the large unions of the industrialized countries of western Europe had more potential for challenging large industries, cartels, and trusts.

Political Parties. Workers joined new political parties that addressed working-class issues. Workingmen helped create the Labour Party in England, the Socialist Party in France, and the Social Democratic Parties of Sweden, Hungary, Austria, and Germany—most of them inspired by Marxist theories. Germany was home to the largest socialist party in Europe after 1890. Socialist parties held out hope that newly enfranchised male working-class voters who could become a collective force in national elections, even triumphing because of their numbers over the power of the upper class.

Those who accepted Marx's assertion that "workingmen have no country" went further, founding an international movement to address workers' common interests across national boundaries. In 1889, some four hundred socialists from across Europe met to form the **Second International**, a federation of working-class organizations and political parties that replaced the First International, founded by Marx before the Paris Commune. The Second International adopted a

Marxist revolutionary program, but it also advocated suffrage where it still did not exist and better working conditions in the immediate future.

Members of the Second International determined to rid the organization of anarchists, who flourished in the less industrial parts of Europe—Russia, Italy, and Spain. In these countries, anarchism got heavy support from peasants, small property owners, and agricultural day laborers, for whom Marxist theories of worker-controlled factories had less appeal. In an age of crop failures and stiff international competition in agriculture, many rural people sought a life free from the domination of large landowners and governments that backed the landowners' interests. Many advocated extreme tactics, including physical violence and even murder. "We want to overthrow the government . . . with violence since it is by the use of violence that they force us to obey," wrote one Italian anarchist. In the 1880s, anarchists bombed stock exchanges, parliaments, and businesses. Members of the Second International felt that such random violence was counterproductive.

Workingwomen joined unions and workers' political parties, but in much smaller numbers than men. Unable to vote in national elections and usually responsible for housework in addition to their paying jobs, women had little time for party meetings. Furthermore, their low wages hardly allowed them to survive, much less pay party or union dues. Many workingmen opposed their presence, fearing women would dilute the union's masculine camaraderie. Contact with women would mean "suffocation," one Russian workingman believed, and end male union members' sense of being "comrades in the revolutionary cause." Unions glorified the heroic struggles of a male proletariat against capitalism. Marxist leaders maintained that capitalism alone caused injustice to women and thus that the creation of a socialist society would automatically end gender inequality. As a result, although the new political organizations encouraged women's support, most saw women's concerns about lower wages and sexual coercion in the workplace as basically unimportant.

Popular community activities that intertwined politics with everyday life also built worker solidarity. The gymnastics and choral societies that had once united Europeans in nationalistic fervor now served working-class goals. Songs emphasized worker freedom, progress, and eventual victory. "Out of the dark past, the light of the future shines forth brightly," went one Russian workers' song. Socialist gymnastics, bicycling, and marching societies rejected competition and prizes as middle-

new unionism: A nineteenth-century development in labor organizing that replaced local craft-based unions with those that extended membership to all kinds of workers.

Second International: A transnational organization of workers established in 1889, mostly committed to Marxian socialism.

class preoccupations, but they valued physical fitness because it could help workers in the “struggle for existence”—a reflection of the spread of Darwinian thinking to all levels of society. Workers also held festivals and cheerful parades, most notably on May 1—a centuries-old holiday that the Second International now claimed should honor working people. Like religious processions of an earlier time, parades were rituals that fostered unity. European governments frequently prohibited such public gatherings, fearing them as tools for agitators.

Expanding Political Participation in Western Europe

Ordinary people everywhere in the West were becoming aware of politics through newspapers, which, combined with industrial and imperial progress, were important in developing their sense of citizenship in a nation. Western European countries moved toward mass politics more rapidly than did countries to the east. In western Europe, people’s access to newspapers and their political participation meant that the will of the people was increasingly important and the power of small cliques relatively less so in determining election outcomes. In eastern Europe, in contrast, conservative elites opposed the integration of citizens as active participants in a national community that was the trend in western Europe.

Mass Journalism. The rise of mass journalism after 1880 was the product of imperial and industrial development. The invention of automatic typesetting and the production of newsprint from wood pulp lowered the costs of printing; the telephone allowed reporters to communicate news to their papers almost instantly. Once literary in content, many daily newspapers now emphasized sensational news, using banner headlines, dramatic pictures, and gruesome or lurid details—particularly about murders and sexual scandals—to sell papers. In the hustle and bustle of industrial society, one editor wrote, “you must strike your reader right between the eyes.” A series of articles in 1885 in London’s *Pall Mall Gazette* on the “white slave trade” warned the innocent not to read further. The author then proceeded to describe how young women were “snared, trapped,” and otherwise forced into prostitution in distant lands through sexual violation and drugs. Stories of imperial adventurers and exaggerated accounts of wasted women workers and their unborn babies similarly drew ordinary people to the mass press.

Journalism created a national community of up-to-date citizens, whether or not they could vote. Unlike the book, the newspaper was meant not for quiet reflection at home or in the upper-class club but for quick reading of attention-grabbing stories on mass transportation and on the streets. Elites complained that the sensationalist press was a sign of social decay, but for up-and-coming people from the working and middle classes, journalism provided an avenue to success. As London, Paris, Vienna, Berlin, and St. Petersburg became centers not only of politics but also of news, a number of European politicians got their start working for daily newspapers. In western Europe, increasing political literacy opened the political process to wider participation.

British Political Reforms. A change in political campaigning was one example of this widening participation. In the fall of 1879, **William Gladstone** (1809–1898), leader of the British Liberals, whose party was then out of power, took a train trip across Britain to campaign for a seat in the House of Commons. During his campaign, Gladstone addressed thousands of workers, arguing for the people of India and Africa to have more rights and summoning his audiences to “honest, manful, humble effort” in the middle-class tradition of “hard work.” Newspapers around the country reported on his trip and these accounts, along with mass meetings, fueled public interest in politics. Queen Victoria, angered by Gladstone’s novel tactic of speaking to ordinary people and by his attacks on her empire, vowed that he would never again serve as prime minister. Gladstone’s campaign was successful, however; his Liberal Party won, and he did become prime minister.

Other changes fostered the growth of mass politics in Britain. The Ballot Act of 1872 made voting secret, a reform that reduced the ability of landlords and employers to control how their workers voted. The **Reform Act of 1884** doubled the electorate to around 4.5 million men, enfranchising many urban workers and artisans and thus further diminishing traditional aristocratic influence in the countryside. To win the votes of the newly enfranchised, Liberal and Conservative parties alike established national political clubs to build party loyalty. These clubs competed with the cliques of

William Gladstone (1809–1898): Liberal politician and prime minister of Great Britain who innovated in popular campaigning and who criticized British imperialism.

Reform Act of 1884: British legislation that granted the right to vote to a mass male citizenry.

parliamentary elites who had controlled party politics. Broadly based interest groups such as unions and national political clubs began to open up politics by appealing to many more voters.

British political reforms immediately affected Irish politics by arming disaffected tenant farmers with the secret ballot. The political climate in Ireland was explosive mainly because of the repressive tactics of absentee landlords, many of them English and Protestant, who drove tenants from their land in order to charge higher rents to newcomers. In 1879, opponents of these landlords' attacks on Irish well-being formed the Irish National Land League and launched fiery protests. Irish tenants elected a solid bloc of nationalist representatives to the British Parliament.

The Irish members of Parliament began voting as a group, which gave them sufficient strength to defeat legislation proposed by either the Conservatives or the Liberals. Irish leader **Charles Stewart Parnell** (1846–1891) demanded British support for **home rule**—a system giving Ireland its own parliament—in return for Irish votes (see Parnell's portrait on this page). Gladstone, who served four nonconsecutive terms as prime minister between 1868 and 1894, accommodated Parnell with bills on home rule and tenant security. But Conservatives called home rule “a conspiracy against the honor of Britain,” and when they were in power (1885–1886 and 1886–1892), they cracked down on Irish activism. Scandals reported in the press, some of them totally invented, weakened Parnell's influence. In 1890, the news broke of his affair with a married woman, and he died in disgrace soon after. Parnell's leadership was sorely missed, and Irish home rule remained a heated political issue in the British Parliament as well as a fervent goal in Ireland.

France's Third Republic. Prussia's defeat of Napoleon III in 1871 led to the creation of the **Third Republic** to replace the Second Empire. The republic was shaky at the start because the monarchist political factions—Bonapartist, Orléanist, and Bourbon—all struggled to restore their respective families to power. But the republican form

Charles Stewart Parnell, Irish Hero

Charles Stewart Parnell gained the support of both the moderates and the radicals working for Irish home rule. Many saw Ireland as the first of England's colonial conquests—a land that was both ruled and exploited economically like a colony. Son of a landowning Protestant and a skilled parliamentary politician, Parnell threw himself into the Irish cause by paralyzing the British Parliament's conduct of business. In retaliation, the government used forgeries and other unsavory means to destroy Parnell; but in the end, scandal in his personal life lost him the vital support of the public. (*Mary Evans Picture Library.*)



of government, which French supporters had been trying to solidify for almost a century, survived when the monarchists' compromise candidate for king, the comte de Chambord, stubbornly refused to accept the tricolored flag devised in the French Revolution. Associating the tricolor with regicide, he would accept only the white flag adorned with the fleur-de-lis of the Bourbons. He thus lost the chance to revive the monarchy, and in 1875, a new constitution created a ceremonial presidency and a premiership dependent on support from an elected Chamber of Deputies. An alliance of businessmen, shopkeepers, professionals, and rural property owners hoped the new system would prevent the kind of strongman politics that had seen previous republics give way to the rule of emperors and the return of monarchs.

Charles Stewart Parnell: Irish politician (1846–1891) whose advocacy of home rule was a thorn in the side of the British establishment.

home rule: The right to an independent parliament demanded by the Irish and resisted by the British from the second half of the nineteenth century on.

Third Republic: The government that succeeded Napoleon III's Second Empire after its defeat in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871. It lasted until France's defeat by Germany in 1940.

Fragile at birth, the Third Republic would remain so until World War II. Economic downturns, widespread corruption, and growing anti-Semitism, fueled by a highly partisan press, kept the Third Republic on shaky ground. Newspaper stories about members of the Chamber of Deputies selling their votes to business interests and about the alleged trickery of Jewish businessmen manipulating the economy added to the instability. As a result, the public blamed Jews for the failures of republican government and the economy. Confidence in republican politics sank even further in 1887 when the president's son-in-law was discovered to have sold public honors. With the support of those disgusted by the messiness of parliamentary politics, Georges Boulanger, a dashing and highly popular general, began a coup to take over the government. He soon lost his nerve, however, saving the French from rule by another strongman. Nevertheless, Boulanger's popularity showed that in hard economic times, liberal politics—based on constitutions, elections, and the rights of citizens—could be called into question by someone promising easy solutions.

Republican leaders attempted to strengthen citizen loyalty by instituting compulsory and free public education in the 1880s. In public schools, secular teachers who supported republicanism replaced the Catholic clergy, who usually favored a restored monarchy. A centralized curriculum—identical in every schoolhouse in the country—featured patriotic reading books and courses in French geography, literature, and history. To perpetuate republican ideals, the government established secular public high schools for young women, seen as the educators of future citizens. Mandatory military service for men in the republic's army inculcated national pride in place of regional and rural loyalties that were often centered on the Catholic church. In short, schools and the army both turned peasants into Frenchmen.

Political Liberalism Rejected. Although many western European leaders believed in economic liberalism, constitutionalism, and efficient government, these ideals did not always translate into universal male suffrage, citizens' rights, and other forms of political liberalism in the less powerful western European countries. Spain and Belgium abruptly awarded suffrage to all men in 1890 and 1893, respectively, but both governments remained monarchies. An alliance of conservative landowners and the Catholic church dominated Spain, although there was increasingly lively urban ac-

tivism in the industrial centers of Barcelona and Bilbao. Denmark and Sweden continued to limit political participation, and reform in the Netherlands increased manhood suffrage to only 14 percent by the mid-1890s. An 1887 law in Italy gave the vote to all men who had a primary school education, something attained by only 14 percent of Italian men.

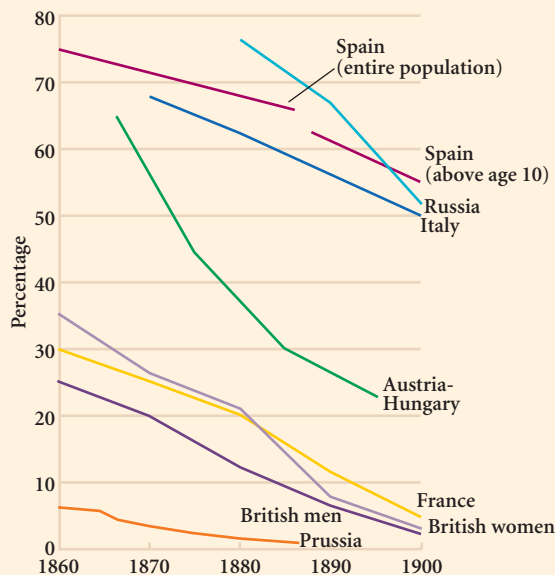
In Italy, the process of unification left a towering debt and huge pockets of discontented people, including Catholic supporters of the pope and impoverished citizens in the south. Without receiving the benefits of nation building—education, urban improvements, industrial progress, and the vote—the average Italian in the south felt less a loyalty to the new nation than a fear of the devastating effects of national taxes and the draft on the family economy. Italians' growing unhappiness with constitutional government would have dramatic implications in the twentieth century.

Power Politics in Central and Eastern Europe

Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia diverged from the political paths taken by western European countries in the decades 1870–1890. These countries industrialized at varying rates—Germany rapidly and Russia far more slowly. Literacy and the development of a civic, urban culture were more advanced in Germany and Austria-Hungary than in Russia (see “Taking Measure,” page 755). Even Russia, however, saw the development of a modern press, although with a far smaller readership than elsewhere. In all three countries, conservative large landowners remained powerful, often blocking improvements in transport, sanitation, and tariff policy that would support a growing urban population.

Bismarck's Germany. Bismarck had upset the European balance of power, first by humiliating France in the Franco-Prussian War and then by creating a powerful, unified Germany, exemplified in the explosive economic growth and rapid development of every aspect of the nation-state, from transport to the thriving capital city of Berlin (Map 23.3). His goals achieved, Bismarck now desired stability and a respite from war and so turned to diplomacy instead of war. Fearing that France would soon seek revenge against the new Reich and needing peace to consolidate the nation, he pronounced Germany “satisfied,” meaning that it sought no new territory. To ensure Germany's long-term security in Europe, in 1873 Bismarck

TAKING MEASURE

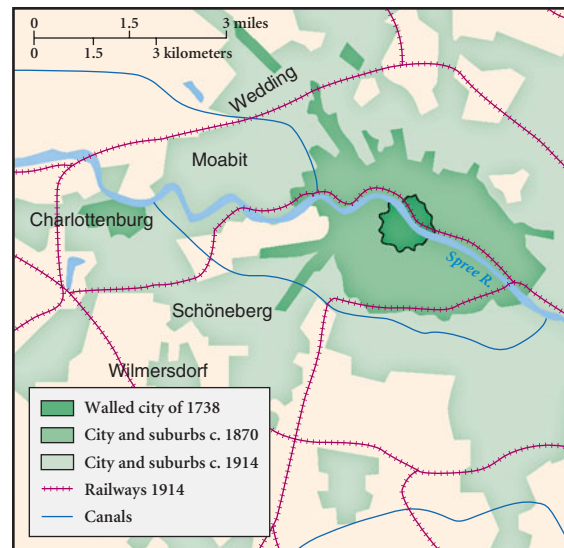


The Decline of Illiteracy

The development of mass politics and the consolidation of the nation-state depended on building a cohesive group of citizens, informed about the progress of the nation. Increasing literacy was thus a national undertaking but one with varying rates of success in different nations, ranging from low levels of illiteracy in Prussia to high levels in Austria-Hungary and Russia. Even in regions of high illiteracy, however, governments successfully encouraged people to read. In what ways does the decline of illiteracy reflect other developments in the countries represented above? (*Theodore Hamerow, The Birth of New Europe: State and Society in the Nineteenth Century (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 85.*)

forged an alliance with Austria-Hungary and Russia, called the Three Emperors' League. The three conservative powers shared a commitment to maintaining the political status quo.

At home, Bismarck, who owned land and invested heavily in industry, joined with the liberals to create a variety of financial institutions, including a central bank to further German commerce and industry. Religious leaders mustered their political influence and defeated his *Kulturkampf* against religious institutions. Bismarck then stopped persecuting Catholics and turned to attacking socialists and liberals as enemies of the regime. He used unsuccessful assassination attempts on Emperor William I as a pretext to outlaw the workers' Social Democratic Party in 1878. Hoping to lure the working class away from socialism, between 1882 and 1884 Bismarck sponsored an accident and disability insurance program—the first of its kind in Europe and an important step in broadening the role of government to encompass social welfare. In 1879, he assembled a conservative Reichstag coalition that put through tariffs protecting German agriculture and industry from foreign competition but also raising the prices of consumer goods. This increased cost of basic necessities like food cut industrial profits because owners had to pay their workers more. Ending his support for *laissez-faire*



MAP 23.3 Expansion of Berlin to 1914

“A capital city is essential for the state to act as a pivot for its culture,” the German historian Heinrich von Treitschke asserted. No other capital city grew as dramatically as Berlin after German unification in 1871. Industrialists and bankers set themselves up in the new capital, while workers migrated there for jobs, swelling the population. The city was newly dotted with military monuments and with museums to show off its culture.

economics, Bismarck severed his working relationship with political liberals while simultaneously increasing the power of the agrarian conservatives by attacking the interests of Germany's industrial sector.

Authoritarian Austria-Hungary. Like Germany, Austria-Hungary frequently employed liberal economic policies and practices. From the 1860s, liberal businessmen succeeded in industrializing parts of the empire, and the prosperous middle classes erected conspicuously large homes, giving themselves a prominence in urban life that rivaled the aristocracy's. They persuaded the government to enact free-trade provisions in the 1870s and to search out foreign investment to build up infrastructure, such as railroads.

Despite these measures, Austria-Hungary remained resolutely monarchist and authoritarian. Liberals in Austria—most of them ethnic Germans—saw their influence weaken under the leadership of Count Edouard von Taaffe, Austrian prime minister from 1879 to 1893. Building a coalition of clergy, conservatives, and Slavic parties, Taaffe used its power to weaken the liberals. In Bohemia, for example, he designated Czech as an official language of the bureaucracy and school system, thus breaking the German speakers' monopoly on officeholding. Reforms outraged individuals at whose expense other ethnic groups received benefits, and those who won concessions, such as the Czechs, clamored for even greater autonomy. By playing nationalities off one another, the government ensured the monarchy's central role in holding together competing interest groups in an era of rapid change. Emperor Francis Joseph and his ministers still feared the influence of the most powerful Slavic nation—Russia—on the ethnic minorities living within Austria-Hungary.

Nationalists in the Balkans demanded independence from the declining Ottoman Empire, raising Austro-Hungarian fears and ambitions. In 1876, Slavs in Bulgaria and Bosnia-Herzegovina revolted against Turkish rule, killing Ottoman officials. As the Ottomans slaughtered thousands of Bulgarians in turn, two other small Balkan states, Serbia and Montenegro, rebelled against the sultan. Russian Pan-Slavic organizations sent aid to the Balkan rebels and so pressured the tsar's government that Russia declared war on Turkey in 1877 in the name of protecting Orthodox Christians. With help from Romania and Greece, Russia defeated the Ottomans and by the Treaty of San Stefano (1878) created a large, pro-Russian Bulgaria.

The Treaty of San Stefano sparked an international uproar that almost resulted in a general European war. Austria-Hungary and Britain feared that an enlarged Bulgaria would become a Russian satellite that would enable the tsar to dominate the Balkans. Austrian officials worried about an uprising of their own restless Slavs. British prime minister Benjamin Disraeli moved warships into position against Russia in order to halt the advance of Russian influence in the eastern Mediterranean, so close to Britain's routes through the Suez Canal. The public was drawn into foreign policy: the music halls and newspapers of England echoed a new jingoism, or political sloganeering, that throbbed with sentiments of war: "We don't want to fight, / but by Jingo if we do, / We've got the ships, / we've got the men, / we've got the money too!"

The other great powers, however, did not want a Europe-wide war, and in 1878 they attempted to revive the concert of Europe by meeting at Berlin under the auspices of Bismarck, who was a calming presence on the diplomatic scene. The Congress of Berlin rolled back the Russian victory by partitioning the large Bulgarian state that Russia had carved out of Ottoman territory and denying any part of Bulgaria full independence from the Ottomans (Map 23.4). Austria occupied (but did not annex) Bosnia and Herzegovina as a way of gaining clout in the Balkans; Serbia and Montenegro became fully independent. Nonetheless, the Balkans remained a site of political unrest, teeming ambition for independence, and great-power rivalries.

Following the Congress of Berlin, the European powers attempted to guarantee stability through a complex series of alliances and treaties. Anxious about Balkan instability and Russian aggression, Austria-Hungary forged a defensive alliance with Germany in 1879. The **Dual Alliance**, as it was called, offered protection against Russia, and its potential for inciting Slav rebellions. In 1882, Italy joined this partnership (henceforth called the Triple Alliance), largely because of Italy's imperial rivalries with France. Tensions between Russia and Austria-Hungary remained high, so Bismarck replaced the Three Emperors League with the Reinsurance Treaty (1887) with Russia to keep the Habsburgs from recklessly starting a war over Pan-Slavism.

Dual Alliance: A defensive alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary in 1879 as part of Bismarck's system of alliances to prevent or limit war. It was joined by Italy in 1882 as a third partner and then called the Triple Alliance.



MAP 23.4 The Balkans, c. 1878

After midcentury, the map of the Balkans was almost constantly redrawn. This resulted in part from the weakness of the dominant Ottoman Empire, but also from the ambitions of inhabitants themselves and from great power rivalry. In tune with the growing sense of national identities based on shared culture, history, and ethnicity, various Balkan peoples sought to emphasize local, small-group identities rather than merging around a single dominant group such as the Serbs. Yet there was also a move by some intellectuals to transcend borders and create a southern Slav culture.

Unrest in Russia. Besides its expansionist moves and setbacks, Russia was beset by domestic problems in the 1870s and 1880s. It remained almost the only European country without a constitutional government, and young Russians were turning to revolutionary groups for solutions to political and social problems. One such group, the Populists, wanted to rouse debt-ridden peasants to revolt. Other people formed tightly coordinated terrorist bands with the goal of forcing change by assassinating public officials. The secret police, relying on informers, rounded up hundreds of members of one of the largest groups, Land and Liberty, and subjected them to brutal torture, show trials, and imprisonment. When in 1877 a young radical, Vera Zasulich, tried unsuccessfully to assassinate

the chief of the St. Petersburg police, the people of the capital city applauded her act and acquittal, so great was their horror at government treatment of young radicals from respectable families.

Writers added to the debate over Russia's future, often by specifically discussing these political issues and mobilizing public opinion. Novelists Leo Tolstoy, author of the epic *War and Peace* (1869), and Fyodor Dostoevsky, a former radical who changed position, believed that Russia above all required spiritual regeneration—not revolution. Tolstoy's novel *Anna Karenina* (1877) tells the story of an impassioned, adulterous love affair, but it also weaves in the spiritual quest of Levin, a former “progressive” landowner who, like Tolstoy, idealizes the peasantry's tradition of stoic



The Assassination of Alexander II

The assassination of Tsar Alexander II in St. Petersburg in 1881 was a shocking event, given that the tsar had escaped unharmed from some half dozen previous attempts on his life. Even though Alexander had emancipated the serfs and instituted a wave of reform, the young assassins were mistakenly convinced that their deed would bring about a great serf uprising.

(The Granger Collection, New York.)

endurance. Dostoevsky satirized Russia's radicals in *The Possessed* (1871), a novel in which a group of revolutionaries murders one of its own members. In Dostoevsky's view, the radicals were simply destructive, offering no solutions whatsoever to Russia's ills.

Despite the influential critiques published by Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, violent action rather than spiritual uplift remained at the heart of radicalism. In 1881, the People's Will, a splinter group of Land and Liberty impatient with its failure to mobilize the peasantry, killed Tsar Alexander II in a bomb attack. His death, however, failed to provoke the general uprising the terrorists expected. Alexander III (r. 1881–1894), rejecting further liberal reforms, unleashed a new wave of oppression against religious and ethnic minorities and gave the police virtually unchecked power. Popular books and drawings depicted Tatars, Poles, Ukrainians, and

others as horrifying, uncivilized, or utterly ridiculous—and thus a menace to Russian culture. The five million Russian Jews, confined to the eighteenth-century Pale of Settlement (the name for the restricted territory in which they were permitted to live), endured particularly severe oppression. Local officials instigated pogroms against Jews, whose distinctive language, dress, and isolation in ghettos made them easy targets. Government administrators encouraged people to blame Jews for escalating living costs—though the true cause was the high taxes levied on peasants to pay for industrialization.

As the tsar inflicted even greater repression across Russia, Bismarck's delicate system of alliances of the three conservative powers was coming apart. A brash but deeply insecure young kaiser, William II (r. 1888–1918), came to the German throne in 1888. William resented Bismarck's power, and his advisers flattered



Russia: The Pale of Settlement in the Nineteenth Century

the young man into thinking that his own talent made Bismarck an unnecessary rival. William dismissed Bismarck in 1890 and, because he ardently supported Pan-German nationalism, let the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia lapse in favor of a strong relationship with the supposedly kindred Austria-Hungary. He thus destabilized the diplomatic scene just as imperial rivalries were intensifying antagonisms among the European nation-states and empires.

REVIEW: What were the major changes in political life from the 1870s to the 1890s, and which areas of Europe did they most affect?

Conclusion

The period from the 1870s to the 1890s has been called the age of empire and industry because Western society pursued both these ends in a way that rapidly transformed Europe and the world. Much of Europe thrived due to industrial innovation, becoming more populous and more urbanized. The great powers undertook a new imperialism, carving up territory and establishing direct rule over foreign peoples. As they tightened connections with the rest of the globe, Europeans proudly spread their supposedly superior culture throughout the world, and like Marianne North, sought out whatever other peoples and places could offer in knowledge, experience, and wealth.

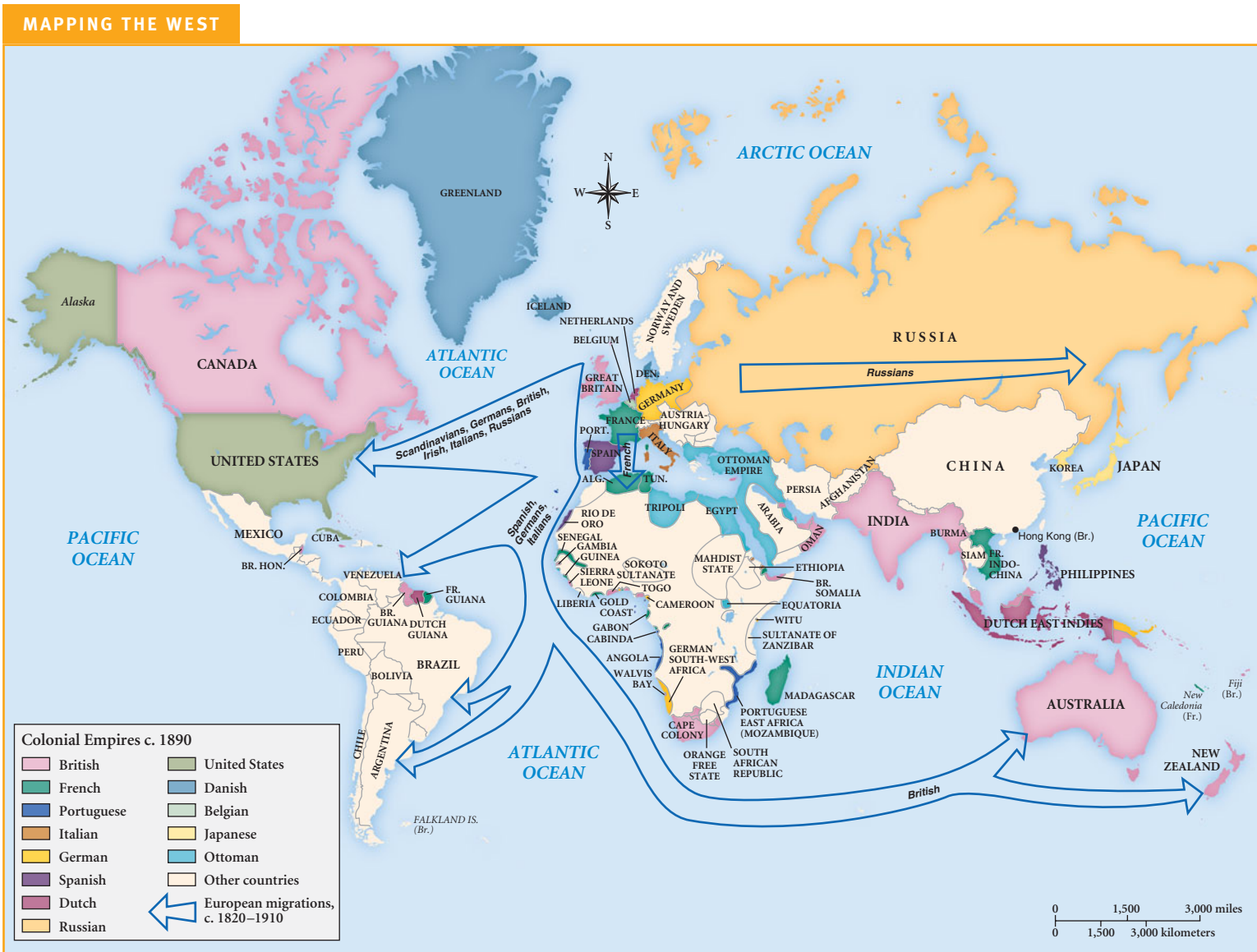
Imperial expansion and industrial change affected all social classes. The upper class attempted to maintain its position of social and political dominance while an expanding middle class was gaining new power and influence. Working-class people often suffered from the effects of rapid industrial change when their labor was replaced by machinery. Millions relocated to escape these poor

conditions and to find new opportunities. Political reform, especially the expansion of suffrage, helped members of the working class gain a political voice. Workers formed unions and political parties to protect their interests, but governments often responded to workers' activism with repressive tactics.

As workers struck for improved wages and conditions and the impoverished migrated to find a better life, Western society showed that troubles existed in the new imperial and industrial age. Newspapers informed people about national and international events, and they also raised questions about poverty and social unrest. By the 1890s, the advance of empire and industry was bringing unprecedented tensions to national politics, the international scene, and everyday life. Racism, anti-Semitism, and ethnic chauvinism were spreading, and many were questioning the costs of empire both to their own nation and conquered peoples. Politics in the authoritarian countries of central and eastern Europe was taking a more conservative turn, resisting participation and reform while democratization advanced to the west. The rising tensions of modern life would soon have grave consequences for the West as a whole.

FOR FURTHER EXPLORATION

- For suggested references, including Web sites, for topics in this chapter, see page SR-1 at the end of the book.
- For additional primary-source material from this period, see Chapter 23 in *Sources of THE MAKING OF THE WEST*, Third Edition.
- For Web sites and documents related to topics in this chapter, see *Make History* at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.



CHAPTER REVIEW

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

outwork (727)	William Gladstone (752)
capital-intensive industry (730)	Reform Act of 1884 (752)
limited liability corporation (730)	Charles Stewart Parnell (753)
Leopold II (734)	home rule (753)
impressionism (749)	Third Republic (753)
new unionism (751)	Dual Alliance (756)
Second International (751)	

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What were the major changes in Western industry and business in the last third of the nineteenth century?
2. What were the goals of the new imperialism, and how did Europeans accomplish those goals?
3. How did empire and industry influence art and everyday life?
4. What were the major changes in political life from the 1870s to the 1890s, and which areas of Europe did they most affect?

MAKING CONNECTIONS

1. Compare the political and social goals of the newly enfranchised male electorate with those of people from the “best circles.”
2. Describe the effects of imperialism on European politics and society as a whole.

For practice quizzes, a customized study plan, and other study tools, see the Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

IMPORTANT EVENTS

1860s–1890s	Impressionism flourishes in the arts; absorption of Asian influences	1882	Triple Alliance formed between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy; Britain invades Egypt
1870s–1890s	Vast emigration from Europe continues; the new imperialism	1882–1884	Bismarck sponsors social welfare legislation
1871	Franco-Prussian War ends	1884	British Parliament passes the Reform Act, doubling the size of the male electorate
1873	Extended economic recession begins with global impact	1884–1885	European nations carve up Africa at the Berlin conference
1876	British Parliament declares Victoria empress; invention of the telephone	1885	Invention of workable gasoline engine
1879	Dual Alliance formed between Germany and Austria-Hungary	1889	Japan adopts constitution based on European models; Socialists meet in Paris and establish the Second International
1881	Tsar Alexander II assassinated	1891	Construction of Trans-Siberian Railroad begins



Modernity and the Road to War

1890–1914

In the first decade of the twentieth century, a wealthy young Russian man traveled from one country to another to find relief from a common malady of the time called neurasthenia. Its symptoms included fatigue, lack of interest in life, depression, and sometimes physical illness. In 1910, the young man consulted Sigmund Freud, a Viennese physician whose unconventional treatment—eventually called psychoanalysis—took the form of a conversation about the patient’s dreams, sexual experiences, and everyday life. Over the course of four years, Freud uncovered his patient’s deeply hidden fear of castration, which was disguised as a fear of wolves—thus the name Wolf-Man by which he comes down to us. Freud worked his cure, as the Wolf-Man himself put it, “by bringing repressed ideas into consciousness” through extensive talking.

In many ways, the Wolf-Man was representative of his age. Born into a family that owned vast estates, he enjoyed Europe’s growing prosperity, although on a grander scale than most. Despite being well-off, countless individuals like the Wolf-Man seemed anguished and mentally disturbed, and suicides abounded—the Wolf-Man’s sister and father died from intentional drug overdoses. As the twentieth century opened, Europeans raised questions about family, gender relationships, empire, religion, and the consequences of technology. Every sign of imperial wealth brought on an apparently irrational sense of Europe’s decline. British writer H. G. Wells saw in this era “humanity upon the wane . . . the sunset of mankind.” Gloom filled the pages of many a book and seeped into the lives of individuals like the Wolf-Man.

Conflict reigned throughout Europe and the world, especially over empire. The nations of Europe had lurched from one diplomatic crisis

Edvard Munch, *The Scream* (1893)

In some of his paintings, Norwegian artist Edvard Munch captured a certain spirit of the turn of the century, depicting in soft pastel colors the newly leisured life of people strolling in the countryside. But modern life also had a tortured side, which Munch was equally capable of portraying. *The Scream* is taken as emblematic of the torments of modernity as the individual turns inward, beset by neuroses, self-destructive impulses, and even madness. It can also be suggested that the screamer, like Europe, travels the road to World War I. (Scala/Art Resource, NY/© 2008 The Munch Museum/The Munch-Ellingsen Group/Artists Rights Society (ARS), NY.)

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- Competing Alliances and Clashing Ambitions
- The Race to Arms
- 1914: War Erupts

to another over access to global resources and control of territory—both within Europe and outside it. As the great powers fought to dominate people around the world, the competition for empire fueled an arms race that threatened to turn Europe—the most civilized region of the world, according to its leaders—into a savage battleground. Militant nationalism fueled ethnic hatreds and anti-Semitism in public life grew intense, even leading to physical violence. Woman suffragists along with politically disadvantaged groups such as the Slavs and Irish demanded full rights, but tolerance for liberal values and claims weakened amid a wave of political assassinations and public brutality.

These were just some of the conflicts associated with modernity—a term often used to describe the faster pace of life, the rise of mass politics, and the decline of a rural social order that were so visible in the West from the late nineteenth century on (see “Terms of History,” page 766). The word *modernity* also refers to the celebrated “modern” art, music, science, and philosophy of this period. Although many people today admire the brilliant, innovative qualities of modern art, music, and dance, people of the time were offended, even outraged, by the new styles and sounds. Freud’s theory that sexual drives exist in even the youngest children shocked people. Every advance in science and the arts simultaneously had undermined middle-class faith in the stability of Western civilization.

That faith was further tested when the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne was assassinated in June 1914. Few gave much thought to the global significance of the event, least of all the Wolf-Man, whose treatment with Freud was just ending. He viewed the fateful day of June 28 simply as the day he “could now leave Vienna a healthy man.” Yet the assassination put the spark to the powder keg of international discord that had been building for

several decades. The resulting disastrous war, World War I, like the insights of Freud, would transform modern life.

FOCUS QUESTION: How did developments in social life, art, intellectual life and politics at the turn of the century produce instability and set the backdrop for war?

Public Debate over Private Life

At the beginning of the twentieth century, an increasing number of people could aspire to a comfortable family life because of Europe’s improved standard of living. Yet as the twentieth century opened, traditional social norms such as heterosexual marriage and woman’s domestic role as wife and mother came under attack by what were seen as the forces of modernity. The falling birthrate, rising divorce rate, and growing activism for marriage reform provoked heated accusations that changes in private life were endangering national health. Discussions about sexual identity led some elites to acknowledge homosexuality as a way of life, while others made it a political issue. Middle-class women took jobs and became active in public to such an extent that some feared the disappearance of distinct gender roles. Women’s visibility in public life prompted one British songwriter in the late 1890s to write:

Rock-a-bye baby, for father is near
Mother is “biking” she never is here!
Out in the park she’s scorching all day
Or at some meeting is talking away!

Discussions of gender roles and private life contributed to rising social tensions because they challenged so many traditional ideals. Freud and other scientists tried to study such phenomena—sexu-

	■ 1894–1895 Sino-Japanese War	■ 1901 Irish National Theater established; Queen Victoria dies
1890	1895	1900
	■ 1894–1899 Dreyfus Affair	■ 1899–1902 South African War
		■ 1900 Freud, <i>The Interpretation of Dreams</i>

ality, for example—dispassionately and formulated new approaches to treating “modern” ailments such as those afflicting the Wolf-Man. Public discussions of private life—especially when they became intertwined with politics—demonstrated the close connection of private and public concerns.

Population Pressure

Urgent concerns over trends in population, marriage, and sexuality clogged the agendas of politicians and reformers from the 1890s on, and they continue to do so today. The staggering population increases of the eighteenth century persisted through the nineteenth, and rural people and migrants flooded into cities. Alarmed by the urban masses, often crowded into tenements and shacks, Social Darwinists became louder in their warnings about racial decay. Reformers, politicians, and critics of public life saw both the quantity and quality of population as looming national crises.

Soaring Population. The European population continued to grow as the twentieth century opened. Germany increased in size from 41 million people in 1871 to 64 million in 1910, and tiny Denmark grew from 1.7 million people in 1870 to 2.7 million in 1911. Improvements in sanitation and public health that extended the human life span and reduced infant mortality contributed to the increase. To cope with their burgeoning populations, Berlin, Budapest, and Moscow were torn apart and rebuilt, following the earlier lead of Vienna and Paris. The German government pulled down eighteenth-century Berlin and reconstructed the city with new roads and mass-transport systems as the capital’s



Large Czech Family

This photograph of a rural family in Czechoslovakia shows the differences that were coming to distinguish urban from rural people. Although even a farm family, especially in eastern Europe, might proudly display technology such as a new phonograph, it might not practice family limitation, which was gradually reducing the size of urban households. In eastern Europe, several generations lived together more commonly in rural areas than in cities. How many generations do you see in this image? (© Scheufler Collection/Corbis.)

population grew to over 4 million. Rebuilding to absorb population growth was not confined to capitals of the most powerful states: tree-lined boulevards, new public buildings, and improved sanitation facilities graced the Balkan capitals of Sofia, Belgrade, and Bucharest. As the number of urban residents surpassed that of the rural population in many countries, some ruling elites from the countryside protested the independence and unruliness of urban dwellers.

<p>■ 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War</p>	<p>■ 1905 Revolution erupts in Russia; Duma established; Einstein’s special theory of relativity</p>	<p>■ 1908 Young Turks revolt</p>	<p>■ 1914 Austrian archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife assassinated, precipitating World War I</p>
<p>■ 1903 Women’s Social and Political Union founded</p>	<p>1905</p> <p>■ 1906 Women receive the vote in Finland</p> <p>■ 1907 Picasso, <i>Les Femmes d’Alger</i></p>	<p>1910</p> <p>■ 1911–1912 Qing dynasty overthrown; China declared a republic</p>	<p>1915</p>

TERMS OF HISTORY

Modern

The word *modernus* was introduced into Latin in the sixth century; after that, the claim to being modern occurred in many centuries and cultures. Shakespeare, for example, referred to “modern ideas” in his plays, and historians have long debated where “modern” history begins: with Abraham? with Charlemagne? or with the Renaissance?

Despite the claims of many ages to being modern, the term has fastened itself most firmly on the period from the end of the nineteenth century through the first half of the twentieth. Its most specific historical use has been to describe the art, music, and dance that flourished at that time. When used in this sense, *modern* indicates a sharp break with lyrical, romantic music and dance and with the tradition of realism in the arts. The blurred images of the impressionists and the jarring music of Arnold Schoenberg are part of modern art because they break with accepted forms. The sexual rawness of Gustave Flaubert’s *Madame Bovary* (see Chapter 22) or of Sigmund Freud’s analysis of the Wolf-Man’s dreams added to the multifaceted meanings of the word *modern*. Sometimes this intellectual break with the cultural past is referred to as modernism.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the word *modern* also referred to social phenomena. Women who went to work or entered universities or began careers were called modern women. They believed that, by showing themselves capable and rational, they could end restrictions placed on them. They lived different lives from those women who confined themselves to the domestic sphere. This departure from tradition also made them appear modern.

In seeking an education, these women were invoking a meaning of the word *modern* dating back to the Enlightenment. Rational thought and science have also been taken as the bedrock of the modern. *Modernization*—another derivative of the word *modern*—refers to the kind of scientific and technological progress that rational observation produced. Industry and its products—indoor plumbing, electricity, telephones, and automobile—were signs of modernity.

The paradoxical meanings of the word *modern* make it a multi-purpose term. While associated with the triumph of industry and science at the turn of the century, some artistic modernism glorified the so-called primitive and non-Western, whether in representational art, music, literature, or philosophy. Complex, paradoxical, and dense with meaning, *modern* may not always be precise. But its very breadth explains why *modern* remains a crucial—and debated—term of history.

per thousand people in 1859 to twenty-four per thousand in 1911; even populous Germany went from forty births per thousand in 1875 to twenty-seven per thousand in 1913.

Industrialization and urbanization helped to bring about this change. Farm families needed fewer hands because industry was turning out more efficient agricultural machinery. In cities, individual couples were free to make their own decisions about limiting family size, learning about new birth-control practices, including coitus interruptus—the withdrawal method of preventing pregnancy—from neighbors or, for those with enough money and education, from pamphlets and advice books. Industrial technology played a further role in curtailing reproduction: condoms, improved after the vulcanization of rubber in the 1840s, proved fairly reliable in preventing conception, as did the German-invented diaphragm. Abortions were also common.

The wider use of birth control stirred controversy. Critics accused middle-class women, whose fertility was falling most rapidly, of holding a “birth strike.” Anglican bishops, meeting early in the twentieth century, condemned family limitation as “demoralizing to character and hostile to national welfare.” Politicians claimed that the drop in the birthrate signaled a crisis in masculinity and that military strength was at risk. But U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt blamed middle-class women’s selfishness for the population decline, calling family limitation “one of the most unpleasant and unwholesome features of modern life.” The “quality” of those being born worried activists and politicians: If the “best” classes had fewer children, they asked, what would society look like if only the “worst” classes grew in number?

Racism and nationalism shaped the debate over population. The decline in fertility, one German nationalist warned, would fill the country with “alien peoples, above all Slavs and probably East European Jews as well.” Nationalist groups promoting large, “racially fit” families sprang up in France, Germany, Britain, and elsewhere, and they inflamed the political climate with racial hatreds. Instead of building consensus to create an integrated political community, politicians won votes by raising fears of ethnic minorities, the poor, and women who limited family size.

Reforming Marriage

Reformers thought that improving both the quality of children born and the conditions within marriage would solve the population problem. Many believed in eugenics—a set of ideas about

Alarm over the Falling Birthrate. While the absolute size of the population was rising in much of the West, the birthrate (measured in births per thousand people) was falling. The birthrate had been decreasing in France since the eighteenth century; other European countries began experiencing the decline late in the nineteenth century. The Swedish rate dropped from thirty-five births

the importance of producing “superior” people through selective breeding and of preventing the disabled and others deemed inferior from polluting one’s nation or “race.” As a famed Italian criminologist put it, lower types of people were not humans but “orangutans.” Eugenists favored increased childbearing for “the fittest” and limitations on the fertility of “degenerates,” including sterilization. Women of the “better” classes, reformers also believed, would be more inclined to reproduce if the traditional system of marriage were made more equal. Laws generally decreed that a married woman’s wages and her other property belonged to her husband. Women had no legal rights to their own children and no financial support in the event of an abusive marriage. Given their lack of resources, women’s reluctance to have more than one or two children was understandable, reformers suggested.

Reformers worked to improve marriage laws in order to boost the birthrate, while feminists sought to improve the lot of mothers and their children. Sweden made men’s and women’s control over property equal in marriage and allowed married women to work without their husband’s permission. Other countries, among them France (1884), legalized divorce and made it less complicated, and thus less costly, to obtain. Reformers reasoned that divorce would allow unhappy couples to separate and undertake new, more loving, and thus more fertile marriages. By the early twentieth century, several countries had passed legislation that provided government subsidies for medical care and child support in order to improve motherhood among the lower classes. Concerns regarding population partially laid the foundations for the welfare state—that is, a nation-state whose policies addressed not just military defense, foreign policy, and political processes but also the social and economic well-being of its people.

The extent of changes in women’s lives varied throughout Europe. For example, a greater number of legal reforms occurred in western Europe than in eastern Europe but even so, women could get university degrees in Austria-Hungary long before they could at Oxford or Cambridge. In much of rural eastern Europe, the father’s power over the family remained almost dictatorial. According to a survey of family life in eastern Europe in the early 1900s, fathers married off their children so young that 25 percent

of women in their early forties had been pregnant more than ten times. Yet reform of everyday customs did occur. For instance, in some Balkan villages, there still existed a traditional family system called the *zadruga*, in which all individual families within an extended family shared a common great house. By the late nineteenth century, however, individual couples gained privacy by building small sleeping dwellings surrounding the great house. Among the middle and upper classes of eastern Europe, many grown children were coming to believe that they had a right to select a marriage partner instead of accepting the spouse their parents chose for them.

New Women, New Men, and the Politics of Sexual Identity

Rapid social change set the stage for even bolder behaviors among some middle-class women. Adventurous women traveled the globe on their own to promote Christianity, make money, or learn about cultures. Educated European women gained independence as they took on white-collar jobs. The so-called **new woman** dressed more practically, with fewer petticoats and looser corsets, biked and hiked through city streets and down country lanes, lived apart from her family in women’s clubs or apartments, and supported herself (see The New Woman poster, below). Italian

new woman: A woman who, from the 1880s on, dressed practically, moved about freely, and often supported herself.



Sydney Grundy, *The New Woman* (1900)

By the opening of the twentieth century, the “new woman” had become a much-discussed phenomenon. Artists painted portraits of this independent creature, while novelists and playwrights like Henrik Ibsen depicted her ambition to throw off the wifely role—or at least to shape that role more to her own personality. In this lithograph, she also smokes. (© Private Collection/The Stapleton Collection/The Bridgeman Art Library.)

educator Maria Montessori (1870–1952), the first woman in Italy to earn a medical degree and the founder of an educational system that still bears her name, gave birth to an illegitimate child although she felt compelled to keep the child's existence a secret. Other new women lived openly with their lovers. The growing number of women freely moving in public, even across the globe, challenged accepted views of women's dependence and seclusion in the home. Not surprisingly, there was loud criticism: the new woman, German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche wrote, had led to the "uglification of Europe."

Not just women's behavior but also men's and women's sexual identity fueled discussion. A popular book in the new field of "sexology," which

studied sex scientifically, was *Sexual Inversion* (1894) by Havelock Ellis. Ellis, a British medical doctor, claimed that there was a new personality type—the homosexual—identifiable by such traits as effeminate behavior and attraction to the arts in males and physical affection for members of their own sex in both males and females. Homosexuals joined the discussion, calling for recognition that they composed a natural "third" or "intermediate" sex and were not just people behaving sinfully. Some believed that members of the intermediate sex, possessing both male and female traits, represented "a higher order" on the scale of human evolution, most often serving as society's "helpers and guides" because they were so highly evolved. The discussion of homosexuality started the trend toward considering sexuality in general a basic part of human identity.

The press condemned homosexuality as outrageous and perverse. In the spring of 1895, Irish playwright Oscar Wilde (1854–1900) was convicted of indecency—a charge that referred to his sexual affairs with young men (see the illustration on this page)—and sentenced to two years in prison. After Wilde's conviction one newspaper rejoiced, "Open the windows! Let in the fresh air!" Between 1907 and 1909, German newspapers publicized the scandal around the military men in Kaiser William II's closest circle who were condemned for homosexuality and transvestitism. Amid growing concern over population and family values, the government assured the public that William's own family life was "a fine model" for the German nation. Heterosexuality thus took on patriotic overtones: the accused homosexual elite in Germany was said by journalists to be out to "emasculate our courageous master race." These cases paved the way for growing sexual openness in the next generations; they also showed that sexual issues were becoming regular weapons in politics.

Oscar Wilde

The Irish-born writer Oscar Wilde symbolized the persecution experienced by homosexuals in the late nineteenth century. Convicted of indecency for having sexual relations with another man, Wilde served time in prison—a humiliation for a husband, father, acclaimed author, and witty playwright. (Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. LC-USZ62 914833.)



Sciences of the Modern Self

Scientists and Social Darwinists found cause for alarm not only in the poor condition of the working class but also in modern society's host of mental complaints such as those of the Wolf-Man. Most of these illnesses originated in the "nerves," medical people decided, which were troubled by the hectic pace of urban living. New sciences of the mind such as psychology and psychoanalysis aimed to treat everyone, not just the insane.

New Approaches to Mental Ailments. A number of books in the 1890s presented arguments on causes and cures for modern nervous ailments. *De-*

Freud's Office

Sigmund Freud's therapy room, where his patients experienced the "talking cure," was filled with imperial trophies such as Oriental rugs and African art objects. Freud himself was fascinated by cures brought about through shamanism, trances, and other practices of non-Western medicine. In 1938, Freud fled to England to escape the Nazis. This photo shows his office re-created in London.

(Mary Evans Picture Library/Sigmund Freud copyrights.)



generation (1892–1893), by Hungarian-born physician Max Nordau, blamed overstimulation for both individual and national deterioration. According to Nordau, male and female nervous complaints and the increasingly bizarre art world reflected a general downturn in the human species. As a cure for mental and national decline, Social Darwinists recommended imperial adventure for men and the nation-state alike. Increased childbearing would cure mental disorders in both sexes, they contended, because it would restore men's virility and women's femininity.

Investigations into the working of the mind led to new fields of study. The field of criminology emerged as medical scientists attempted to identify and classify the "criminal mind." Other scientists developed intelligence tests that they said could measure the capacity of the human mind more accurately than a schoolteacher could. In Russia, physiologist Ivan Pavlov proposed that behavior could be controlled by conditioning mental reflexes. Pavlov's experiments in behavior modification, especially his success in getting a dog to salivate upon hearing a bell, became part of the toolkit of modern psychology.

Freud and Psychoanalysis. Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) devised an approach to understanding and treating modern anxieties and mental problems in which he argued that the human psy-

che is far from rational but is powerfully influenced by unconscious forces. Dreams, he explained in *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900), reveal a repressed or hidden part of personality—the "unconscious"—where all sorts of desires are more or less buried. Freud also believed that the human psyche is made up of three competing parts: the ego, the part that is most in touch with the need to work and survive—that is, external reality; the id (or libido), the part that contains instinctive drives and sexual energies; and the superego, the part that serves as the conscience. Freud's theory of human mental processes and his method for treating their malfunctioning came to be called psychoanalysis. Freud's ideas challenged accepted liberal belief in a unified, rational self that acted in its own interest. Instead, as in Darwin's natural world, where species competed for survival, in Freud's view the different parts of an individual—ego, id, superego—warred with one another for control of an individual's personality.

Freud demanded that sexual life should be regarded objectively, free from religious or moral judgments. His views on sex, however, shocked many of his contemporaries. He insisted, for example, that sexual drives exist from the moment of birth. An individual, he said, has to repress many of these desires—such as impulses toward incest—in order to reach maturity and allow society to remain civilized. Freud claimed that adult gender identity does not result from anatomy alone but rather develops over the course of a person's life experiences. Although gender is more complicated than biology alone would suggest,

Sigmund Freud (1856–1939): Viennese medical doctor and founder of psychoanalysis, a theory of mental processes and problems and a method of treating them.

NEW SOURCES, NEW PERSPECTIVES

Psychohistory and Its Lessons

In the last fifty years, historians have radically changed the way they write history. In the nineteenth century, history books mostly recounted the deeds of kings and emperors, discussed royal genealogy, and listed wars and peace treaties. Determined to be factual, historians laid out the fine points of laws, charters, and treaties and they checked their sources in archives.

Much has changed since then, partly because of the rise of psychology and psychoanalysis as the twentieth century opened. Confronted with strikes, mass demonstrations, anarchist deeds, anti-Semitism, and other forms of political violence, some observers tried to explain a phenomenon they called crowd psychology. According to this view, psychic states are important factors in shaping some public events.

Not surprisingly, Sigmund Freud studied great historic figures like Leonardo da Vinci from a psychoanalytic perspective, exploring the connection between repressed childhood fantasies and later towering accomplishments. Freud also explained the outbreak of World War I as more of a psychic than a diplomatic event. He saw the war as a form of collective

death wish. He subjected both individuals and entire societies to psychoanalytic probing. Few historians followed Freud's lead.

In 1957, William Langer, president of the American Historical Association, charged his fellow scholars with being foolishly backward in their methods. Unlike scientists, he claimed, historians did not try new systems or techniques such as psychoanalysis that might advance their understanding of the past. Others joined the debate, finding that traditional history sometimes attributed actions to traits such as ambition, greed, hate, and great intelligence. But what was the "scientific" depth in such characterizations? Another criticism of history by those interested in psychology and psychoanalysis was that, if it did take human agency into account, history usually saw people as acting rationally in their self-interest. Trauma, irrational or uncontrollable drives, and unconscious motivations played no role in understanding historical figures.

Psychohistory was born of these discussions. Psychoanalyst Erik Erikson, in *Young Man Luther* (1958), announced that the Protestant Reformation originated in the childhood traumas of Martin Luther.

Identity crises stemming from his relationship with his father caused Luther to search for and reject father figures, including the pope. Erikson's book caused a stir among historians, changing the way people understood Luther and starting an entirely new school of historical thought.

Not surprisingly, some of the most compelling examples of psychohistory have focused on the lives of individuals and the development of political movements. Historians interested in psychoanalysis have examined Kaiser William II's childhood for explanations of his rejection of Bismarck, his turn to an aggressive foreign policy, and his participation in World War I. Analyses of Adolf Hitler's and Benito Mussolini's followers have attributed the blind worship of these dictators to mass psychic needs and traumas. The intense nationalism that most people in the modern world have increasingly felt for their countries has also become a phenomenon that psychohistorians investigate.

Psychohistory remains controversial to this day. While its practitioners expand the field of historical explanation, its critics find that fitting the behavior of historical characters into Freud's schema can be a formulaic process. Other critics find that

certain aspects of gender roles—such as motherhood—are normal. Freud's psychoanalytic theory maintained that girls and women have powerful sexual feelings, an idea that broke sharply with existing beliefs in women's passionlessness.

The influence of psychoanalysis became pervasive in the twentieth century (see "New Sources, New Perspectives," above). For example, Freud's "talking cure," as his method of treatment was quickly labeled, gave rise to a general acceptance of talking out one's problems. As psychoanalysis gained respect as a means of restoring mental health, terms such as *neurotic* and *unconscious* came into widespread use. By way of paradox, Freud attributed girls' complaints about unwanted sexual advances or abuse to fantasy caused

by "penis envy," an idea that led members of the new profession of social work to believe that most instances of such abuse had not actually occurred. A meticulous scientist, Freud closely observed symptoms and paid attention to the most minute evidence from everyday life. Like Darwin, he rejected optimistic scientific views of the world, claiming that humans were motivated by irrational drives toward death and destruction. These urges, he believed, shaped society's collective actions.

REVIEW: How did ideas about the self and about personal life change at the beginning of the twentieth century?



Kaiser William and Edward VII's Family

Psychotherapy aimed to cure the individual in good part by discussing family relationships and the fantasies built around them. Psychohistory often draws its analyses from these same relationships. The royal families of Europe are ripe for such analysis because, as the photo shows, German and British monarchs (Edward VII, right; and William, second from right) were closely related; so too were the Russians, Germans, and British. Psychohistorians may therefore view the outbreak of World War I as the work of complex family dynamics. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images.)

psychohistory is too imprecise and speculative because it is not based on the same kinds of hard, documentary evidence that historians have been trained to use. Nonetheless, psychohistorians have made a good case that if we are going to look at personalities, character, and relationships, we should do so in the most informed way possible. Their rationale makes psychohistory appear to be a necessity.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. What are the advantages and disadvantages of psychohistory?
2. How would you set out to investigate the psychological reasons for the actions of William II, Emmeline Pankhurst, Marie Curie, or Gavrilo Princip? Would you look at their character, their childhood, their social background, or other parts of their lives?
3. Can we write history without talking about the emotions, mental habits, and human relationships of major figures? Should we avoid psychologizing when thinking about the past?

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Modernity and the Revolt in Ideas

Toward the beginning of the twentieth century, intellectuals and artists so completely rejected long-standing beliefs and established artistic forms that they ushered in a new era. In science, the theories of Albert Einstein and other researchers established new truths in physics. Art and music became unrecognizable. Artists and musicians who produced deliberately shocking works were, like Freud, heavily influenced by advances in science and the progress of empire. Their blending of the scientific and the irrational, and of forms from the West and non-West, helped launch the disorient-

ing revolution in ideas and creative expression that we now identify collectively as **modernism**.

The Opposition to Positivism

Late in the nineteenth century, many philosophers and social thinkers rejected the century-old faith in using scientific methods to discover enduring social laws. This belief, called positivism, had emphasized the permanent nature of fundamental laws and had motivated reformers' attempts to perfect legislation based on studies of society.

modernism: Artistic styles around the turn of the twentieth century that featured a break with realism in art and literature and with lyricism in music.

Challenging positivism, some critics declared that because human experience is ever changing, there are no constant or enduring social laws. German political theorist Max Weber (1864–1920) maintained that the sheer number of facts involved in policymaking would often make decisive action by bureaucrats impossible. In times of crisis, a charismatic leader might usurp power because of his ability to act simply on intuition. These turn-of-the-century thinkers, called relativists and pragmatists, posed a challenge to entrenched ideas about policymaking, reform, and the conduct of government.

The most radical among the scholars was the German philosopher **Friedrich Nietzsche** (1844–1900), who called himself neither a relativist nor a pragmatist but a nihilist. In his theory of human nature, he distinguished between the “Apollonian,” or rational, side of human existence and the “Dionysian” side, with its expression of more primal urges. Nietzsche believed that people generally prefer the rational, Apollonian explanations of life because the powerful Dionysian sense of death and love such as that found in Greek tragedy is too disturbing.

Much of Nietzsche’s writing consisted of aphorisms—short, disconnected statements of truth or opinion—rather than the long, sustained argument common to traditional Western philosophy. Nietzsche used aphorisms to convey the impression that his ideas were a single individual’s unique perspective, not universal truths that thinkers since the Enlightenment had claimed were attainable. Nietzsche was convinced that late-nineteenth-century Europe was witnessing the decline of absolute truths such as those found in religion. Thus, he announced, “God is dead, we have killed him.” Far from arousing dread, however, the death of God, according to Nietzsche, would give birth to a joyful quest for new “poetries of life” to replace worn-out religious and middle-class rules. Nietzsche believed that an uninhibited, dynamic “superman,” free from traditional religious and moral values, would replace the rule-bound middle-class person.

Nietzsche thought that each individual had within a vital life energy that he called “the will to power.” The idea inspired many at the time, even his students. As a teacher, Nietzsche was so vibrant—like his superman—that his first students

thought they were hearing another Socrates. Nietzsche contracted syphilis and was insane in the last eleven years of his life, cared for by his sister. She edited his attacks on middle-class values into attacks on Jews, and after his death, she revised his complicated concepts of the will to power and of superman to appeal to nationalists and anti-Semites. Nietzsche’s legacy was thus mixed: he influenced not only the works of avant-garde artists and thinkers but also the ideas of militarist and racist right-wing political parties.

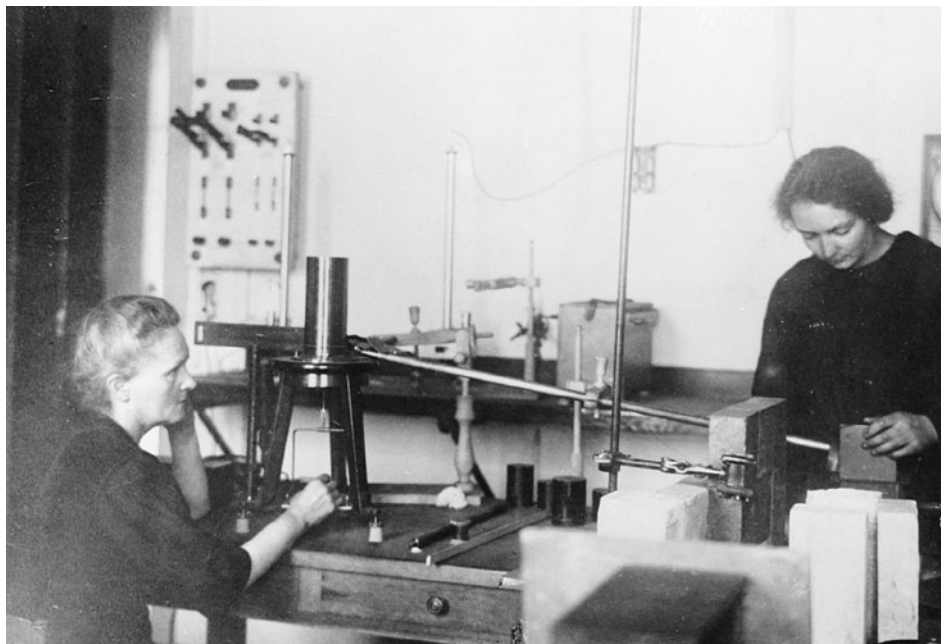
Revolutionizing Science

While Nietzsche and other philosophers questioned the ability of traditional science to provide timeless truths, scientific inquiry itself flourished and the scientific method gained authority. Technological breakthroughs and improvements in public hygiene earned science prestige in the population at large even as discoveries by pioneering researchers shook the foundations of scientific certainty. In 1896, French physicist Antoine Becquerel discovered radioactivity. He also suggested the mutability of elements by the rearrangement of their atoms. French chemist Marie Curie and her husband, Pierre Curie, isolated the elements polonium and radium, which are more radioactive than the uranium Becquerel used. From these and other discoveries, scientists concluded that atoms are not solid, as had long been believed, but are composed of subatomic particles moving about a core. In a paper published in 1900, German physicist Max Planck announced his quantum theory, stating that energy does not flow in a steady stream but rather is delivered in discrete packets that he later called quanta.

It was in this atmosphere of discovery that physicist **Albert Einstein** (1879–1955) proclaimed his special theory of relativity in 1905. According to this theory, space and time are not absolute categories but instead vary according to the vantage point of the observer. Only the speed of light is constant. That same year, Einstein suggested that the solution to problems in Planck’s theory lay in considering light both as little packets *and* as waves. Einstein later proposed yet another blurring of two distinct physical properties, mass and energy. He expressed this equivalence in the equation $E = mc^2$, or energy equals mass times the square of the speed of light. In 1916, Einstein published his general theory of relativity, which connected

Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900): German philosopher who called for a new morality in the face of the death of God at the hands of science and whose theories were reworked by his sister to emphasize militarism and anti-Semitism.

Albert Einstein (1879–1955): Scientist whose theory of relativity revolutionized modern physics and other fields of thought.



Marie Curie and Her Daughter

Recipient of two Nobel Prizes, Marie Curie came from Poland to western Europe to study science. Curie's extraordinary career made her the epitome of new womanhood; her daughter, Irene Joliot-Curie, followed her mother into the field and also won a Nobel Prize. Both women died of leukemia caused by their exposure to radioactive materials. (ACJC—Archives Curie et Joliot-Curie.)

the force, or gravity, of an object with its mass and postulated a fourth mathematical dimension to the universe. Much more lay ahead once Einstein's theories of energy were applied to technology: television, nuclear power, and, within forty years, nuclear bombs.

The findings of Planck, Einstein, and others were not readily accepted, largely because long-standing scientific truths were at stake. Einstein, like Planck, struggled against mainstream science and its professional institutions. Other factors were at work: Marie Curie faced such resistance from the scientific establishment that even after she became the first person ever to receive a second Nobel Prize (1911), the prestigious French Academy of Science turned down her candidacy for membership. They claimed that as a woman she could not have done such outstanding work. More widespread acceptance gradually came, however, as Max Planck Institutes were established in German cities, streets across Europe were named after Marie Curie, and Einstein's name became synonymous with genius. These scientists achieved what historians call a paradigm shift—that is, in the face of considerable resistance, they transformed the foundations of science as their findings and theories came to replace those of earlier pioneers.

Modern Art

Conflicts between traditional values and new ideas also raged in the arts as artists distanced themselves still further from classical Western styles. Some

modern artists defied the historic and realistic scenes still favored, for example, by the powerful German monarchy and by buyers for public museums. Modernism in the arts not only challenged time-honored standards but also led to the proliferation of competing artistic styles that continues today.

A Variety of Styles. Some artists addressed city people caught up in the rush of modern life. Abandoning the soft colors of impressionism as too subtle for a dynamic industrial society, a group of Parisian artists exhibiting in 1905 combined blues, greens, reds, and oranges so intensely that they were called *fauves*, or “wild beasts.” A leader of the short-lived fauvism, Henri Matisse soon struck out in a new direction, targeting the expanding class of white-collar workers. Matisse saw his art as meant “for every mental worker, be he businessman or writer, like an appeasing influence, like a mental soother, something like a good armchair in which to rest from physical fatigue.” His colorful depictions of domestic interiors, North African scenes, and family life departed from strict realism, yet they continue to appeal to modern viewers in part because of their calming qualities.

French artist Paul Cézanne initiated one of the most powerful and enduring trends in modern art by emphasizing structure in painting. Cézanne used rectangular daubs of paint to create geometric visions of dishes, fruit, drapery, and the human body. Cézanne's art accentuated the lines and planes found in nature instead of presenting



Pablo Picasso, *Les Femmes d'Alger (O Version O)* (1907)

Impressionists had borrowed heavily from Asian art, but many artists in Pablo Picasso's generation leaned on Africa for inspiration. In *Les Femmes d'Alger*, Picasso used the elongated, angular limbs found in African carvings, while the faces resemble African masks. He borrowed these forms even as Europeans were extolling the superiority of their civilization to that of Africa. (Digital Image © The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by Scala/Art Resource, NY. © 2008 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), NY.)

nature as people saw it in everyday life. Following in Cézanne's footsteps, Spanish artist Pablo Picasso (1881–1973) developed a style called cubism. Its radical emphasis on planes and surfaces converted people into bizarre, inhuman, almost unrecognizable forms. Picasso's painting *Les Femmes d'Alger* (1907), for example, showed the bodies of the *demoiselles*, or “young ladies” (prostitutes in this case), as angular, with their heads modeled on African masks. Picasso's work showed the profound influences of African, Asian, and South American arts, but his use of these features was less decorative and more brutal than Matisse's, for example. Some critics say that his jarring style captured in art the uncertain, at times brutal, atmosphere of society and politics.

Art as Political Criticism. Across Europe, artists mixed political criticism with the radical stylistic

changes in their work. “Show the people how hideous is their actual life,” challenged the anarchists. Picasso, who had spent his youth in working-class Barcelona, a hotbed of anarchist thought, aimed to present the plain truth about industrial society. In 1912, Picasso and French painter Georges Braque devised a new kind of collage that incorporated bits of newspaper stories, string, and various useless objects. The effect was a work of art that appeared to be made of trash. The newspaper clippings Picasso included described battles and murders, suggesting that Western civilization was not as refined as it claimed to be. In eastern and central Europe, artists criticized the growing nationalism that determined official purchases of sculpture and painting: “The whole empire is littered with monuments to soldiers and monuments to Kaiser William of the same conventional type,” one German artist complained. Groups of avant garde artists in Vienna and Berlin produced other types of art, much of it critical of boastful nationalism.

Scandinavian and eastern European artists produced works expressing the torment many felt at the time. Like the ideas of Freud, their style of portraying inner feelings—called expressionism—broke with middle-class optimism. Norwegian painter Edvard Munch aimed “to make the emotional mood ring out again as happens on a gramophone.” His painting *The Scream* (1893) used twisting lines and a tortured skeletal human form to convey the horror of modern life that many artists perceived. The “Blue Rider” group of artists, led by German painter Gabriele Münter and Russian painter Wassily Kandinsky used geometric forms and striking colors to express an inner, spiritual truth. Kandinsky is often credited with producing the first fully abstract paintings around 1909; shapes in these paintings no longer bear any resemblance to physical objects or reality but are meant to express deep feelings. The expressionism of Oskar Kokoschka, who worked in Vienna, was even more intense, displaying ecstasy, horror, and hallucinations. As a result, his work—like that of other expressionists and cubists before World War I—was a commercial failure in an increasingly complex marketplace run by museum curators, professional dealers, and art “experts.” Trade in art became professionalized, as had medicine and government work before it, even as modern artists rebelled against traditional norms.

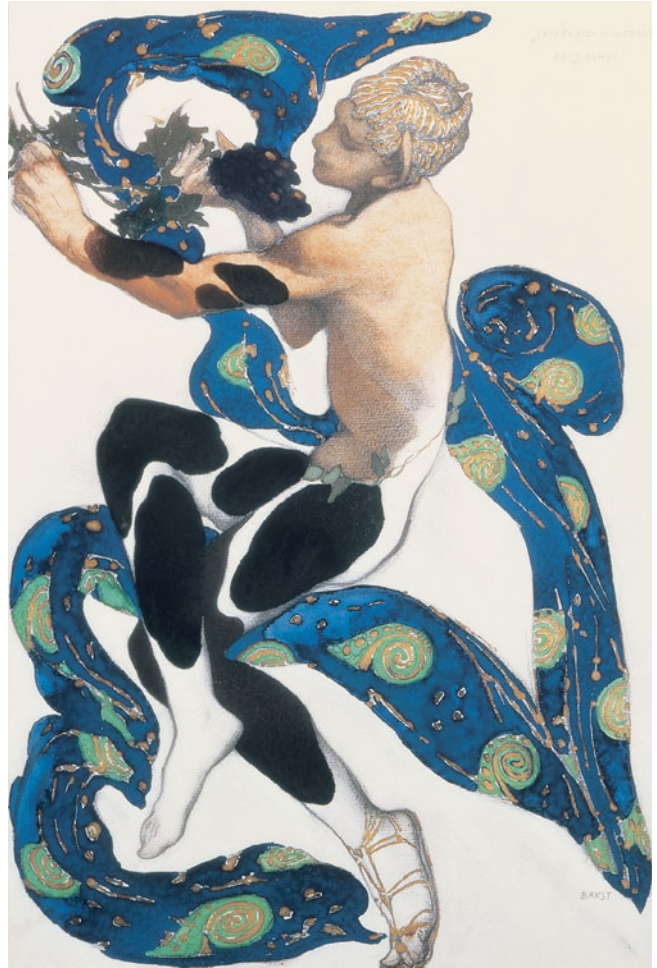
Art Nouveau. Only one innovative style of this period was an immediate commercial success:

art nouveau (“new art”) won approval from government, critics, and the masses. Creating everything from dishes, calendars, and advertising posters to streetlamps and even entire buildings in this new style, designers manufactured beautiful objects for the general public. As one French official said about the first art nouveau coins issued in 1895, “Soon even the most humble among us will be able to have a masterpiece in his pocket.” Art nouveau, adapting elements from Asian design, attempted to offset the harshness of industrial work and office routine with images depicting the unified forms of nature. The impersonality of machines was replaced by intertwined vines and flowers and the softly curving bodies of female nudes intended to soothe the individual viewer. This idea directly contrasted with Picasso’s artistic vision. Art nouveau was the notable exception to the public outcries over innovations in the visual arts.

The Revolt in Music and Dance

“Astonish me!” was the motto of modern dance and music, both of which shocked audiences in the concert halls of Europe. American dancer Isadora Duncan took Europe by storm at the turn of the century when, draped in a flowing garment, she danced barefoot in one of the first performances of modern dance. Her sophisticated style was called primitive and scandalous because it no longer followed the steps of classical ballet. Experimentation with forms of bodily expression animated the Russian Ballet’s 1913 performance of *The Rite of Spring*, by Igor Stravinsky, the tale of an orgiastic dance to the death performed to ensure a plentiful harvest. The dance troupe struck awkward poses and danced to rhythms intended to sound primitive. At the work’s premiere in Paris, one journalist reported that “the audience began shouting its indignation. . . . Fighting actually broke out among some of the spectators.” Such controversy made *The Rite of Spring* a box-office hit, although critics called its choreographer a “lunatic” and the music itself “the most discordant composition ever written.”

Composers had been rebelling against musical standards for several decades, producing music that was disturbing rather than pretty. Having heard Asian musicians at international expositions, French composer Claude Debussy trans-



Léon Bakst, *Nijinsky in L'Après-Midi d'un Faune* (*The Afternoon of a Faun*, 1912)

Léon Bakst, a Russian painter and set designer, used the art nouveau style to depict the graceful human form of ballet star and choreographer Vaslav Nijinsky. Yet on the eve of World War I, Nijinsky was part of a revolution in ballet that introduced jerky, awkward, pounding movements to indicate the primal nature of dance. (Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, Hartford, CT. The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection Fund.)

formed his style to reflect non-European musical patterns and wrote articles in praise of Asian harmonies. Italian composer Giacomo Puccini used non-Western subject matter for his opera *Madame Butterfly*, which debuted in 1904. Listeners were jarred when they also heard non-Western tonalities. Austrian composer Richard Strauss added to the revolution in music by using several musical keys simultaneously in his compositions. Like the bizarre representation of reality in cubism, several tonalities at once distorted familiar harmonic patterns. Strauss’s operas *Salome* (1905) and *Elektra* (1909) reflected a modern fascination with violence and obsessive passion. A newspaper critic

art nouveau: An early-twentieth-century artistic style in graphics, fashion, and household design that featured flowing, sinuous lines, borrowed in large part from Asian art.

claimed that Strauss's dissonant works “spit and scratch and claw each other like enraged panthers.”

The early orchestral work of Austrian composer Arnold Schoenberg, who also wrote cabaret music to earn a living, shocked even Strauss. In *Theory of Harmony* (1911), Schoenberg proposed eliminating tonality altogether; a decade later, he devised a new twelve-tone scale. “I am aware of having broken through all the barriers of a dated aesthetic ideal,” Schoenberg wrote of his music. But new aesthetic models distanced artists like Schoenberg from their audiences, who found this music unpleasant and incomprehensible. The artistic elite and the social elite parted ranks. “Anarchist! Nihilist!” shouted Schoenberg's audiences, expressing their distaste for modernism and joining conflicts in the arts with politics.

REVIEW: How did modernism transform the arts and the world of ideas?

Growing Tensions in Mass Politics

Alongside modernist disturbances in intellectual life, the political atmosphere grew charged. On the one hand, liberal opinions led to growing tolerance and political representation for workingmen. Networks of communication, especially the development of journalism, created a common fund of political knowledge that made mass politics possible. On the other hand, even as working-class men got the vote, political activists were no longer satisfied with the liberal rights sought by reformers a century earlier, and some strenuously opposed them. Militant nationalists, anti-Semites, socialists, suffragists, and others demanded changes that challenged the liberal status quo. Traditional elites, resentful of the rising middle classes and urban peoples, aimed to overturn constitutional processes and crush city life. Politics soon threatened national unity, especially in central and eastern Europe, where governments often answered reformers' demands with repression.

Labor's Expanding Power

European leaders worried about the rise of working-class political power late in the nineteenth century. Laboring people's growing confidence came in part from expanding educational opportunities. Workers in England, for example, avidly read

works by Shakespeare and took literally his calls for political action in the cause of justice that rang out in plays such as *Julius Caesar*. Unions gained members among factory workers, while the labor and socialist parties won seats in parliaments as men in the lower classes received the vote. In Germany, Kaiser William II had allowed antisocialist laws to lapse after dismissing Bismarck as chancellor in 1890. Through grassroots organizing at the local level, the Social Democratic Party, founded by German socialists in 1875, became the largest parliamentary group in the Reichstag by 1912. Other socialist parties across Europe helped elect workers' representatives into parliaments, where they focused on passing legislation that benefited workers and their families.

Growing strength, especially winning elections, actually raised problems among socialists. Some felt uncomfortable sitting in parliaments alongside the upper classes—in Marxism, the enemies of working people. Others worried that accepting high public offices such as heads of governmental ministries would compromise their ultimate goal of revolution. These issues divided socialists from one another. Between 1900 and 1904, the Second International wrestled with the question of revisionism—that is, whether socialists should serve in governments and work from within to improve the daily lives of laborers or push for a violent revolution to overthrow governments. Powerful German Marxists argued that settling for reform rather than revolution would only buttress capitalism. The wealthy would continue to rule unchallenged while throwing small crumbs to a few working-class politicians. Stormy discussions divided these German purists, who as a group were consistently blocked from holding high positions by conservatives in the military and aristocracy, from the socialist delegates of France, England, and Belgium who had gained influential government posts.

Police persecution forced some working-class parties to operate in exile. The Russian government, for instance, outlawed political parties, imprisoned activists, and gave the vote to only a limited number of men when it finally introduced a parliament in 1905. Thus, Russian activist V. I. Lenin (1870–1924), who would take power during the Russian Revolution of 1917, moved to western Europe after his release from exile in Siberia in 1900 and earned a reputation among Marxists for hard-hitting journalism and political intrigue. Lenin advanced the theory that a highly disciplined socialist elite—rather than the working class as a whole—would lead a lightly industrial-

ized Russia immediately into socialism. At a 1903 party meeting of Russian Marxists, he maneuvered his opponents into walking out of the proceedings so that his supporters gained control of the party. Thereafter, his faction was known as the Bolsheviks, so named after the Russian word for “majority” (which they had temporarily formed), and they made it their goal to suppress the Mensheviks (“minority”), who had been the dominant voice in Russian Marxism until Lenin outmaneuvered them. Neither of these factions, however, had as large a constituency within Russia as the Socialist Revolutionaries, whose objective was to politicize peasants, rather than industrial workers, as the foundation of a populist revolution. All of these groups prepared for the revolutionary moment through study, propaganda efforts, and organizing—not through the electoral politics successfully employed elsewhere in Europe.

During this same period, anarchists, along with some trade union members known as syndicalists, kept Europe in a panic with their terrorist acts. In the 1880s, anarchists had bombed stock exchanges, parliaments, and businesses; by the 1890s, they were assassinating heads of state: the Spanish premier in 1897, the empress of Austria-Hungary in 1898, the king of Italy in 1900, and the president of the United States in 1901, to name a few famous victims. Syndicalists advocated the use of direct action, such as general strikes and sabotage, to paralyze the economy and give labor unions more power. Not unexpectedly, the upper and middle classes watched these developments with alarm, while politicians from the old landowning and military elites of eastern and central Europe tried to figure out how to reverse the trend toward constitutionalism and mass political participation.

Rights for Women and the Battle for Suffrage

Women continued to agitate for the benefits of liberalism such as the right to own their wages and to be represented in parliaments. In most countries, women could not vote or own property if married; in some, they could not exercise free speech. Laws in France, Austria, and Germany even made women’s attendance at political meetings a crime. There were many battlefields besides the one for legal rights. German women focused on widening opportunities for female education. Their activism aimed to achieve the German cultural ideal of *Bildung*—the belief that education can build character and that individual development has public importance. In several countries,

women monitored the regulation of prostitution. Their goal was to prevent prostitutes from being imprisoned on suspicion of having syphilis when men with syphilis faced no such incarceration. Other women took up the cause of pacifism. Many of them were inspired by Bertha von Suttner’s popular book *Lay Down Your Arms* (1889), which emphasized how war inflicted terror on women and families. (Later, von Suttner would influence Alfred Nobel to institute a peace prize and then win the prize herself in 1903.)

By the 1890s, many activists decided to focus their efforts on a single issue—the right to vote—as the most effective way to correct the many problems caused by male privilege. Thereafter, suffragists created major organizations involving millions of activists, paid officials, and permanent offices out of the earlier reform groups and women’s clubs. British suffrage leader Millicent Garrett Fawcett (1847–1929) pressured members of Parliament for women’s right to vote and participated in national and international congresses on behalf of suffrage. Across the Atlantic, American Susan B. Anthony (1820–1906) traveled the country to speak at mass suffrage rallies, edited a suffragist newspaper, and founded the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in 1904. Its leadership argued that despite men’s promises to protect women in exchange for their inequality, the system of male chivalry had led to exploitation and abuse. “So long as the subjection of women endures, and is confirmed by law and custom, . . . women will be victimized,” a leading British suffragist claimed. Other activists believed that women had attributes needed to balance masculine qualities that dominated society. The characteristics associated with mothering were as necessary in shaping a country’s destiny as were qualities that stemmed from industry and commerce, they asserted.

Women’s rights activists were predominantly, though not exclusively, from the middle class. Free from the need to earn a living, they simply had more time to be activists and to read the works of feminist theorists such as Harriet Taylor and John Stuart Mill. They attended theater productions of Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen’s jarring plays about rebellious middle-class heroines and partly saw feminism in terms of their experience of middle-class life. But working-class women also participated in the suffrage movement, though many distrusted the middle class and believed suffrage to be less crucial than women’s pressing economic concerns. Textile workers of Manchester, England, for example, put together a vigorous



Woman Suffrage in Finland

In 1906, Finnish women became the first in Europe to receive the vote in national elections when the socialist party there—usually opposed to feminism as a middle-class rather than a working-class project—supported woman suffrage. The Finnish vote encouraged activists in the West, now linked together by many international organizations and ties, because it showed that more than a century of lobbying for reform could lead to gains. (Mary Evans Picture Library.)

movement for the vote, seeing it as essential to improved working conditions.

In 1906 in Finland, suffragists achieved their first major victory when the Finnish parliament granted women the vote. But the failure of parliaments elsewhere in Europe to enact similar legislation provoked some suffragists to violence. British suffragist **Emmeline Pankhurst** (1858–1928) and her daughters founded the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) in 1903 in the belief that women would accomplish nothing unless they threatened men's property. Starting in 1907, members of the WSPU held parades in English cities, and in 1909 they began a campaign of violence, blowing up railroad stations, slashing works of art, and chaining themselves to the gates of Parliament. Disguising themselves as ordinary shoppers, they

carried little hammers in their hand-warming muffs to smash the plate-glass windows of department stores and shops. Parades and demonstrations made suffrage a public spectacle, and outraged men responded by attacking the marchers. Arrested for disturbing the peace, the marchers went on hunger strikes in prison. Like striking workers, these women were willing to use confrontational tactics to obtain rights, and like anarchists they were not afraid to damage property. The struggle for and against women's right to vote added to the tensions of urban life.

Liberalism Tested

Governments in western Europe, where liberal institutions were seemingly well entrenched, sought to control the turn-of-the-century conflicts of the late nineteenth century with pragmatic policies that often struck at liberalism's very foundations. Beyond ending the policy of free trade at the heart of economic liberalism, politicians decided that government needed to expand social welfare programs—another break with the liberal idea that societies should develop freely without government interference. Although the programs were few and addressed urban needs only in part, they added to the growing apparatus of the welfare state in which governments actively promoted social well-being.

Revising Liberalism in Britain. Political parties in Britain discovered that the recently enfranchised voter wanted solid benefits in exchange for his support. In 1905, the British Liberal Party won a majority in the House of Commons and pushed for social legislation aimed at the working class. "We are keenly in sympathy with the representatives of Labour," one Liberal politician announced. "We have too few of them in the House of Commons." The National Insurance Act of 1911 instituted a program of unemployment assistance funded by new taxes on the wealthy. When Conservatives in the House of Lords resisted the higher taxation, the Liberal government threatened to add to the number of lords and thus dilute the power of the nobility. The newcomers, unlike the defiant Conservatives, would be sure to vote for reform. Under this threat, the lords ap-

Emmeline Pankhurst (1858–1928): Organizer of a militant branch of the British suffrage movement, working actively for women's right to vote.

proved the Parliament Bill of 1911, which eliminated their veto power.

The Irish question further tested Britain's commitment to such liberal values as autonomy, opportunity, and individual rights. In the 1890s, new groups formed to foster Irish culture as a way of heightening the political challenge to what they saw as Britain's continuing colonization of the country. In 1901, the circle around poet William Butler Yeats and actress Maud Gonne founded the Irish National Theater to present Irish rather than English plays. Gonne took Irish politics into everyday life by opposing British efforts to gain the loyalty of the young. Every time an English monarch visited Ireland, he or she held special receptions for children. Gonne and other Irish volunteers sponsored competing events, handing out candies and other treats for patriotic youngsters. "Dublin never witnessed anything so marvelous," enthused one home rule supporter, "as the procession . . . of thirty thousand school children who refused to be bribed into parading before the Queen of England."

Promoters of an "Irish way of life" encouraged speaking Gaelic instead of English, singing Gaelic songs, and rallying in support of Catholicism instead of the Anglican church. This cultural agenda gained political force with the founding in 1905 of Sinn Féin ("We Ourselves"), a group that strove for complete Irish independence. In 1913, Parliament approved home rule for Ireland, but the outbreak of World War I prevented the legislation from taking effect though it hardly killed dreams of independence.

Unrest in Italy. Italian nation builders, left with a towering debt from unification and with widespread pockets of discontent, drifted rapidly from liberalism's moorings in solid industrial development and the rule of law. Corruption plagued Italy's constitutional monarchy, which had not yet developed either the secure parliamentary system of England or the authoritarian monarchy of Germany to guide its growth. To forge a national consensus in the 1890s, prime ministers used patriotic rhetoric and imperial adventure, culminating in a second unsuccessful attempt to conquer Ethiopia in 1896. Riots and strikes, followed by armed government repression, erupted, until Giovanni Giolitti, who served as prime minister for three terms between 1903 and 1914, adopted a policy known as *trasformismo* (from the word for "transform"). Following this policy, he used bribes, public works programs, and other benefits to localities to gain support from their deputies in parliament. Political opponents called Giolitti the "Minister of the

Underworld" and accused him of preferring to buy the votes of local bosses rather than spend money to develop the Italian economy. In a wave of protest, urban workers in the industrial cities of Turin and Milan and rural laborers in the depressed agrarian south demanded change, especially of the suffrage laws that allowed only three million of more than eight million adult men to vote. Giolitti appeased the protesters by instituting social welfare programs and, in 1912, virtually complete manhood suffrage. These reforms, however, did not signal a full commitment either to a liberal constitutional system or to economic development across the nation.

Anti-Semitism, Nationalism, and Zionism in Mass Politics

The real crisis for liberal political values of equal citizenship and tolerance came in the two decades leading up to World War I when politicians used anti-Semitism and militant nationalism to win elections. They told voters that Jews were responsible for the difficulties of everyday life and that anti-Semitism and increased patriotism would fix all problems. Voters from all levels of society responded enthusiastically, agreeing that Jews were villains and the nation-state was the hero in the armed struggle to survive. In both republics and monarchies, anti-Semitism and militant nationalism played key roles in mass politics by providing those on the radical right with a platform to gain working-class votes and thus combat the radical left of social democracy. This new radical right shattered the older notion of nationalism based on liberal ideas of the rule of law and the equality of all citizens. Liberals had hoped that voting by the masses would make politics more harmonious as parliamentary debate and compromise smoothed out class differences. The new politics as shaped by right-wing leaders—usually representatives of the agrarian nobility, aristocrats who controlled the military, and highly placed clergy—dashed those hopes by making politics loud, emotional, and hateful.

Authoritarianism in Russia. A strong tradition of anti-Semitism existed in Russian politics. Russian tsar **Nicholas II** (r. 1894–1917) believed firmly in Russian orthodox religion, autocratic politics, and anti-Semitic social values. Taught as a child to hate Jews, Nicholas blamed them for any failure in

Nicholas II: Tsar of Russia (r. 1894–1917) who promoted anti-Semitism and resisted reform in the empire.

Russian policy. Many high officials eagerly endorsed anti-Semitism to gain the tsar's favor. Pogroms became a regular threat to Russian Jews, especially as Nicholas was adamant that he would never order soldiers to "fire on Christians to protect Jews." Nicholas increasingly limited where Jews could live and how they could earn a living. This tradition of anti-Semitism was integral to Russian autocracy and religion, but it was not yet a tool in modern party politics.

The Dreyfus Affair in France. Principles of equal citizenship and tolerance were sorely tested in France, where the most notorious instance of anti-Semitism in mass politics occurred in the Dreyfus Affair. The Third Republic was fragile, with the lib-

eral alliance of businessmen, shopkeepers, professionals, and rural property owners who backed republican government opposed by powerful forces in the aristocracy, military, and Catholic church who hoped that it, like earlier republics, could be brought down. Economic downturns, widespread corruption, and attempted coups made the republic even more vulnerable, and the press attributed failures of almost any kind to Jews, who, it said, controlled all businesses and even the republic itself. Despite an excellent system of primary education promoting literacy and rational thinking, the public tended to agree, while the clergy and monarchists kept hammering the message that the republic was nothing but a conspiracy of Jews.

Amid rising anti-Semitism, a Jewish captain in the French army, Alfred Dreyfus, was charged with spying for Germany in 1894. From a well-respected family, Dreyfus had worked his way through the military, whose upper echelons were traditionally aristocratic, Catholic, and monarchist. The military produced "evidence"—later proved to be false—to gain Dreyfus's conviction and exile to the harsh fortress on Devil's Island. Even though the espionage continued, the republican government adamantly upheld Dreyfus's guilt. Then several newspapers received proof that the army had used perjured testimony and fabricated documents to convict Dreyfus. In 1898, the celebrated French novelist Émile Zola published an article titled "*J'accuse*" (I accuse) on the front page of a Paris daily. Zola cited a list of military lies and government cover-ups that had created the impression of Dreyfus's guilt.

The article named the truly guilty parties and called for a return to government based on honesty, tolerance, and the rule of law. "I have but one passion, that of Enlightenment," wrote Zola. His piece led to public riots, quarrels among families and friends, and denunciations of the army, eroding public confidence in the republic and in French institutions. The government finally pardoned Dreyfus in 1899, dismissed the aristocratic and Catholic officers held responsible, and ended religious teaching orders to ensure a secular public school system that promoted tolerance and honored the rule of law. In the final analysis, however, the Dreyfus Affair made anti-Semitism a standard tool of politics by showing the effectiveness of hate-filled slogans in shaping public opinion.

Nationalist and Anti-Semitic Politics in Germany. The ruling elites in Germany also used anti-Semitism to win support from those caught up in the confusion of Germany's sudden industrialization. The

The Humiliation of Alfred Dreyfus

French captain Alfred Dreyfus was sent to a harsh exile after being convicted of spying for Germany. Before he was taken to Devil's Island, he was subjected to the extreme humiliation of having his officer's insignia and ribbons stripped from his uniform and his sword broken before hundreds of troops and a mob of screaming anti-Semites. We imagine what this meant to a man in his mid-thirties, who despite being Jewish had worked his way through an elite military school and up the ranks of the army. What do you see in his bearing? (*The Granger Collection, New York*)



agrarian elites still controlled the highest reaches of government and influenced the kaiser's policy, but the basis of their power was rapidly eroding. Agriculture, from which they drew their fortunes, declined as a percentage of gross national product from 37 percent in the 1880s to only 25 percent early in the 1900s. New opportunities drew rural workers to the cities, where they would be free from the landowner's grip. As industrialists grew wealthier, the agrarian elites came to loathe industry for challenging their traditional authority. As a Berlin newspaper noted, "The agrarians' hate for cities . . . blinds them to the simplest needs and the most natural demands of the urban population." In contrast to Bismarck's astute wooing of the masses through social programs, William II's aristocracy often encouraged anti-Semitism, both in the corridors of power and in the streets.

Conservatives and a growing radical right claimed that Jews, who made up less than 1 percent of the German population, were responsible for destroying traditional society. In the 1890s, nationalist and anti-Semitic political pressure groups flourished, hurling diatribes against Jews, "new women," and Social Democrats, whom they branded as internationalist and unpatriotic. In the 1890s, agrarian conservatives played to the fears of small farmers by accusing Jews of causing agricultural booms and busts. Political campaigns came to feature hate-filled speeches against an array of groups rather than rational programs to meet the problems of economic change. The politics of this new right invented a modern politics that rejected the liberal value of parliamentary consensus, relying instead on mouthing slogans and inventing enemies within what was supposed to be a unified nation-state.

Ethnic Politics in Austria-Hungary. Politicians in the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary also used militant nationalism and anti-Semitism to win votes, but here the presence of many ethnic groups meant competing nationalisms and thus greater complexity in the politics of hate. Foremost among the nationalists were the Hungarians, who wanted autonomy for themselves while forcibly imposing Hungarian language and culture on all other, supposedly inferior, ethnic groups in Hungary. Nationalist claims for greater Hungarian influence (or Magyarization, from Magyars, the principal ethnic group) rested on two pieces of evidence: Budapest was a thriving industrial city, and the export of Hungarian grain from the vast estates of the Magyar nobility saved the monarchy's finances. The nationalist Independence Party dis-

rupted the Hungarian parliament so regularly that it weakened the orderly functioning of the government.

Although capable of causing trouble for the empire, Hungarian nationalists, who mostly represented agrarian wealth, were themselves vulnerable. Exploited ethnic groups—Slovaks, Romanians, and Ruthenians—formed their own political alliances to resist Magyarization. Industrial workers struck to protest horrendous labor conditions, and in the fall of 1905, 100,000 activists gathered in front of the Hungarian parliament to demonstrate for the vote. In response, Hungarians intensified Magyarization, even decreeing that all tombstones be engraved in Magyar. Emperor Francis Joseph temporarily quieted the Hungarian nationalists by threatening to introduce universal manhood suffrage, which would allow both the Magyars' lower-class and non-Magyar opponents to vote. Although numerous ethnic groups and many Jews assimilated Magyar ways, the chauvinist nature of Hungarian policies toward both the other ethnic groups and the imperial government in Vienna made for instability throughout Austria-Hungary.

Hungarian nationalism roused other nationalities to intensify their demands for rights. Croats, Serbs, and other Slavic groups in the south called for equality with the Hungarians. The central government allowed the Czechs a greater number of Czech officials in the government because of the growing industrial prosperity of their region. But every step favoring the Czechs provoked outrage from the traditionally dominant ethnic Germans. When Austria-Hungary decreed in 1897 that government officials in the Czech region of the empire would have to speak Czech as well as German, the Germans rioted—further straining the stability and unity in the empire.

Tensions mounted as German politicians in Vienna linked the growing power of Hungarians and Czechs to Jews. Karl Lueger, whose newly formed Christian Social Party attracted members from among the aristocracy, Catholics, artisans, shopkeepers, and white-collar workers, had great success with this new brand of politics. In hate-filled speeches that hurled abuse at Jews and other non-German groups, Lueger appealed to those groups for whom modern life meant a loss of priv-



Principal Ethnic Groups in Austria-Hungary, c. 1900

ilege and security—and was elected mayor of Vienna in 1895. Lueger's ethnic nationalism and anti-Semitism threatened the multinationalism on which Austria-Hungary was based. His attacks were so effective at getting votes, however, that a widening group of politicians made anti-Semitism an integral part of their election campaigns, calling Jews the “sucking vampire” of modernity and blaming them for the tumult of migration, the economy, and just about anything else people found disturbing. Politics became a thing not of debate in parliaments but of violent racism in the streets.

The Jewish Response to Anti-Liberal Politics.

Like Christians and people of other religions, Jews often differed from one another, separated by social class and education. Jews in western Europe had responded to increased legal tolerance in the nineteenth century by moving out of Jewish neighborhoods, intermarrying with Christians, and in some cases converting to Christianity—practices known as assimilation. Many well-educated Jews favored the classical culture of the German Em-

pire because it seemed more rational and liberal than the ritualistic Catholicism of Austria-Hungary. Still, many accomplished and prosperous Jews, like the pioneer of psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud, flourished amid the cosmopolitan urban culture of Vienna or Budapest despite escalating anti-Semitism. By contrast, less educated and less prosperous Jews, such as those in Russia and Romania, were increasingly singled out for persecution, legally disadvantaged, and forced to live in ghettos. Jews from these countries might seek refuge in the nearby cities of central and eastern Europe where they could eke out a living as day laborers or artisans. Jewish migration to the United States and other countries also swelled (Map 24.1). By 1900, many Jews were prominent in cultural and economic affairs in cities across the continent even as far more were discriminated against and victimized elsewhere.

Amid vast migration and continued persecution, a spirit of Jewish nationalism arose. “Why should we be any less worthy than any other . . . people,” one Jewish leader asked. “What about our nation, our language, our land?” Jews

MAP 24.1 Jewish Migrations in the Late Nineteenth Century

Pogroms in eastern Europe, increasingly violent anti-Semitism across the continent, and the search for opportunity motivated Jews to migrate to many parts of the world. Between 1890 and 1914, some five million Jews left Russia alone. They moved to European cities; to North and South America; and, as Zionism progressed, to Palestine.



DOCUMENT

Leon Pinsker Calls for a Jewish State

In 1882, the Ukrainian physician Leon Pinsker published a pamphlet called Auto-Emancipation in which he analyzed the situation of the Jews in Europe. This pamphlet convinced some in Europe—most notably Theodor Herzl—that Jews could never be assimilated to European culture no matter how many dropped their religion in favor of Christian ways. This pamphlet ultimately led some Jews to migrate to Palestine, despite Pinsker's own conviction that the Middle East was not necessarily the right place for creating a Jewish nation.

This is the kernel of the problem, as we see it: *the Jews comprise a distinctive element among the nations under which they dwell, and as such can neither assimilate nor be readily digested by any nation.* . . .

A fear of the Jewish ghost has passed down the generations and the centuries. First a breeder of prejudice, later . . . it cul-

minated in Judeophobia. Judeophobia is a psychic aberration. As a psychic aberration it is hereditary, and as a disease transmitted for two thousand years it is incurable. . . .

The Jews are aliens who can have no representatives, because they have no country. Because they have none, because their home has no boundaries within which they can be entrenched, their misery too is boundless. . . .

. . . If we would have a secure home, give up our endless life of wandering and rise to the dignity of a nation in our own eyes and in the eyes of the world, we must, above all, not dream of restoring ancient Judaea. We must not attach ourselves to the place where our political life was once violently interrupted and destroyed. The goal of our present endeavors must be not the "Holy Land," but a land of our own. We need nothing but a large tract of land

for our poor brothers, which shall remain our property and from which no foreign power can expel us. There we shall take with us the most sacred possessions which we have saved from the shipwreck of our former country, the *God-idea* and the *Bible*. It is these alone which have made our old fatherland the Holy Land, and not Jerusalem or the Jordan. Perhaps the Holy Land will again become ours. If so, all the better, but *first of all*, we must determine—and this is the crucial point—what country is accessible to us, and at the same time adapted to offer the Jews of all lands who must leave their homes a secure and indisputed refuge, capable of productivization.

Source: Robert Chazan and Marc Lee Raphael, eds., *Modern Jewish History: A Source Reader* (New York: Schocken Books, 1974), 161, 163, 165–66, 169–71, 171–74.

began organizing resistance to pogroms and anti-Semitic politics, and intellectuals drew on Jewish folklore, language, customs, and history to establish a national identity parallel to that of other Europeans. In the 1880s, the Ukrainian physician Leon Pinsker, seeing the Jews' lack of national territory as fundamental to the persecution heaped on them, advocated the migration of Jews to Palestine. (See Document, "Leon Pinsker Calls for a Jewish State," above.) In 1896, Theodor Herzl, strongly influenced by Pinsker, published *The Jewish State*, which called not simply for migration but for the creation of a Jewish nation-state, the goal of a movement known as **Zionism**. A Hungarian-born Jew, Herzl experienced anti-Semitism firsthand as a Viennese journalist and a writer in Paris during the Dreyfus Affair. He scoured Europe for financial backing, but many prosperous Jews who had assimilated thought his ideas mad. However, backed by poorer eastern European Jews, he or-

ganized the first International Zionist Congress (1897). By 1914, some eighty-five thousand Jews had moved into Palestine.

REVIEW: What were the points of tension in European political life at the beginning of the twentieth century?

European Imperialism Challenged

Anti-Semitism was only one sign that the conditions of modern life were deeply troubling and that the rule of law and other liberal values like tolerance were now threatened. Militant nationalism across the West made it difficult for nations to calm domestic politics and ease the tensions caused by rapid industrial and social change. The political atmosphere heated up, as imperialism made relations among the European powers alarmingly worse and as colonized peoples challenged European control. Japan's growth as an Asian power also threatened:

Zionism: A movement that began in the late nineteenth century among European Jews to found a Jewish state.

in 1904–1905, Japanese expansionism came close to toppling the mighty Russian Empire.

The Trials of Empire

After centuries of global expansion, imperial adventure soured for Britain and France at the beginning of the twentieth century. Newcomers Italy

and Germany now fought for a place at the imperial table, and the tense atmosphere among nations raised questions about the future. “Where thirty years ago there existed one sensitive spot in our relations with France, or Germany, or Russia,” the British economist J. A. Hobson wrote in 1902, “there are a dozen now; diplomatic strains are of almost monthly occurrence between the Powers.”



MAP 24.2 Africa in 1914

Uprisings intensified in Africa in the early twentieth century as Europeans tried both to consolidate their rule and to extract more wealth from the Africans. As Europeans were putting down rebellions against their rule, a pan-African movement arose, attempting to unite Africans as one people.

Mounting tensions exploded violently when Japan and Russia went to war in 1904.

The South African War. The imperial tide turned for Britain in the **South African War** (or Boer War) of 1899–1902. In 1896, Cecil Rhodes, then prime minister of the Cape Colony in southern Africa, directed a raid into the neighboring territory of the Transvaal in hopes of stirring up trouble between the Boers, descendants of early Dutch settlers, and the more recent immigrants from Britain who had come to southern Africa in search of gold and other riches. In Rhodes's scheme, the turmoil caused by the raid would justify a British takeover of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, which the Boers independently controlled. The Boers, however, easily routed the raiders, dealing Britain a bloody defeat and forcing Rhodes to resign in disgrace.

The stunned British government did not accept defeat easily, especially when other Europeans gloated over the British loss. Kaiser William II telegraphed his congratulations to the Transvaal president for “maintaining the independence of the country against attacks from without.” In 1899, Britain began full-scale operations against the Boers. Foreign correspondents covering the South African War reported on appalling bloodshed, heavy casualties, and the unfit condition of the average British soldier. Most alarmingly to those who liked to think of Britain as the most civilized country in the world, news arrived back in London of rampant disease and inhumane treatment of South Africans herded into an unfamiliar institution—the concentration camp, which became the graveyard of tens of thousands. Britain finally annexed the area after defeating the Boers in 1902, but the cost of war in money, destruction, demoralization, and loss of life was enormous (Map 24.2, page 784). Prominent citizens began to call imperialism not the work of civilization but an act of barbarism.

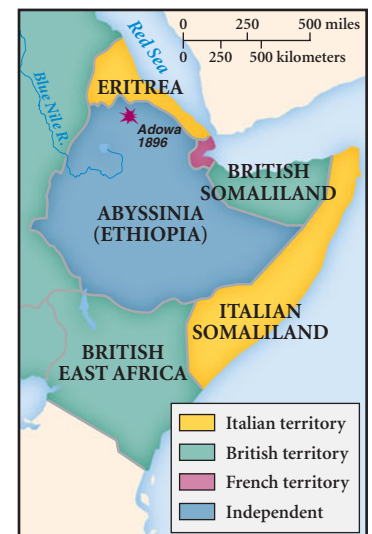
Newcomers Face Setbacks. Nearly simultaneously with the South African War, the United States defeated Spain in the Spanish-American War in 1898 and took Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines as its trophies. Not a novice to imperialism, the United States had successfully crushed native Americans, killing many and confining survivors to reservations. Its imperial reach had generally been continental until its annexation of Hawaii in 1898. Both Cuba and the Philippines had begun

vigorous efforts to free themselves from Spanish rule before the war. Urged on by the expansionist-minded Theodore Roosevelt (then assistant secretary of the navy) and the inflammatory daily press, the United States went to war, claiming it was doing so to help the independence movements. Instead of allowing the independence that victory promised, however, the U. S. government annexed Puerto Rico and Guam and bought the Philippines from Spain. Cuba was theoretically independent, but the United States monitored its activities.

Both Spain and the United States found the fortunes of imperialism unpredictable. Spain lost its territories, and the triumphant United States next had to wage a bloody war against the Filipinos, who wanted independence, not another imperial ruler. British poet Rudyard Kipling had encouraged the United States to “take up the white man’s burden” by bringing the benefits of Western civilization to those liberated from Spain. However, reports of American brutality in the Philippines, where some 200,000 local people were slaughtered, further disillusioned the Western public, who liked to imagine native peoples joyously welcoming the bearers of civilization.

Despite these setbacks, newly powerful countries had an emotional stake in gaining colonies. In the early twentieth century, Italian public figures bragged about Italians becoming Nietzschean supermen by conquering Africa and restoring Italy to its ancient position of world domination. After a disastrous war against Ethiopia in 1896, Italy won a costly victory over the Ottoman Empire in Libya. These wars stirred the military spirit in Italians, and hopes rose for imperial grandeur in the future.

Germany likewise joined the imperial contest, demanding an end to British-French domination as colonial powers. Under Bismarck, Germany had begun its imperial expansion, and German bankers and businessmen were ensconced throughout Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America. By the turn of the century, Germany had colonies in Southwest Africa, the Cameroons, Togoland, and East Africa and sent linguists, ethnographers, and museum curators to study other cultures and obtain their treasures. Despite these successes, there was no easy road to colonial might. Germany, too, met humiliation and faced constant problems, especially



The Struggle for Ethiopia, 1896

South African War: The war between Britain and the Boer (originally Dutch) inhabitants of South Africa for control of the region (1899–1902); also called the Boer War.



MAP 24.3 Imperialism in Asia, 1894–1914

The established imperialists came to blows in East Asia as they struggled for influence in China and as they met a formidable new rival—Japan. Simultaneously, liberation groups like the Boxers were taking shape, committed to throwing off restraints imposed by foreign powers and eliminating these interlopers altogether. In 1911, revolutionary Sun Yat-Sen overthrew the Qing dynasty, which had left China unprepared to resist foreign takeover, and started the country on a different course.

in its dealings with Britain and France and with local peoples in Africa and elsewhere who resisted the German takeover of their lands. As Italy and Germany joined the aggressive pursuit of new territory, the rules set for imperialism at the Congress of Berlin a generation earlier gave way to increasingly heated rivalry and nationalist passion.

Japan Victorious. Japan's rise as an imperial power further ate into Europeans' confident approach to imperialism. Continuing its expansion in the region, in 1894, Japan defeated China in the Sino-Japanese War, which ended China's domination of Korea. The European powers, alarmed at Japan's victory, forced it to relinquish most gains, a move that outraged and affronted the Japanese. Japan's insecurity had risen with Russian expansion to the east and south in Asia. Pushing into

eastern Asia, the Russians had built the Trans-Siberian Railroad through Manchuria, sent millions of Russian settlers eastward, and sponsored anti-Japanese groups in Korea, making the Korean peninsula appear, as a Japanese military leader put it, like "a dagger thrust at the heart of Japan." Angered by the continuing presence of Russian troops in Manchuria, the Japanese attacked the tsar's forces at Port Arthur in 1904 (Map 24.3).

The conservative Russian military proved inept in the ensuing Russo-Japanese War, even though it often had better equipment or strategic advantage. Russia's Baltic Fleet sailed halfway around the globe only to be completely destroyed by Japan in the battle of Tsushima Straits (1905). Opening an era of Japanese domination in East Asian politics, the victory was the first by a non-European nation over a European great power in

the modern age, and it gave the West reason to fear the future. As one English general observed of the Russian defeat: “I have today seen the most stupendous spectacle it is possible for the mortal brain to conceive—Asia advancing, Europe falling back.” Japan annexed Korea in 1910 and began to target other areas for colonization.

The Russian Empire Threatened

Following the humiliating loss to Japan, revolution erupted in Russia in 1905, and the empire tottered on the brink of chaos. A mighty empire that had expanded southward in Asia and settled much of Siberia during the nineteenth century, Russia concealed its weaknesses well. State-sponsored industrialization in the 1890s had made the country appear modern to outside observers, and the Russification policy imitated Western-style state building by attempting to impose a unified, national culture on Russia’s diverse population. Burdened by heavy taxes to pay for industrialization and by debts owed for the land they acquired during emancipation, peasants revolted in isolated uprisings at the turn of the century. Unrest occurred in the cities, too, as Marxist and union activists incited workers to demand better conditions. In 1903, skilled workers led strikes in Baku; the united demonstration of Armenians and Tatars there showed how urbanization and Russification made unified political action possible among the lower classes. These and other worker protests challenged the autocratic regime, which was weakened further by Japan’s victory.

The Revolution of 1905. On a Sunday in January 1905, a crowd gathered outside the tsar’s Winter Palace in St. Petersburg to march in a demonstration to make Nicholas II aware of the brutal working conditions they suffered. Nicholas had often traveled the empire, displaying himself as the divinely ordained “father” of his people, and thus appealing to him seemed natural to his “children.” Leading the demonstration was a priest who, unknown to the crowd, was a police informant and agitator. Instead of allowing the marchers to pass, troops guarding the palace shot into the trusting crowd, killing hundreds and wounding thousands. Thus began the Revolution of 1905, and news of “Bloody Sunday” moved outraged workers elsewhere to rebel.

In almost a year of turmoil across Russia, urban workers struck over wages, hours, and factory conditions and demanded political representation

in the government. Delegates from revolutionary parties such as the Social Democrats and the Socialist Revolutionaries encouraged more direct blows against the central government, but workers rejected their leadership and organized their own councils, called soviets. In February, the uncle of the tsar was assassinated; in June, sailors on the battleship *Potemkin* mutinied; in October, a massive railroad strike ground rail transportation to a halt; and in November, uprisings broke out in Moscow. The tsar’s forces kept killing protesters, but their deaths only produced more protest.

Anger at Nicholas II’s absolute rule brought together an opposition of artisans and industrial workers, peasants, professionals, and upper-class reformers. Women joined the fray, many demanding an end to discriminatory laws such as those firing women teachers who married. Using the unrest to press their goals, liberals from the *zemstvos* (local councils) and the *intelligentsia* (a Russian word for well-educated elites) demanded political reform, in particular the creation of a constitutional monarchy and representative legislature. They believed that the reliance on censorship and the secret police, characteristic of Romanov rule, relegated Russia to the ranks of the most backward states. Nicholas’s halfhearted responses triggered more street fighting. In the words of one protester, the tsar’s attitude turned “yesterday’s benighted slaves into decisive warriors.”

Attempts at Political Reform. The tsar finally yielded to the violence by creating a representative body called the **Duma**. Although very few Russians could vote for representatives to the Duma, its mere existence, along with the new right of open public debate, liberalized government and allowed people to present their grievances to a responsive body. Political parties committed to parliamentary rather than revolutionary programs also took shape during this time. When these newly formed constitutional parties threw their support to the reorganized government, revolutionary activity finally stopped.



Russian Revolution of 1905

Duma: The Russian parliament set up in the aftermath of the outbreak of the Revolution of 1905.

People soon wondered, however, if anything had really changed. From 1907 to 1917, the Duma convened, but twice when the tsar disliked its recommendations he simply sent the delegates home and forced new elections. Nicholas did have an able administrator in Prime Minister Pyotr Stolypin (1863–1911), who was determined to eliminate the sources of discontent. He ended the *mir* system of communal farming and taxation, and canceled the land redemption payments that had burdened the peasants since their emancipation in 1861. He also made government loans available to peasants, who were then able to purchase land and thus to own farms outright. Although these reforms did not eradicate rural poverty, they did allow people to move to the cities in search of jobs and created a larger group of independent peasants.

Stolypin succeeded only partially in his other goal of restoring law and order. He clamped down on revolutionary organizations, executing their members by hanging them with “Stolypin neckties.” The government urged more pogroms and stifled ethnic unrest by stepping up Russification. But rebels continued to assassinate government officials—four thousand were killed or wounded in 1906–1907. Stolypin himself was assassinated in 1911. Stolypin’s reforms had promoted peasant well-being, which encouraged what one historian has called a “new peasant assertiveness.” The industrial workforce also grew, and another round of strikes broke out, culminating in a general strike in St. Petersburg in 1914. The imperial government and the conservative nobility still had no solution to the ongoing turmoil, and their refusal to share power and produce true political reform left the way open to an even greater upheaval in 1917.

Growing Resistance to Colonial Domination

Japanese military victories over the Qing in China and the Romanovs in Russia upset the status quo in both countries. In addition, colonized peoples gained confidence from the Japanese victory to act more forcefully against imperialism. Moreover, the ability of Russian revolutionaries to force a great European power to reform, however slightly, encouraged nationalist protests throughout the globe, further challenging Western imperialists.

Revolution in China. Uprisings began in China after its 1895 loss to Japan forced the ruling Qing dynasty to grant more economic concessions to Western powers. Humiliated by these events and driven to despair by famine, peasants organized

into secret societies to expel the foreigners and restore Chinese autonomy. One organization was the Society of the Righteous and Harmonious Fists (or Boxers), whose members maintained that ritual boxing would protect them from a variety of evils, including bullets. Encouraged by the Qing ruler, Dowager Empress Tz’u-hsi (Cixi; 1835–1908), the Boxers rebelled in 1900, massacring the missionaries and Chinese Christians to whom they attributed China’s troubles. Seven of the colonial powers united to put down the Boxer Uprising and encouraged their troops to ravage the areas in which the Boxers operated. Defeated once more, the Chinese were compelled to pay a huge indemnity for damages done to foreign property and to allow even greater foreign military occupation.

The Boxer Uprising thoroughly discredited the Qing dynasty, leading a group of revolutionaries to overthrow the dynasty in 1911 and to declare China a republic the next year. Their leader, Sun Yat-Sen (1866–1925), who had been educated in Hawaii and Japan, combined Western ideas and Chinese values in his “Three Principles of the People”: “nationalism, democracy, and socialism.” For example, Sun Yat-Sen’s socialism included the Chinese belief that all people should have enough food. Sun Yat-Sen’s Nationalist Party called for revival of the Chinese tradition of correctness in behavior between governors and the governed, modern economic reform, and an end to Western domination of trade. Sun’s stirring leadership and the changes brought about by the 1911 revolution helped weaken Western imperialism.

Nationalists in India. In India, the Japanese victory over Russia and the Revolution of 1905 stimulated politicians to take a more radical course than that offered by the Indian National Congress. The anti-British Hindu leader B. G. Tilak, less moderate than Congress reformers, urged noncooperation: “We shall not give them assistance to collect revenue and keep peace. We shall not assist them in fighting beyond the frontiers or outside India with Indian blood and money.” Tilak promoted Hindu customs, asserted the distinctiveness of Hindu values from British ways, and inspired violent rebellion against the British. This brand of nationalism broke with that based on assimilating to British culture and promoting gradual change. Trying to repress Tilak, the British sponsored a rival nationalist group, the Muslim League, in a blatant attempt to divide Muslim nationalists from Hindus in the Congress.

Faced with political activism on many fronts, however, Britain conceded to Indians representa-



The Foreign Pig Is Put to Death

The Boxers used brightly colored placards to spread information about their movement in order to build wide support among the Chinese population. They felt that the presence of foreigners had caused a series of disasters, including the defection of the Chinese from traditional religion, the flow of wealth from the country, and a string of natural disasters such as famine. This depiction shows the harsh judgment of the Boxers toward foreigners and their Chinese allies—they are pigs to be killed.

(© The Bridgeman Art Library.)

■ For more help analyzing this image, see the visual activity for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

tion in ruling councils and the right to vote based on property ownership. Because the independence movement had not fully reached the masses, these small concessions to the elites temporarily maintained British power by appeasing the best-educated and most influential people in the upper and middle classes. But the British hold on India was weakening.

Young Turks in the Ottoman Empire. Revolutionary nationalism was simultaneously weakening the Ottoman Empire, which for centuries had controlled much of the Mediterranean. Rebellions plagued Ottoman rule, and this resistance, along with Ottoman deterioration as an effective state, allowed European influence to grow. Just as the Habsburgs used the transnational appeal of Catholicism to quash nationalist aspirations, Sultan Abdul Hamid II (r. 1876–1909) tried to revitalize the multiethnic empire by using Islam to counteract the rising nationalism of the Serbs, Bulgarians, and Macedonians. Instead, he unintentionally provoked Turkish nationalism in Constantinople itself. Turkish nationalists rejected the sultan's pan-Islamic solution and built their movement on the uniqueness of their culture, history, and language, as many European ethnic groups were doing. Using the findings of Western scholarship, they first traced the history and culture of the group they called Turks to change the word *Turk* from one of derision to one of pride.

The Japanese defeat of Russia in 1904–1905 electrified these nationalists with the vision of a modern Turkey becoming “the Japan of the Middle East,” as they called it. In 1908, a group of nationalists called the Young Turks took control of the government in Constantinople, which had been fatally weakened by nationalist agitation and by the empire's economic dependence on Western financiers and businessmen.

The Young Turks' triumph motivated other ethnic groups in the Middle East and the Balkans to demand self-rule, thus ending Ottoman domination in their regions. These nationalists adopted Western values and platforms, and some, such as the Egyptians, had strong contingents of feminist-nationalists who mobilized women to work for independence. But the Young Turks, often aided by European powers with financial and political interests in the region, brutally tried to repress nationalist uprisings in Egypt, Syria, and the Balkans that their own success had encouraged.

The rebellions became part of the tumult shaping international relations in the decade before World War I. Empires, whether old or young, were the scene of growing opposition in the wake of Japanese, Russian, and Turkish events. In German East Africa, colonial forces responded to native resistance in 1905 with a scorched-earth policy of destroying homes, livestock, food, and other resources, eventually killing more than 100,000 Africans there. To maintain their grip on In-

dochina, the French closed the University of Hanoi, executed Indochinese intellectuals, and deported thousands of suspected nationalists. A French general stationed there summed up the fears of many colonial rulers: “The gravest fact of our actual political situation in Indochina is not the recent trouble in Tonkin [or] the plots undertaken against us but in the muted but growing hatred that our subjects show toward us.” At home and abroad, Western political ambitions had given birth to political violence.

REVIEW: How and why did events in overseas empires from the 1890s on challenge Western faith in imperialism?

Roads to War

International developments intensified competition among the great powers and drove Western nationalism to become more aggressive. In the spring of 1914, U.S. president Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924) sent his trusted adviser Colonel Edward House to Europe to assess the rising tensions there. “It is militarism run stark mad,” House reported, adding that he foresaw an “awful cataclysm” ahead. Government spending on what people called the arms race had stimulated European economies; but while stockpiles of arms temporarily promoted economic growth, they menaced the future. As early as the mid-1890s, one socialist had called the situation a “cold war” because the hostile atmosphere made physical combat seem imminent. By 1914, the air was even more charged, with militant nationalism in the Balkan states and conflicts in domestic politics propelling Europeans toward mass destruction.

Competing Alliances and Clashing Ambitions

As the twentieth century opened, the Triple Alliance that Bismarck had negotiated among Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy confronted an opposing alliance between France and Russia, created in the 1890s. The wild card in the diplomatic scenario was Great Britain, traditional enemy of France, especially in the contest for global power. Constant rivals in Africa, Britain and France edged to the brink of war in 1898 over competing claims to Fashoda, a town in the Sudan. France withdrew, however, and both nations were frightened into getting along for mutual self-interest. To prevent another Fashoda, they entered into secret agree-

ments, the first of which (1904) recognized British claims in Egypt and French claims in Morocco. This agreement marked the beginning of the British-French alliance called the **Entente Cordiale**. Despite the alliance, Britain’s response to a European war remained in question; even French statesmen feared that, should war break out, their ally might decide to remain neutral.

Germany’s Imperial Demands. Kaiser William II inflamed the diplomatic atmosphere just as France and Britain were reaching these diplomatic understandings. After victory in the Franco-Prussian War, Bismarck had proclaimed Germany a “satisfied” nation and worked to balance great-power interests, generally avoiding imperial battles. William II, in contrast, was emboldened by Germany’s growing industrial might and announced in 1901 that Germany needed world power achieved by “friendly conquests.” But his actions were far from friendly. Convinced of British hostility toward France, William II used the opportunity presented by the defeat of France’s ally Russia in 1904–1905 to contest French claims in Morocco. A boastful, blustery man who was easily prodded to rash actions by his advisers, William landed in Morocco in 1905, challenging French claims there. To resolve what became known as the First Moroccan Crisis, an international conference met in Spain in 1906. Germany confidently expected to gain concessions and new territories, but instead the powers, now including the United States, decided to uphold the French claims. France and Britain, seeing German aggression in Morocco, drew closer together.

Germany found itself weak internationally and strong economically, a situation that made its leaders more determined to compete for territory abroad. When the French took over Morocco completely in 1911, Germany triggered the Second Moroccan Crisis by sending a gunboat to the port of Agadir and demanding concessions from the French. This time no power—not even Austria-Hungary—backed the German move. No one acknowledged this dominant country’s might, nor did its insistence on recognition encourage anyone to do so. The British and French now made binding military provisions for the deployment of their forces in case of war, thus strengthening the Entente Cordiale. Smarting from its setbacks on the world stage, Germany refocused its sights on its continental role and on its own alliances.

Entente Cordiale: An alliance between Britain and France that began with an agreement in 1904 to honor colonial holdings.

Crises in the Balkans. Germany's bold territorial claims, along with public uncertainty about the binding force of alliances, unsettled Europe, particularly the Balkans. German statesmen began envisioning the creation of a **Mitteuropa**—a term that literally meant “central Europe” but that in their minds also included the Balkans and Turkey. The Habsburgs, now firmly backed by Germany, judged that expansion into the Balkans and the resulting addition of even more ethnic groups would weaken the claims of any single ethnic minority in the Dual Monarchy. Russia, however, saw itself as the protector of Slavs in the region and wanted to replace the Ottomans as the dominant Balkan

power, especially since Japan had crushed Russian hopes for expansion to the east. Austria's swift annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina during the Young Turk revolt in 1908 enraged not only the Russians but the Serbs as well, who wanted Bosnia as part of an enlarged Serbia. The Balkans thus whetted many appetites (Map 24.4).

Even without the greedy eyes cast on the Balkans, the situation would have been extremely volatile. The nineteenth century had seen the rise of nationalism and ethnicity as the basis for the unity of the nation-state, and by late in the century, ethnic loyalty challenged dynastic power in the Balkans. Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Montenegro emerged as autonomous states, almost all of them composed of several ethnicities as well as Orthodox Christians, Roman Catholics, and Muslims. All these states sought more Ottoman and Habsburg territory that included their

Mitteuropa (miht el oy ROH pah): Literally, “central Europe,” but used by military leaders in Germany before World War I to refer to land in both central and eastern Europe that they hoped to acquire.



MAP 24.4 The Balkans, 1908–1914

Balkan peoples—mixed in religion, ethnicity, and political views—were successful in asserting their desire for independence, especially in the First Balkan War, which claimed territory from the Ottoman Empire. Their increased autonomy sparked rivalries among them and continued to attract attention from the great powers. Three empires in particular—the Russian, Ottoman, and Austro-Hungarian—simultaneously wanted influence for themselves in the region, which became a powder keg of competing ambitions.

own ethnic group—a complicated desire given the intermingling of ethnicities throughout the region. War for territory was on these nationalists' agenda.

In the First Balkan War, in 1912, Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Montenegro joined forces to gain Macedonia and Albania from the Ottomans. The victors divided up their booty, with Bulgaria gaining the most territory, but in a Second Balkan War in 1913, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro contested Bulgarian gains. The quick victory of these allies increased Austria's dismay at Serbia's rising power. Grievances between the Habsburgs and the Serbs now seemed irreconcilable as each aimed for greater influence in the Balkans. The region had become perilous as both Austria-Hungary (as ruler of many Slavs) and Russia (as their protector) stationed increasing numbers of troops along the borders. The situation tempted strategists to think hopefully that a quick war there—something like Bismarck's wars—could resolve tension and uncertainty.

The Race to Arms

In the nineteenth century, global rivalries and aspirations for national greatness made constant readiness for war seem increasingly necessary. On the seas and in foreign lands, the colonial powers battled to establish control, and they developed railroad, telegraph, and telephone networks everywhere to link their conquests and to move troops as well as commercial goods. Governments began to draft ordinary citizens for periods of two to six years into large standing armies, in contrast to smaller eighteenth-century forces that had served the more limited military goals of the time. By 1914, escalating tensions in Europe boosted the annual intake of draftees: Germany, France, and Russia called up 250,000 or more troops each year. The per capita expenditure on the military rose in all the major powers between 1890 and 1914; the proportion of national budgets devoted to defense in 1910 was lowest in Austria-Hungary at 10 percent, and highest in Germany at 45 percent.

The modernization of weaponry also transformed warfare. Swedish arms manufacturer Alfred Nobel patented dynamite and developed a kind of gunpowder that improved the accuracy of guns and produced a less clouded battlefield environment by reducing firearm smoke. Breakthroughs in the chemical industry led to improvements in long-range artillery, which by 1914 could fire on targets as far as six miles away. Munitions factories across Europe manufactured

ever-growing stockpiles of howitzers, Mauser rifles, and Hotchkiss machine guns. Used in the Russo-Japanese and South African wars, these new weapons had shown that military offensives were more difficult to win than in the past because neither side could overcome such accurate firepower. Military leaders devised new strategies to protect their armies from the heavy firepower and deadly accuracy of the new weapons: in the Russo-Japanese War, trenches and barbed wire blanketed the front around Port Arthur.

Naval construction figured in both the arms race and the rising nationalism in politics. To defend against the new powerful, accurate weaponry, ships built after the mid-nineteenth century were made of metal rather than wood. Launched in 1905, the H.M.S. *Dreadnought*, a warship with unprecedented firepower, was the centerpiece of the British navy's plan to construct at least seven battleships per year. Germany also built up its navy and made itself a great land and sea power. The German military encouraged William II to view the navy as the essential ingredient in making Germany a world power and directed him to the writings of the American naval theorist Alfred Thayer Mahan. Mahan's argument that command of the seas determined international power encouraged Germany to plan for naval bases as far away as the Pacific. The German drive to build battleships strengthened Britain's alliance with France in the Entente Cordiale, as all the powers dramatically raised their annual naval spending (Figure 24.1). The Germans described their fleet buildup as "a peaceful policy," but, like British naval expansion, it led only to a hostile international climate and intense competition in weapons manufacture.

Public relations campaigns encouraged military buildup (see Document, "A Historian Promotes Militant Nationalism," page 795). When critics of the arms race suggested a temporary "naval holiday" to stop British and German building, British officials sent out news releases warning that such a cutback "would throw innumerable men on the pavement." Advocates of imperial expansion and nationalist groups lobbied for military spending, while enthusiasts in government promoted large navies as beneficial to international trade, domestic industry, and national pride. When Germany's Social Democrats questioned the use of taxes and their heavy burden on workers, the press criticized the party for lack of patriotism. The Conservative Party in Great Britain, eager for more battleships, made popular the slogan "We want eight and we won't wait." Public enthusiasm for arms buildup and militant nationalism

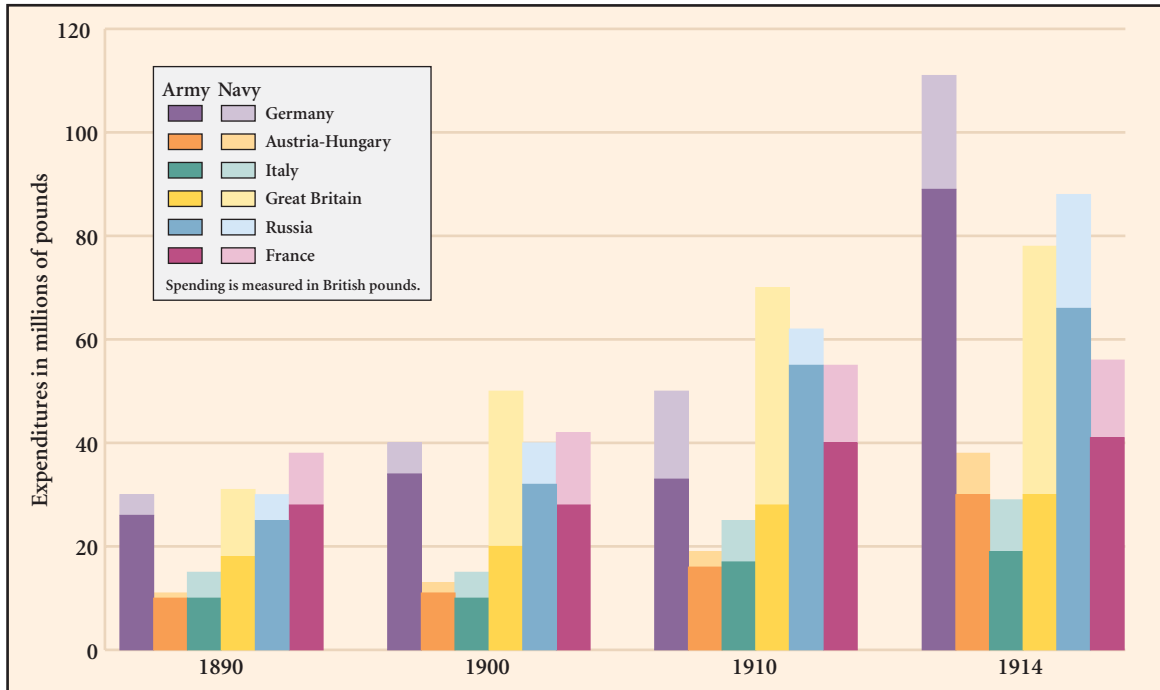


FIGURE 24.1 The Growth in Armaments, 1890–1914

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the European powers engaged in a massive arms race. Several comparisons offer themselves, particularly the resources newly devoted to navies and the soaring defense spending of the Germans. Historians often ask whether better diplomacy could have prevented the outbreak of world war in 1914. The enormous military buildup, however, made some people living in the early twentieth century, as well as some later historians, see war as inevitable. (*The Hammond Atlas of the Twentieth Century* (London: Times Books, 1996), 29.)

amid growing international competition set the stage for the outbreak of war. The remarks of a French military leader typified the sentiments of the time, even among the public at large. When asked in 1912 about his predictions for war and peace, he responded enthusiastically, “We shall have war. I will make it. I will win it.”

1914: War Erupts

June 28, 1914, began as an ordinary, even happy day not only for Freud’s patient the Wolf-Man but also for the Austrian archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife, Sophie, as they ended a state visit to Sarajevo in Bosnia. The archduke, in full military regalia, was riding in a motorcade to bid farewell to various officials when a group of young Serb nationalists threw bombs in an unsuccessful assassination attempt. The danger did not register; after a stop, the archduke and his wife set out again. In the crowd was another nationalist, Gavrilo Princip, who had traveled in secret for several weeks to reach this destination, dreaming of reuniting his

homeland of Bosnia-Herzegovina with Serbia and smuggling weapons with him to accomplish his end. The unprotected and unsuspecting Austrian couple became Princip’s victims, as he shot both dead.

Some in the Habsburg government saw the assassination as an opportunity to put down the Serbians once and for all. Evidence showed that Princip had received arms and information from Serbian officials, who directed a terrorist organization from within the government. Endorsing a quick defeat of Serbia, German statesmen and military leaders urged the Austrians to be unyielding and promised support in case of war. The Austrians sent an ultimatum to the Serbian government, demanding public disavowals of terrorism, suppression of terrorist groups, and the participation of Austrian officials in an investigation of the crime. “You are setting Europe ablaze,” the Russian foreign minister remarked of the Austrians’ humiliating demands made on a sovereign state. Yet the Serbs were conciliatory, accepting all the terms except the presence of Austrian officials in the in-



Arrest of the Assassin

Gavrilo Princip belonged to the Young Bosnians, a group devoted to killing Habsburgs in revenge for the Austro-Hungarian monarchy's having sent workers to colonize their homeland. In June 1914, at the age of nineteen, Princip lived out his dream, killing the heir to the Habsburg throne and his wife. Here Princip is shown being apprehended. He spent the rest of his life in prison and was appalled at the carnage of World War I. (© Bettmann/Corbis.)

vestigation. Kaiser William was pleased: "A great moral success for Vienna! All reason for war is gone." His relief proved unfounded. Austria-Hungary, confident of German backing, used the Serbs' resistance to one demand as the pretext for declaring war against Serbia on July 28.

Some statesmen tried desperately to avoid war. The tsar and the kaiser sent pleading letters to one another not to start a European war. The British foreign secretary proposed an all-European conference, but without success. Germany displayed firm support for Austria in hopes of convincing the French and British to shy away from the war. The failure of either to fight, German officials believed, would keep Russia from mobilizing. Additionally, German military leaders had become fixed on fighting a short, preemptive war that would provide territorial gains leading toward the goal of a *Mitteleuropa*. As conservatives, they planned to impose martial law as part of such a war, using it as a pretext for arresting the leadership of the German Social Democratic Party, which threatened their rule.

The European press caught the war fever of expansionist, imperialist, and other pro-war or-

ganizations, even as many governments were torn over what to do. Military leaders, especially in Germany and Austria-Hungary, promoted mobilization rather than diplomacy in the last days of July. The Austrians declared war and then ordered mobilization on July 31 without fear of a Russian attack. They did so in full confidence of German military aid, because as early as 1909 Germany had promised to defend Austria-Hungary, even if that country took the offensive. The thought was that Russia would not dare to intervene against an Austria-Hungary backed by Germany military power, but Nicholas II ordered the mobilization in defense of the Serbs—Russia's Slavic allies. Encouraging the Austrians to attack Serbia, the German general staff mobilized on August 1. France declared war by virtue of its agreement to aid its ally Russia, and when Germany violated Belgian neutrality on its way to invade France, Britain entered the war on the side of France and Russia.

REVIEW: What were the major factors leading to the outbreak of World War I?

DOCUMENT

A Historian Promotes Militant Nationalism

As the nineteenth century came to an end, competitive nationalism in preparation for war was everywhere, even in classrooms. History had developed into a “science” by this time, and historians were supposed to be neutral, basing their conclusions on solid, documentary evidence and erasing all trace of religious or national bias from their work. In the climate of military buildup, competition for empire, and a pro-war spirit, the goal of dispassionate objectivity weakened. Supporting his nation was a driving force in the writing and teaching, of, among others, Heinrich von Treitschke of the University of Berlin, who delivered his lectures glorifying Germany’s wars to throngs of cheering students and army officers.

The next essential function of the State is the conduct of war. The long oblivion into which this principle had fallen is a proof of how effeminate the science of government had become in civilian hands. . . .

Without war no State could be. All those we know of arose through war, and the protection of their members by armed force remains their primary and essential task. War, therefore, will endure to the end of history, as long as there is multiplicity of States. The laws of human thought and of human nature forbid any alternative, neither is one to be wished for. The blind worshipper of an eternal peace falls into the error of isolating the State, or dreams of one which is universal, which we have already seen to be at variance with reason.

Even as it is impossible to conceive of a tribunal above the State, which we have recognized as sovereign in its very essence, so it is likewise impossible to banish the idea of war from the world. It is a favourite fashion of our time to instance England as particularly ready for peace. But England is perpetually at war; there is hardly an instant in her recent history in which she has not been obliged to be fighting somewhere. The great strides which civilization makes against barbarism and unreason are only made actual by the sword.

Source: Heinrich Treitschke, *Politics*, Hans Kohn, ed., Blanche Duddale and Torben de Bille, trans. (New York: Harcourt, 1965), 37–38.

Conclusion

Rulers soon forgot their last-minute hesitations when in some capitals celebration erupted with the declaration of war. “A mighty wonder has taken place,” wrote a Viennese actor after watching the troops march off amid public enthusiasm. “We have become *young*.” Both sides exulted, certain of victory—a triumph of the militant nationalism that led many Europeans to favor war over peace. There were other advantages. Disturbances in private life and challenges to established certainties in ideas would disappear, it was believed, in the crucible of war. A short conflict, people maintained, would resolve tensions ranging from the rise of the working class to political problems caused by global imperial competition. German military men saw war as an opportune moment to round up social democrats and reestablish the traditional deference of an agrarian society. Liberal government based on rights and constitutions, some believed, had simply gone too far in allowing new groups full citizenship and political influence.

Modernity helped blaze the path to war. New technology, mass armies, and new techniques of persuasion supported the military buildup. *The Rite of Spring*, the ballet that opened in Paris on the eve of war in 1913, had taken as its theme the

ritualistic attraction of death. Facing continuing violence in politics, chaos in the arts, and problems in the industrial order, many Europeans had come to believe that war would save them from the modern perils they faced. The pessimism that characterized the years before 1914 would end. “Like men longing for a thunderstorm to relieve them of the summer’s sultriness,” wrote an Austrian official, “so the generation of 1914 believed in the relief that war might bring.” Tragically, any hope of relief soon faded. Instead of bringing the refreshment of summer rain, war opened an era of political turmoil, widespread suffering, massive human slaughter, and even greater doses of modernity.

FOR FURTHER EXPLORATION

- For suggested references, including Web sites, for topics in this chapter, see page SR-1 at the end of the book.
- For additional primary-source material from this period, see Chapter 24 in *Sources of THE MAKING OF THE WEST*, Third Edition.
- For Web sites and documents related to topics in this chapter, see *Make History* at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

MAPPING THE WEST

**Europe at the Outbreak of World War I, August 1914**

All the powers expected a great, swift victory when war broke out. Many saw war as a chance to increase their territories; as rivals for trade and empire, almost all believed that war would bring them many advantages. But if European nations appeared well prepared and invincible at the start of the war, relatively few would survive the conflict intact.

CHAPTER REVIEW

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

new woman (767)	Nicholas II (779)
Sigmund Freud (769)	Zionism (783)
modernism (771)	South African War (785)
Friedrich Nietzsche (772)	Duma (787)
Albert Einstein (772)	Entente Cordiale (790)
art nouveau (775)	Mitteleuropa (791)
Emmeline Pankhurst (778)	

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How did ideas about the self and about personal life change at the beginning of the twentieth century?
2. How did modernism transform the arts and the world of ideas?
3. What were the points of tension in European political life at the beginning of the twentieth century?
4. How and why did events in overseas empires from the 1890s on challenge Western faith in imperialism?
5. What were the major factors leading to the outbreak of World War I?

MAKING CONNECTIONS

1. How did changes in society at the turn of the century affect the development of mass politics?
2. How was culture connected to the world of politics in the years 1890–1914?
3. How had nationalism changed since the French Revolution?

For practice quizzes, a customized study plan, and other study tools, see the Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/hunt.

IMPORTANT EVENTS

1894–1895	Japan defeats China in the Sino-Japanese War	1905	Revolution erupts in Russia; violence forces Nicholas II to establish an elected body, the Duma; Albert Einstein publishes his special theory of relativity
1894–1899	Dreyfus Affair exposes anti-Semitism in France	1906	Women receive the vote in Finland
1899–1902	South African War fought between Dutch descendants and the British in South African states	1907	Pablo Picasso launches cubist painting with <i>Les Femmes d'Alger</i>
1900	Sigmund Freud publishes <i>The Interpretation of Dreams</i>	1908	Young Turks revolt against rule by the sultan in the Ottoman Empire
1901	Irish National Theater established by Maud Gonne and William Butler Yeats; death of Queen Victoria	1911–1912	Revolutionaries overthrow the Qing dynasty and declare China a republic
1903	Emmeline Pankhurst founds the Women's Social and Political Union to fight for women's suffrage in Great Britain	1914	Assassination of the Austrian archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife by a Serbian nationalist precipitates World War I
1904–1905	Japan defeats Russia in the Russo-Japanese War		